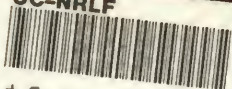


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HISTORY OF THE WORLD



Ancient and Modern

BY JAMES H. BURNES, ESQ.

NEW YORK: PUBLISHED BY J. B. BURNES, 101 NASSAU ST.
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HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.

BY
EVERT A. DUYCKINCK,
AUTHOR OF "NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY OF EMINENT AMERICANS," "CYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN
LITERATURE," ETC., ETC.

Illustrated with Highly Finished Steel Engravings

OF
HISTORICAL EVENTS AND PORTRAITS OF EMINENT MEN

*FROM ORIGINAL PAINTINGS BY ALONZO CHAPPEL, PAUL DE LA ROCHE, GEROME, COPLEY, WEIR,
POWELL, AND OTHER EMINENT ARTISTS*

VOLUME II.



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HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

MODERN GREECE.

IN the course of last century, the Greeks made two unsuccessful attempts to liberate themselves. The first was in 1770, during a war between Russia and the Porte. The Russians, in pursuance of a plan previously concerted, landed a small force of 2000 men at various points in the Morea. The Mainotes and other Greeks instantaneously rose in arms, and got possession of the open towns, butchering the Turks with every circumstance of cruelty. Before they had mastered any of the fortified places, however, a great force of Albanians pouring in, defeated them, and retaliated, with dreadful severity, the cruelties committed on the Turks.

In 1790, the Greeks of Suli, in Albania, rose in arms, upon an understanding that assistance was to be received from Russia. A deputation went to Petersburg to offer the crown of Greece to Prince Constantine, brother of the emperor, whom they saluted King of the Greeks. They were to collect their various troops from Suli, Livadia, Attica, and the Morea; to march through Thessaly and Macedonia, where they were to be joined by other reinforcements; and to meet the Russians at Adrianople with 300,000 men (as they gave out), after which the combined army was to proceed to Constantinople, and drive the Turks out of Europe. But in the end little was done. The Russians sent a trifling sum of money, which was chiefly embezzled by their own agents, and soon made peace, without concerning themselves about the peril

into which they had brought the Greeks. The Suliotes defeated the Pasha of Yanina and aided by their rocks, defended themselves, performing prodigies of valor against the Albanian Turks. A squadron of twelve small vessels, which they had fitted out at Trieste, signalized itself in the Archipelago, and after spreading terror amongst the Turks, was overpowered and destroyed by a greatly superior force. This second enterprise, in short, ended like the first, without any other effect than that of exposing the Greeks to renewed outrages from the Turks. The brave tribe of the Suliotes, on whom the Greeks placed great reliance, as the best soldiers of their faith, were reduced to a remnant by Ali in 1803, after a contest of many years.

Though the hopes of the Greeks were cast down for a time by this event, various causes were silently operating a change in their situation, and preparing the way for a more successful effort. Amidst all the hardships of their lot, knowledge had been steadily increasing. The influence of Russia over the Porte was visibly extending, and promised them sooner or later the means of exchanging Mohammedan for Christian rulers. The rebellion of Ali Pasha, in 1820, by embarrassing the Porte, and neutralizing one who would have been a formidable enemy, presented an opportunity too favorable to be lost, and precipitated the commencement of hostilities.

The remarkable character of this man and the influence of his movements upon the

opening portion of the Greek revolution, will warrant a passing notice of those incidents in his life not immediately connected with the present struggle. Ali was born at Tepellene, a small town in the interior of Albania. His father held the rank of a pasha of two tails, but was not possessed of any extensive power; and he died when Ali was only fifteen. In a district so turbulent, and filled with warlike and hostile leaders, the young chief was necessarily placed in a very critical situation. He was himself accustomed to boast that he began his fortune with sixty paras and a musket; and an Albanian who attended a late traveller (Mr Hobhouse), declared that he remembered to have seen Ali with his jacket out at elbows. Ali was ere long driven from Tepellene, his native place, and was abandoned by almost all his followers. A plan was next formed for his destruction, by the inhabitants of Gardiki, a neighbouring town; and for this purpose they surrounded, in the night time, a village where he had taken refuge. Ali escaped through a garden, but his mother and sister fell into the hands of the Gardikiotes, and were treated with every species of indignity; wrongs for which he afterwards took a dreadful vengeance. His address and activity enabled him gradually to repair his fortunes. He insinuated himself into the favor of Coul Pasha, then the principal chief of Albania, whose daughter he at length married. Having thus been enabled to collect some followers, he succeeded in surprising Yanina, the capital, and in prevailing upon the Porte to recognise him as pasha of that important district. From this time he took the lead among the Albanian chiefs; employing force, money, and treachery, to increase his authority, and add to the extent of his dominions.

The most formidable adversaries with whom Ali had to contend were the Suliotes, a people placed in the southern extremity of Albania. They inhabit an almost inaccessible range of mountains, beneath whose gloomy shade winds a river, which Dr. Holland conjectures, on very plausible grounds,

to be the Acheron of the ancients. The strength of their native bulwarks, their passion for war, and contempt of death, made them the terror of Albania, which they frequently invaded; while no foreign power had ever ventured to scale the tremendous barriers by which they were guarded. Ali at length succeeded, by force and bribery, in gaining the passes into their country; and the nation, after a furious resistance, was reduced to subjection, and partly extirpated.

In 1811 and 1812, Ali attacked and defeated the pashas of Berat and Delvino; by which means he gained possession of some of the finest parts of Albania, and a population of between 200,000 and 300,000 souls. Tepellene, his native place, now fell into his power; and now also it was that he obtained the means of inflicting signal vengeance on Gardiki. With his accustomed duplicity he pretended a complete oblivion of all grounds of resentment, until he had surrounded and inclosed the city with his troops; when upwards of 700 of those of the inhabitants who were supposed to have been most deeply involved in the ancient guilt, were dragged into a large khan near the city, and bound together with cords. On a signal given by Ali, the Albanian soldiery, who were stationed on the walls of the khan, began a discharge of musketry, which continued until the destruction of the whole 700 was completed.

The dominions of Ali were not confined within the limits of Albania; he extended his sway over the mountainous district of Macedonia, nearly the whole of Thessaly, and great part of Livadia. He was kept in check by Ismael Bey, who possessed an authority nearly as independent over the plains of Macedonia. In Albania, his power was almost absolute; and while little regard was paid to the imperial firman, a letter with the signature of Ali commanded implicit obedience. The Albanians were enthusiastically attached to him; they viewed him as a native sovereign; they admired the energy of his character, and, when they heard of any

other chief, commonly remarked: "He has not a head like Ali."

Ali's figure was corpulent and unwieldy, his neck short, his stature about five feet nine inches. The expression of his countenance was striking and majestic; and his features gave no indications of those terrible qualities by which he was characterised. His abilities were certainly of no mean order. He displayed that union of deep thought and contrivance, with prompt and decisive action, which indicate a mind equally formed for politics and for war. He was remarkable for his address, both in gaining friends, and in lulling asleep the suspicions of his bitterest enemies. But if his abilities were of a superior order, his moral qualities were of a kind which rendered him an object of fear and detestation. His cruelty rather resembled that of an Indian savage than of even the least civilised European. Impaling and roasting alive were among the common punishments reserved for those who had unhappily offended him. The fierceness of his cruelty was only exceeded by the depth of his dissimulation. It was impossible for the most skillful observer to conjecture, from his outward deportment, the real sentiments with which he regarded any individual. The only observable difference consisted in a peculiar kindness of manner toward those unfortunates whose cruel doom he had silently and unrelentingly sealed.

Ali's ordinary residence was near Yanina, in an immense building which combines the character of a palace and a fortress. The outer courts were irregularly crowded with Albanian soldiers, and with persons of all descriptions, who attended upon him, or had petitions to present. Each petitioner in approaching, knelt and kissed his garment. He exercised in person the whole judicial authority, and his decisions, though necessarily given too promptly, are, however, said to have been guided by an apparent wish of arriving at the truth, and of doing justice. He rose at six in the morning, and, with the exception of an hour at dinner, and an hour

at supper, spent the whole day in business. His habits at table were extremely temperate, though he was not so strict a Mussulman as to decline the use of wine. His harem contained 390 females of various descriptions. It formed an edifice entirely distinct from the rest of the seraglio, and it is said to have been furnished in a style of the most gorgeous magnificence.

Although the government of Ali was completely despotical, yet, viewed comparatively, it appears to have been better for Albania than its former terrible anarchy.

The progress of this enterprising chief was viewed by the Porte with jealousy and alarm, though it was found prudent to maintain an outward good understanding with him, by investing him with the government of the provinces which he had subdued. The Sultan having in vain attempted to induce Ali to repair to Constantinople, with the secret intention of despatching him, at length sent against him Pacho Bey, a former adherent of Ali, but afterwards one of his bitterest opponents. A recent and daring attempt, by two hired agents of Ali, to assassinate this person, furnished sufficient ground for placing Ali under the ban of the empire. He soon found himself deserted by the tribes in whom he had trusted, and Pacho Bey reached Yanina without firing a gun. The ferocious Ali ordered the capital to be given up to indiscriminate plunder by his bandit followers, and retreated to an impregnable castle in the midst of the lake, where he bade defiance to his enemies; who, after an ineffectual blockade, were obliged to retreat. Mahmoud, highly dissatisfied with the result of these operations, invested Chourschid, Pasha of the Morea, with the supreme command. Having assembled all the forces of the surrounding pashalics, he again hemmed in Ali within the precincts of his castle. The tower into which Ali had retired with his wives and treasures being closely beset, he surrendered to Chourschid, under a solemn promise that his life should be spared, and that he should have an honorable retreat;

but scarcely had the agreement been concluded when a firman arrived from the Porte decreeing his immediate death.

While shut up in his tower at Yanina, Ali, aware of the designs of the Hetairists, a secret association formed for the liberation of Greece, stimulated them to take up arms, by a promise of money and assistance; and though they did not confide in it, they resolved to embrace the advantage which the position of affairs held out. The first movement was in a distant quarter. By previous concert a number of Greeks assembled at Yassy in Moldavia in the end of February, 1821, and, on the 6th of March, Prince Ipsilanti, who held the rank of major-general in the Russian service, crossed the Pruth, and joined them. After proclaiming the independence of Greece, he left that town on the 13th, with eight hundred horsemen, proceeding towards Bucharest, but lost time foolishly on the road, and did not enter the capital of Wallachia till the 9th of April. Dissensions in the meantime broke out in his small army; and though the spirit of the people was good, and the lethargy of the Turks left him a clear space for action, his incapacity and indecision rendered him unable to improve these advantages; and a proclamation issued by the Russian consul, in which the insurrection was strongly condemned by the emperor, on whose assistance they had relied, completely disheartened the insurgents. About the end of April, a body of Turks put themselves in motion from Silistria, occupied Bucharest, and followed the insurgents northward. Some trifling skirmishes took place in the neighborhood of Tergovisht, rather to the disadvantage of the Greeks; and a rash and unsuccessful attack made by one of their officers at Piteshti caused a panic in the army, followed by a disastrous retreat. In this action the greater part of the Sacred Battalion, composed of Greek youths from various parts of Europe, was destroyed, after a brave resistance. Ipsilanti shortly afterwards stole away from his troops, and sought refuge within the Austrian boundary. A

partisan warfare was continued a little longer. One small corps retreated to Yassy, and thence to Skuleni, on the Pruth, where, under Athanasius of Agrapha, they sustained an attack from a body of Turks six times more numerous, refusing to fly, though the means of retreat were open to them, till three fourths of their number were destroyed. Another small party under Yorgaki, or George the Olympian, shut themselves up in the monastery of Secka, where they resisted the Turks for six and thirty hours. At length, when the enemy got into their rear, and success was hopeless, the gallant chief, having refused the safe retreat which the Turks offered him, called his followers together, and exhorted them to seek a glorious death sword in hand. Finding that instead of seconding his heroic resolution, they were preparing to fly, he retired to the chamber where his powder was deposited, and, uttering a short prayer, blew himself up, with four of his attendants.

From the beginning of 1821, secret conferences were held by the more zealous Hetairists of the Morea, and a spirit of insubordination began to appear amongst the people. At length on the 2d of April, the standard of independence was hoisted at Kalavrita, a town about thirty miles southeast from Patras, by Germanos, archbishop of Paleon-Patron, and Andreas Londres. Two days afterwards the fighting began at Patras, where the Christian inhabitants rose on the Turks, and, during a bloody struggle of some days, a part of the town was burned. The Turks, however, retained the citadel, from which the Greeks had no means of expelling them; and Yusuf Pasha crossing the straits of Lepanto, the armed insurgents suddenly fled, leaving their brethren in the town to be butchered by the Turks. The insurrection spread with such rapidity over the Morea, that seven days after the first shot was fired, a Greek senate assembled at Calamata in Messina, under the presidency of Petras Mavromichalis, bey of Maina. A partisan warfare was carried on for some time against the

small bodies of Mohammedan settlers living in the country, most of whom ultimately sought refuge in Tripolizza, the capital of Morea. Meanwhile three thousand Albanians coming from the north, victualled the Acrocorinthus, and advancing to Argos, routed a body of Greeks posted there, killing seven hundred of them, and afterwards burned the town. The Kihaya Bey then proceeded to Tripolizza, and seemed resolved to act with vigor. The Greeks, who had now assembled a considerable force, were divided as to the mode of acting; but it was finally determined to fight, and they accordingly posted themselves at Valtezza, near the enemy. The Kihaya Bey, leaving Tripolizza with five thousand troops, attacked them on the 27th of May, but was repulsed in several attacks made on the village in that and the following day, and finally fled to Tripolizza, with the loss of two pieces of cannon and four hundred men. This victory, though small, had a great moral effect in raising the courage of the Greeks. The three great seats of Greek commerce, Hydra, Spezzia, and Psyra, entered into the revolutionary cause about the same time with the towns on the mainland. A small fleet of Hydriot and Spezziot vessels visited the other isles of the Ægean, proclaiming the independence of Greece, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm; whilst light-armed ships scourged the seas, and captured every Ottoman trader.

In Rumelia the insurrection broke out a few days later. The peasants of Attica and Bœotia, took the field in the beginning of May; and on the 7th of that month, scaling the low wall which surrounds Athens, took possession of the town, and drove the Turkish inhabitants into the citadel. In Epirus, the remnant of the brave Suliotes, reinforced by other Greeks, and encouraged by Ali Pasha, harassed the Seraskier Kourschid Pasha, by cutting off his convoys of provisions. The scene of these hostilities was chiefly in the ancient Thesprotia, and it was carried on with great activity

in May by Marco Bozzaris. From this district it spread into Acarnania and Ætolia; the independent flag was hoisted in Messolonghi in June, by several of the Armatoli chiefs; Vrakhorì, a Mohammedan town twenty miles north of Messolonghi, was carried very gallantly, and some weeks afterwards Zarpandi in the same district; Salona was next taken; and the Turks in three months were deprived of a large proportion of the posts which they had occupied south of Mount Eta. Kourschid Pasha, however, made a vigorous opposition, and success often changed sides. In this desultory warfare the summer passed away. The Rumeliot, in the various actions fought, showed themselves much better soldiers than the Moreots, and this reputation they continued to maintain during the war. Whilst these events were passing, Mavrocordato arrived at Messolonghi from Leghorn, and, after conferring with the primates, went to Tripolizza, where the Moreot leaders were assembled for the siege. Finding he was an object of jealousy to Demetrius Ipsilanti, he returned to Messolonghi in September, and labored to organize the insurrection in Rumelia. In the mean time Omar Pasha, with a body of four thousand Turkish troops, marched from Thessaly, routed a party of seven hundred Greeks at Thermopylæ, a second larger party under Odysseus at Scripu, and destroyed Livadia, the most flourishing town of Rumelia. He then advanced to Athens, and on the 30th of July relieved the citadel, in which sixteen hundred Turks had been blockaded for eighty-three days, by a motley army consisting of Attic peasants, Æginetans, and other islanders. The armed Greeks retired to Salamis and Ægina, and the Albanians of the pasha's army plundered and wasted the country. The Greeks now collected in small corps in the hilly districts of Bœotia and Phocis, straitening the communications of the Turks, and cutting off their supplies. A strong reinforcement coming to the latter from Thessaly, was routed at Thermopylæ by Odysseus, with the loss of eight hundred men. The

pasha shortly afterwards withdrew from Attica and Bœotia, and the Athenians from Salamis re-occupied the town, and resumed the blockade of the citadel in November. In the extreme north the insurrection had been unfortunate. The Macedonian Greeks, who had taken refuge in the peninsula of Pallene, had their line of defence at Isthmus forced by Aboulaboud, and, except a portion who escaped by sea, were either killed or made prisoners. The monks of Athos capitulated to the same pasha, after two thousand of them had left the mountain. The people of Magnesia, when dividing the booty they had taken from the Mohammedans, were surprised and routed by the Pasha of Drama. A part sought shelter in the forests of Pelion, and part fortified themselves in the peninsula of Trikeri, or fled to the neighboring isles of Scopelos and Skiathos. The thirty-five neat and flourishing villages of the district were mostly burned by the Turks. The Olympians, or Greeks of Pieria, also rose in arms, but at too late a period. The Pasha Aboulaboud had previously subdued the Christians of Athos and Macedonia, and being able to bring his whole force against them, routed them, and burned the 120 villages they possessed in the valleys of Olympus.

The Greeks of Macedonia, cruelly used by the Pasha of Salonica, were driven by despair to take up arms. Unable, however, to make head in the plain country against the Ottoman cavalry, they retreated to the peninsula of Cassandra, abandoning seventy villages, which the Turks burned. We must explain, however, that the rage of the Turks was excited to fury by the discovery of a plot formed by a Hydriot captain, to fire the arsenal at Constantinople, kill the sultan, and raise the Greek population. The government, alarmed by this event, seized and executed the leading individuals of the Fanariot families, whilst some thousands of the other Christian inhabitants were massacred in their houses, without the least regard to legal forms. The death of the patriarch, a very

old man, much esteemed for his virtues, and of a number of the other high clergy, created a great sensation. Salonica, Adrianople, and Smyrna, were the scene of similar barbarities. The last of these towns, in particular, was consigned to a general sack, like a city stormed. Kydonia, a Greek town with thirty thousand inhabitants, which had grown up in a few years, and was renowned for its college, where three hundred students received a superior education, falling under the suspicion of the Turks, was burned to the ground, and its people were forced to seek refuge in Psyra and other isles. The Greek ships, which were merely merchant vessels, carrying from twelve to twenty-four guns, would have been impotent against any navy but the Turkish; but by their superior seamanship, and a bold and skillful use of brulots or fire-ships, they often baffled or defeated strong squadrons of large men of war. Their first exploit of this kind was the burning of a Turkish seventy-four on the coast of Mytelene in June. This paralyzed the operations of the capitan-bey for a little; but setting forward again, he arrived at Samos, the poor but brave inhabitants of which, forty thousand in number, had slain their Ottoman rulers, and now harassed the Turks of the neighboring continent by frequent descents upon the coast. A large land force was collected to subdue them, and the capitan-bey attended with the fleet to co-operate. But the Turks were defeated with great loss in an attempt to land a thousand men, and a second armament was intercepted by the Greek fleet, who burned ten transports, whilst the soldiers escaped to the shore. The troops after this refused to embark. The Greek and Turkish fleets manœuvred in presence of each other, but parted without fighting, after the former had burned several fire-ships without effect.

Demetrius Ipsilanti, second brother of Alexander, travelling in disguise from Russia, landed at Hydra in June, and thence sailed over to the continent, where he was welcomed with extraordinary demonstrations of joy.

He brought a small supply of money and arms, and a commission from his brother, investing him with the supreme command of the army. Patriotic, upright, brave, and accomplished, he unfortunately wanted the energy necessary for the post he assumed, and soon found himself thwarted in his views, and rendered incapable of effecting anything, by the jealousy of the bishops and military chiefs. Prince Mavrocordato, another Greek of noble descent and considerable talents, arrived in the Morea a few weeks later. The Turks at this time were driven out of the open country, but held nine fortresses in the Morea, Patras, the castle at the adjoining straits, Navarin, Coron, Modon, Nauplia, Acrocorinthus, Monemvasia, and Tripolizza. The Greeks wanted both materials and skill for conducting regular sieges, and merely kept most of these places blockaded less or more strictly. Monemvasia, and afterwards Navarin, surrendered in August, in consequence of famine. The one capitulation was pretty faithfully kept; the other was most disgracefully violated by the massacre of the Turks, to whom a safe retreat had been guaranteed. The siege of Tripolizza was pressed with a little more vigor, as it was the capital of the peninsula, and contained a number of wealthy Turks, whose property was looked to as the prize of conquest. The city was defended by a wall fourteen feet high and two miles in circuit, flanked by a few towers with cannon, and its population was increased by refugees to 25,000 souls. The besieging army amounted to about 4500 men, which was less than the number of adults within the walls; it gradually swelled, however, as the increasing scarcity in the town multiplied the chances of a surrender. The contest was carried on by trifling skirmishes, till the Turkish cavalry, which was the only force dreaded by the Greeks, being entirely ruined, the besiegers were enabled to invest the place more closely. Famine was now doing its work upon the unhappy Moslems, who were negotiating for a capitulation on the 5th of October,

when some Greeks mounting a part of the wall which had been neglected (there was no truce) entered the town, and were immediately followed by the rest of the army. The place was completely sacked, and of ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, young and old, of both sexes, still remaining in it, about eight thousand are supposed to have been slain. A number of women were carried off as captives, and a few officers were spared for the sake of the ransom expected for them. Some Turks sold their lives dearly, and a party of forty cut their way through the Greeks, and escaped to Nauplia. The booty in money, shawls, jewels, dresses, pistols, sabres, and other articles, was very great, and led to petty contests amongst the victors. The town presented the aspect of a ruin. As a small counterpoise to this loss, the captain-bey destroyed the village of Galaxidi, near Salona, and carried off thirty-four small trading vessels, and the property of its industrious inhabitants. The Ottoman fleet at the same time revictualled Modon, Coron, and Patras. The Greeks made an attempt to surprise Nauplia, which would have succeeded but for the cowardice of the Moreots; and a large body blockading the castle of Patras were, owing to their gross carelessness, surprised and routed by a party of Turks who crossed at Lepanto. Thus terminated the year 1821.

The Turks of Crete, inspired with alarm by the appearance of Greek cruisers in the adjacent seas, began to strip the Christian inhabitants of their arms, and to butcher many of them in cold blood. A number of the latter, comprehending the brave and hardy mountaineers of Sphakia, were driven by this cruel usage to fight for their lives. In July, August, and September, 1821, the insurgents, about twelve hundred in number, repeatedly defeated large bodies of Turks, but the pasha at length collecting an army of ten thousand men, overpowered them, and burned most of their villages.

A national assembly convoked by Prince Ipsilanti had met at Argos about the end of

1821, but finding that position insecure, it removed to Piada, near the ancient Epidaurus, in January, 1822. The assembly chose Mavrocordato president, and adopted an organic law or constitution, framed on republican principles. The government was to consist of a senate of seventy members elected annually by the people, and an executive council of five persons. The constitution enacted equality of rights, the freedom of the press, and toleration in religion. The government was then organized. The executive council consisted of Mavrocordato, president; Kanakaris, Logotheti, Delhyani, and Orlando, members; and Theodore Negriz, secretary. Seven ministers were also appointed for finance, foreign affairs, war, &c., whose names it is unnecessary to give. After passing a decree for a loan of 5,000,000 of piastres, the assembly closed its session on the 20th of January. The government thus erected proved a mere phantom. It had no means of coercing the military chiefs, who set its powers at defiance, and disdained even to pay it marks of outward respect.

The citadel of Corinth, a post of great importance, surrendered on the 26th of January, 1822, when the Turks were inhumanly slaughtered, in violation of a compact to convey them away in safety. The Greek government fixed itself here for some months, and issued a variety of decrees, which were very little attended to. The death of Ali, pasha of Yanina, who was shot by the Turks in February, after giving himself up on a promise of personal safety, made a considerable change in the position of the Greeks. Kourschid Pasha shortly after sent an army of 17,000 men to attack the Suliotes, who, though numbering only 4000 warriors, including Epirots, made so obstinate a resistance, with the aid of their rocks and woods, that the Turks were finally compelled to retreat with a heavy loss, and the pasha had no resource, but to turn his active hostilities into a blockade. Mavrocordato arrived at Messolonghi in June, commissioned to act as captain-general of Western Greece. Anx-

ious to succor the Suliotes, he marched northward with 3000 men to Petta, near Arta. Here he was attacked by 10,000 Turks, and in consequence of the treachery of Gogos, one of the Armatoli chiefs, his little army was overpowered, and lost four hundred men, including two thirds of the small corps of disciplined Philhellenes. He made his way back to Messolonghi; and the Suliotes, reduced to extremity, signed a capitulation with the pasha, by which the existing remnant of three hundred and twenty men, and nine hundred women and children, were transported to Cephalonia, with their arms and baggage, at the pasha's expense, with a *douceur* of two hundred thousand piastres superadded. Released from this troublesome enemy, Omar Pasha approached Messolonghi in October with ten thousand men. The town had scarcely any defences, and the garrison being under four hundred men, he might have carried it by a *coup-de-main*. He spent some weeks, however, in a state of inaction, or in trifling negotiations, and this interval Mavrocordato diligently improved, by raising new works, whilst a reinforcement of men from the Morea increased the garrison to upwards of 2000 men, and the Greek fleet brought supplies of ammunition and arms. The rainy season too having set in, spread sickness through the Turkish camp; and the pasha, now aware of his error, and anxious to retrieve it, attempted to carry the works by escalade before daylight on Christmas morning, when he supposed the Greeks would be at their devotions. They had previous information, however, and beat back the Albanians at every point, with the loss of six hundred men. The pasha now began his retreat, obstructed by the swollen rivers, and harassed at every step by the Acarnanians, who were up in arms; he reached Previsa with the wrecks of his army in February, 1823.

In the *Ægean Sea* the spring of 1823 was marked by the most unfortunate and tragical event which distinguished the revolution; the entire destruction of the happy and pros-

perous Greek community of Scio. This island contained 120,000 Christian inhabitants, whose peaceful habits, intelligence, industry, and wealth, exhibited a picture of civilization unrivalled in the other parts of the Turkish empire. They were unwarlike, but being mildly governed, they desired no change. When the Hydriot fleet appeared, they entreated the admiral to leave their coast, and not compromise them with the Porte. Two adventurers, however, one of them a Sciot by birth, who had spent his life abroad, the other a Samian, in an evil hour, planned an expedition to dislodge the Turks, which was too feeble and ill supported to accomplish its object, but strong enough to alarm the Porte, and bring ruin on the unhappy islanders. Leaving Samos in March, 1822, with a flotilla of eight brigs and thirty launches, filled with one or two thousand men, the two adventurers, Bournia and Logotheti, disembarked near Scio, and entered the town without experiencing any resistance. They were coolly received by the inhabitants, who dreaded the vengeance of the Turks; but the citadel with a stout garrison held out against them, and disturbed them by frequent sallies. A month passed away thus, when the Ottoman fleet suddenly appeared before the town, and driving off the few Greek ships stationed there, conveyed over a part of an army of thirty thousand men collected on the opposite Asiatic coast, which is only ten miles distant. The Turks carried the town by assault on the 15th of April, putting to death the men, young and old, without mercy, and not even sparing women and children. A part of the town was burned, and what escaped the fire was destroyed otherwise.

In Eastern Greece a desultory warfare was carried on in the spring of 1822. The Greeks of Mount Ceta, Othrys, and Pelion, harassed the Turks in the south-eastern plains of Thessaly, but without gaining any advantage. An attempt was made to dispossess the Mohammedans of Eubœa, but it miscarried. The Athenians had tried to bombard

their citadel, but they wanted skill and an adequate supply of projectiles; they then mined parts of the wall, but could not produce a practical breach. At length, however, famine did their work. The Turks capitulated on the 22d of June, and though their personal safety was guaranteed, a large number of them were, as usual, massacred in cold blood, and the rest were saved with difficulty by the Frank consuls.

Kourschid Pasha had been collecting a large force in Thessaly, but the Greeks, with their usual negligence and want of foresight, though apprised of the fact, made no defensive arrangements till the enemy was in the heart of their country. The Turkish army, twenty or thirty thousand strong, chiefly cavalry, with a small body of infantry and artillery, crossed the Sperchius, seized the defiles of Mount Ceta, and entered Bœotia in the beginning of July. Odysseus, who had charge of the Pass of Thermopylæ with 4000 men, either from weakness or treachery, offered no resistance. The Pasha Dramali, the commander of this army, burned Thebes, passed Cythæron and the Dervend of the isthmus unopposed; and the impregnable castle of Corinth, though victualled for three months, fell into his hands by the pusillanimity of the garrison, without firing a shot. From Corinth he pushed on to Nauplia, the Greeks everywhere leaving their houses and flying in the utmost consternation at his approach. No one thought of fighting, till Demetrius Ipsilanti threw himself with a small party into the ruined castle of Argos, not with the hope of making an effectual resistance, but in order to gain time, and induce the fugitives to rally. The manœuvre succeeded. A pause took place in Dramali's operations, during which Colocotroni arrived from the interior with a considerable force, which he drew up between the mountains and the sea near Lerna, strengthening his position with some hasty works calculated to render useless the cavalry, which was the pasha's right arm. After skirmishing for one day, with little success, the Greeks wisely resolved

to wait the effect of scarcity upon their enemies, having previously burned all the standing corn. The Turks soon exhausted their stock of provisions by their wasteful habits, and Dramali had neglected to secure his communications with Corinth and Northern Greece, by guarding the passes. The insalubrity of the soil, and the inconsiderate use of unripe fruit at the same time, gave birth to fevers, which cut off numbers of his men; whilst the cattle brought for food, and the cavalry horses, died in thousands from want of fodder. Pressed by these evils, and unable to force the entrenchments in his front, he began his retreat on the 5th of August. The Greeks, however, who had divined his purpose, stationed some thousand men in the mountainous defiles, who assailed him in his flight, and, besides killing 2000 of his soldiers, captured all his treasure and baggage, with a vast number of horses, mules, and camels. Many more of the Turks died at Corinth, where marsh fevers prevailed, and amongst these the commander, Mahmoud Dramali. A great number of the survivors were destroyed in an attempt to reach Patras by land; and at the commencement of winter only a small remnant was in existence of the formidable army which, three months before, seemed powerful enough to overwhelm Greece.

The Palamede, or castle of Nauplia, pressed by famine, capitulated in the end of December; and for once the Turkish prisoners were allowed to depart in safety. The Greeks who held the citadel of Athens gave up the command of it to the crafty and treacherous Odysseus, a choice of which they had reason to repent. The Turkish fleet, instead of supporting the army, sailed round the Morea to Patras, and on its way back to the Hellespont a ship of the line was burned by the intrepid Canaris.

In February, 1823, a second Greek congress assembled at Astros in Argolis, and was attended by 260 deputies. Feuds ran so high between the parties that it was difficult to prevent bloodshed. It broke up at

the end of April, having appointed Petro Bey president of the executive council, an fixed Tripolizza as the seat of the government. Its decrees, however, were treated with contempt by the military chiefs, who soon compelled the executive to seek refuge in Salamis. The transient gleam of prosperity caused by the retreat of the Turks had kindled a violent spirit of disunion; and the nation was now rent into factions, headed by men like Colocotroni, Petro Bey, Londres, Delhyani, Odysseus, Ghouras, and Panourias, who having been originally *klephts* or robbers, retained the craft, ferocity, and rapacious habits of their primitive vocation, and, when the enemy was no longer present, thought of nothing but plundering the people, and assassinating one another. The men of better principles, Mavrocordato, Ipsilanti, and Conduriotti, armed only with resolutions of the national congress, had no power to awe these ruffians and their military bands into obedience. The country, in fact, was everywhere a prey to anarchy, and as early as 1823 the wiser part of the people began to broach the scheme of inviting a foreign prince to accept the sovereignty of Greece.

In the early part of the year 1823 the Turks of Eubœa made predatory incursions into Attica and Bœotia; whilst the Greek mariners of Psyra and Samos made descents on the coasts of Asia Minor, plundering the towns, and carrying off wealthy Mohammedan prisoners for the sake of the ransom obtained for their liberation. In June, however, a Turkish army of 6000 men broke into Phocis and Doris, and advanced to the neighborhood of Athens. The Greeks, as before, avoided battles, but encamping on the heights, cut off detachments and foraging parties; and ultimately, this force melted away by casualties or desertion without accomplishing anything of importance. An expedition undertaken by Odysseus to drive the Turks from Eubœa miscarried; and the Christians of that isle having risen in arms, were vanquished, and compelled to seek re-

fuge in the isles of the *Ægean*, after witnessing the destruction of the 150 villages they possessed. The principal effort of the Turks, however, was made in Western Greece. The Pasha of Scodra led an army of 5000 Miridites or Albanian Christians into *Acarnania*. *Messolonghi* at that time was without men or arms, and almost defenceless. *Marco Bozzaris*, a brave *Suliot*, with a small corps of his countrymen, finding himself unable to arrest the pasha in his march, conceived the bold idea of surprising him in his camp. The attack was made in the night time; but of the three parties of *Suliot*s, two slunk back; and the third, led by *Bozzaris*, consisting of only 350 men, after storming several *tambourias*, and making a horrible slaughter of the enemy, finding itself unsupported, retired with the loss of one-third of its number, including its intrepid commander. The Pasha of Scodra now joined *Omar Vrioni*, and the two approached *Messolonghi*; but the town was by this time garrisoned and provisioned; and the Ottoman commanders having an extravagant idea of its strength, turned aside to besiege *Anatolico*, a paltry village a few miles distant. They bombarded it for some weeks, till the rains setting in, and spreading sickness amongst their troops, forced them to retire in November. No solicitations could induce the Pasha of Scodra to engage in the invasion of Greece a second time.

In *Crete* the insurrection opened in 1823 with a promise of success, which was not realized. *Affendouli*, the former chief of the insurgents, having lost his influence, resigned; and *Tombazi*, a *Hydriot*, and an able but rapacious man, was elected leader in his place, and dignified with the *Lacedemonian* title of *Harmost*. He arrived in *Crete* with 1200 *Rumeliots* and *Moreots*, and a few small armed vessels, early in the summer, and being joined by the *Sphakiots*, gained several advantages over the Turks. *Kissamos*, a fortified post, fell into his hands by capitulation, but his troops were routed at *Khadeno*, and failed in an attack upon the

Mohammedans of *Selino*. The sea being in the mean time open, the Pasha of Egypt disembarked two successive bodies of disciplined troops. The last of these which landed at *Canea* in September, routed the insurgents in the neighborhood of that town, and carrying fire and sword throughout *Sphakia* and the other disaffected districts completely extinguished the insurrection.

The citadel of *Corinth*, after a blockade of nine months, surrendered in November to *Nikitas*, who, in terms of the contract, faithfully secured the unmolested retreat of the *Mohammedans*. Whilst the Greeks thus prospered externally, there was nothing but dissensions among themselves.

The efforts of the Greeks to liberate themselves from the Turkish yoke had from the first excited the sympathies of Western Europe; and in 1823, when their resistance began to rise above the character of a transient rebellion, these sympathies produced small succors in men and money. In *England*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, subscriptions were raised, the value of which was generally sent out in ammunition or military stores. Small corps of volunteers, actuated by a fine enthusiasm, also went from Western Europe, and though universally disgusted with the treatment which they received, they always fought bravely, and often rendered very important service. Amongst these foreigners, who received the appropriate name of *Philhellenes*, no one was the object of such universal interest as *Lord Byron*. His lordship disembarked at *Messolonghi* with 8000 dollars in specie, on the 5th of January, 1824, and was received with the most extravagant marks of joy. Shortly afterwards *Lieutenant Parry* arrived with some small field-pieces, supplies of powder, shot, and tools, sent by the Greek committee in *London*. His lordship took into his pay a corps of 500 *Suliot*s, whose insolence and rapacity rendered it soon necessary to expel them from the town, or rather to purchase their absence with a sum of money. The *Rumeliots* who replaced them were not much

better; and Byron found himself so incessantly teased for money, so distracted by the turbulence of the military, the intrigues and dissensions of the different parties, that his mental anxiety preying on his frame, produced a shock of apoplexy, by which his health was seriously injured. A fever followed some time afterwards, and carried off this gifted man, on the 19th of April, amidst the lamentations of the Greeks, who atoned in some degree for the vexation they had caused him, by the sincere homage which they paid, and still pay to his memory. After his death the mutual jealousies of the chiefs became more violent than ever, and the summer passed away in a state of comparative inaction. Mavrocordato advanced with 2000 men to the Gulf of Arta in August, and skirmished with the Turks, till the rains in November forced him to retire. In the east a body of Turks, who penetrated into Bœotia and threatened Athens, retired without effecting any thing. Ghouras, who held the citadel of that town for Odysseus, having quarrelled with the latter, got him into his power, and put him to death.

The naval campaign of 1824 was signalized by two unfortunate events. The small and prosperous isle of Kasos, of which Savary gives so interesting a description, was invaded by an Egyptian force, and entirely ruined, 2000 of its inhabitants being sold into slavery. The Porte, greatly exasperated by the active hostilities of the Psyrists, whose ships preyed on the Ottoman trading vessels, and insulted the coasts of Asia Minor, sent a powerful fleet against them under the capitan-pasha, with 14,000 troops on board. The Island of Psyra is small and barren; its rocky coasts render disembarkation difficult; and its inhabitants, whose numbers had been increased to fifteen or twenty thousand by emigration from Scio, trusting to their courage and the natural strength of their territory, had taken no pains to secure themselves by artificial works. The small Greek fleet stationed off the harbor fled at the approach of the Moslems, who, under cover

of a false attack, landed a strong force at the north extremity of the isle, and gained possession of the hill which rises above the town. This unexpected success produced a panic among the timid refugees, which spread from them to the Psyrists; men and women threw themselves into the boats and attempted to escape, whilst the Turks entered the town unresisted, and laid it waste with fire and sword. In the midst of this miserable rout, a band of 600 refugees from Mount Olympus and other parts of Macedonia distinguished themselves by a feat of heroism worthy of ancient Greece. Throwing themselves into the convent of St. Nicholas, where they had placed their wives and children, they resisted the attacks of the whole of the Turkish army, till two-thirds of their number were killed. All hopes of relief being at an end, they resolved to blow up the convent. Their fire having accordingly ceased, the Turks scaled the walls on every side, when suddenly, says Gordon, the Hellenic flag was lowered, a white banner inscribed with the words *Liberty or Death* waved in the air, a single gun gave the signal, and a tremendous explosion, shaking the isle, and felt far out at sea, buried in the ruins of St. Nicholas thousands of the conquerors and the remnant of the conquered. This happened on the 5th of July. Only two of the Greeks were taken alive. The loss of life was great in Psyra; and the island, which might have been saved by a little foresight and exertion, was completely ruined. After the deed was done the Greek fleet appeared, took some Turkish vessels, and destroyed a small corps of Janizaries left on the island. From Psyra the capitan pasha proceeded to Samos, but here all his movements were watched by the Greek fleet; and his attempts to convey over an army from the mainland were not only defeated, but he lost three ships of war and a thousand men, and at last retired from the shores of Samos completely baffled.

The sultan made sensible, by the failure of three campaigns, of the inefficiency of his own fleets and armies, delegated the task of

re-conquering Greece to the Pasha of Egypt, whose ambitious views made him listen readily to the request of his nominal superior. In the beginning of August, Ibrahim, the pasha's adopted son, sailed from Alexandria with a powerful fleet of ships of war and transports, amounting altogether to 400 sail, with 17,000 men on board, 2000 horses, and a strong train of artillery. He put into the bay of Macri, the ancient Telmessus, to water, and shortly afterwards was met by the Greek fleet of seventy sail, carrying 700 guns. For more than three months Ibrahim manœuvred amongst the gulfs and isles of the coast of Caria, endeavoring to beat off the Greeks, and proceed on his voyage; but though he counted six guns and six men for every one his enemies could muster, his mariners were so wretchedly deficient in skill, that he was continually baffled, and at last thought himself fortunate in escaping to Crete in the beginning of December, with the loss of two fine frigates and four brigs of war blown up, fifty transports taken or sunk, and 4000 soldiers and seamen slain or drowned, exclusively of some thousands who died of disease.

The first Greek loan was negotiated in London in February, 1824. The nominal amount was £800,000, of which all that was available, after deducting interest, commission, sinking fund, etc., was £280,000. It served to quicken the operations of the government, and no doubt contributed materially to the success of the fleet, and the defeat of Ibrahim. In the Morea fierce civil war raged, Colocotroni, Londos, Sisini, and other robber chiefs, setting the government at defiance. They were crushed, however, by the vigorous efforts of Coletti, the secretary; but the Rumeliots, by whose agency he put them down, proved a scourge to the country by their rapacity.

Ibrahim having procured reinforcements from Egypt during the winter, set sail from Suda in February, 1825, and landed with 4000 men at Modon on the 24th, a day pregnant with sorrow to the Greeks. The suc-

cess of their naval efforts in the preceding year showed that, with common activity, they might have prevented the disembarkation; but no precautions were thought of, partly from want of foresight, partly from a feeling of false security, which led them to think that the Egyptians would be as feeble adversaries as the Turks. Ibrahim attempted nothing till he had brought over additional corps, and raised his army to 11,000, and afterwards to 15,000 men. He then commenced the siege of Navarin, defeated 7000 palikars who tried to relieve it, breached the walls, carried some outworks after hard fighting, and gained possession of the place by capitulation on the 18th of May. Thence he advanced into the interior, burning the villages, which the Greeks deserted on his approach. Colocotroni endeavored to arrest his progress in the mountainous defiles, but without success; Tripolizza was burned by its inhabitants; and Argos shared the same fate at the hands of the Egyptians. Nauplia was threatened, but Ibrahim had no battering artillery; and dreading the want of provisions, he retreated towards Messenia. The Greeks, who had assembled to the number of 7000, attacked him near Tripolizza, but were beaten so completely that they gave up all further thoughts of resistance in the open field. In August and September the pasha ravaged the valleys of the Alpheus and the Eurotas, destroying the town of Misitra and a number of villages, and then returned to Modon. One or two gallant feats were performed by the Greeks during this unfortunate campaign. A small body of 300 men under Papa Flessas, surrounded by many thousand Egyptians, defended themselves with the bayonet and the butt-ends of their muskets, till the whole perished except two, who lay hid under the slain; and at the Mills of Lerna, Ipsilanti, with a few hundred men, baffled the main body of the pasha's army.

In Northern Greece, Redschid Pasha, the most energetic of all the sultan's officers, had been intrusted with the conduct of the war

Leaving Yanina, he arrived in May before Messolonghi, which contained about 5000 of the bravest Greek soldiers, and opened trenches. The works were carried on with vigor, in the face of a most determined resistance. Elevated mounds were raised to command the batteries of the besieged, and mines were sunk; the Franklin bastion, the most exposed part of the defences, was laid open by breaching, and repeated attempts were made by the Turks to take it by assault, in one of which they at length succeeded; but the Greeks, no way daunted, sprung a small mine, and rushing upon their enemies sword in hand, dispossessed them, and following the Turks into their lines, destroyed some of their batteries. Fresh efforts were made by the pasha, and still frustrated by the courage of the Greeks, till the winter rains in October compelled Redschi to suspend his operations, and coop himself up within a fortified camp near the town. Ibrahim, who had received a great accession of force in November, now determined to try a winter campaign, and gratify the Porte by conquering Messolonghi. Marching northward, he burned the villages of Elis, and crossing the Straits of Lepanto, encamped before Messolonghi in January, 1826. He began by offering terms to the besieged, which were proudly rejected. His batteries were more skillfully constructed than those of the Turks, and his artillery better served; but after he had ruined part of the town's defences, his attempts to storm were constantly defeated by the Greeks, who, in fighting hand to hand, with sword or bayonet, were vastly superior both to the Turks and Egyptians. The siege would indeed have ended in total failure, if he had not succeeded, at a great expense of life, in reducing various outworks commanding the channels of the lagoon by which the besieged communicated with the sea, and received supplies of provisions. Starvation now accomplished what arms could not achieve. After every thing edible, whether wholesome or unwholesome, was consumed, the remainder of the gallant garrison adopt-

ed the resolution of cutting their way through the enemy's lines. A deserter betrayed their plan to the pasha, who was fully prepared to receive them. Formed into two bodies, they issued from the town by moonlight on the 22d of April; a false alarm induced the one to return: the other, raising a simultaneous shout, "On, on, death to the barbarians," rushed forward with their muskets in their hands, and their sabres slung to their wrists. "Neither ditch nor breastwork," says Gordon, "neither the flashing peals of cannon and small arms, nor the bayonets of the Arabs, could arrest the tremendous shock; in a few minutes the trenches were cleared, the infantry broken, the batteries silenced, and the artillerymen slaughtered at their guns." Of the other body which returned to the town, some escaped in boats, some by wading through the lagoon, some voluntarily blew themselves up with a number of the enemy, when the latter entered the powder magazine, and not a few of the survivors died of fatigue and exhaustion before they reached Salona. The heavy loss of the Turks and Egyptians during the siege attested the superior valor of their enemies; and the heroic defence of Messolonghi may well vie with the proudest achievements of ancient Greece.

In Eastern Greece, Colonel Fabvier, a brave and zealous French officer, formed a corps of regulars or tactics, and carrying them over, to Eubœa, made an attempt on Carysto, which failed. No drilling, in fact, could induce the palikars, or Greek irregulars, who had been accustomed to rely entirely upon their strength, agility, and adroitness, to meet a steady fire when drawn up in line. Another national assembly was held at Piada in Argolis, but it effected nothing. After the fall of Messolonghi, Redschi Pasha invaded Attica, and took Athens, but failed in his attempts upon the citadel, into which, when its garrison was greatly reduced, Colonel Fabvier introduced 600 men, with a supply of powder. The glorious fall of Messolonghi had awakened an enthusiasm

in Western Europe in favor of the Greek cause, and contributions to the amount of not less than £70,000 were raised in 1826. The royal families of Bavaria, Prussia, and Sweden, and the king of France, were amongst the contributors.

In May, 1827, Ibrahim invaded the country of the Mainots, but was defeated in all his attempts to penetrate their mountain fastnesses. The rest of the summer was spent in ravaging the open country, and burning the villages, the inhabitants of which took refuge in woods and caverns. To his great mortification, none of the people made their submission, and parties of irregulars watched his movements, cutting off stragglers, and intercepting convoys. Lord Cochrane arrived in Greece in March, 1827, with a steam-frigate. A very splendid frigate, built in America, also reached Ægina this year, but proved of no great use, the Hydriot mariners being unaccustomed to manage vessels of such a size. These two frigates were nearly all that the Greeks derived from a second loan of £2,000,000 negotiated in London in February, 1825.

General Church, an Englishman, who had served in a Greek corps formerly kept in English pay in the Ionian Isles, arrived by invitation about the same time. They found the Greeks rent into factions furiously hostile to each other. It is a memorable fact, that whilst Ibrahim was wasting the Morea, there were no less than seven petty civil contests raging in different parts of Greece! By the influence of Church, Cochrane, and Captain Hamilton of the *Cambrian*, a temporary reconciliation was effected between the adverse parties, and the necessity of having a foreign chief being generally acknowledged, a congress assembled at Træzene in April, and elected Count Capo d'Istria president for seven years. Church was appointed general of the land forces, and Cochrane admiral of the fleet. The fortunes of Greece were now at a very low ebb; but what power remained in the country was summoned up in an expiring effort.

From the Morea, the isles, and Western Greece, a force of nearly 10,000 men was collected at Salamis and the Piræus. After carrying on a war of posts, chiefly at Port Phalerus, for some time, General Church was persuaded to risk a battle with the Turks in the plain of Athens, the object being to relieve the citadel. The result was a disastrous defeat on the 5th May, in which the Greeks lost 1500 men. The remaining troops dispersed, and the citadel capitulated. The only fortified posts now in the hands of the insurgents were Nauplia and the Acrocorinthus.

Relief was, however, approaching from another quarter. From circumstances which it would be tedious to explain here, the policy of the great Christian powers had undergone a change. A protocol had been signed at Petersburg in April, 1826, by the Russian and British ministers, the object of which was to effect an accommodation between the Porte and the insurgents, by erecting Greece into a dependency of the Porte, paying a fixed tribute, but having the entire regulation of its own affairs. On the 6th July, 1827, a treaty of intervention was signed between France, Russia, and Britain, on the same basis. The sultan firmly denied their right of interference, for which, however, the piracy practiced by the Greeks gave them a good pretext. A naval force was sent into the Mediterranean to enforce the provisions of the treaty, and the belligerent parties in Greece were enjoined to suspend hostilities. The Greeks joyfully agreed; but Ibrahim hesitated, as the measure was not sanctioned by the sultan; and the capitan pasha, who was lying in the harbor of Navarin with a strong Turkish fleet, having similar scruples, the warlike movements were partially continued. The combined fleets of England, France, and Russia, stood into the Bay of Navarin in order of battle on the 20th October. Though the intention of the admirals was to treat, the Turks believed they came to fight, and were anchored in smooth water to receive them.

and supported by batteries on shore. Who began the battle is uncertain; but it was obstinate and bloody, and most destructive to the vanquished party. About 6000 Turks were slain, and of 120 men of war and transports, all were sunk or destroyed except twenty or thirty brigs and corvettes. The killed and wounded on the side of the allies amounted to 626. The victory produced unbounded joy among the Greeks, and excited them to make a new attempt upon Scio, by an expedition under Colonel Fabvier, which, though conducted with great courage and skill, ultimately failed. Ibrahim, seeing his communications with Egypt now cut off, obtained his father's authority, and agreed to evacuate the Morea. He sailed in the beginning of October, 1828, leaving, according to stipulation, about 8000 troops in Patras, Modon, Coron, Navarin, and Castle Tornese, of whom 1200 were Egyptians. To avoid renewed hostilities between the Greeks and Turks, a French army was sent to the Morea in the autumn, and took possession of these five fortresses, the last being the only one that offered any resistance.

Count Capo d'Istrias passed from Petersburg to London and Paris in the end of 1827, and after conferring with the British and French ministers, he set sail from Toulon, and landed at Nauplia on the 18th of January, 1828. The people received him with great joy, hoping to find repose and security under his government; and his authority was acknowledged at once by the military chiefs and other functionaries of all descriptions. He was a clever and dexterous diplomatist, but his conduct as president seems not to have been judicious. Anxious to copy the centralising system which prevails in absolute monarchies, he dissolved the municipalities, and nominated prefects, judges, and other officers, deriving their authority entirely from himself. Many of his appointments also gave offence: among others, the nomination of his brother Augustin, a person of no ability, to the com-

mand of Western Greece, led to the resignation of General Church in 1829, after that officer had recovered all the country south of the Gulf of Arta from the Turks. The French troops, it is to be observed, confined themselves to the Morea, such being their instructions, and left the Greeks to carry on hostilities in the north with their own means.

The Porte obstinately rejected the arrangement proposed by the three powers in 1827, till it was humbled by numerous defeats in 1828 and 1829, and saw the Russian army within a few leagues of its capital. The stipulations in behalf of Greece made by Nicholas were, however, set aside by the governments of France and Britain, and it was settled that the affairs of that country should be discussed in London. The conference held there, after much deliberation finally resolved that Greece should be erected into a monarchy entirely independent of the sultan, and ruled by a Christian prince. The crown was offered, in the end of 1829, to Prince John of Saxony, who refused it; and then to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg, who agreed to accept it; but having corresponded with Capo d'Istrias, the latter artfully infused so many doubts and apprehensions into the prince's mind, that he retired from his engagement. This was in May, 1830. Other princes, it is said, were proposed, but nothing was decided; and in the mean time Greece was again falling into a state of anarchy. The popularity of Capo d'Istrias' government was of short duration. Visibly the partisan of Russia, he showed a devotion to her interests which offended all the more independent Greeks. He extinguished the freedom of the press, which the people were perhaps more eager to possess than fitted to enjoy; established a council, called the Panhellenicon, which was intended to supersede the elective senate; refused to publish any account of the national finances, and threw many popular leaders into prison. These and other measures produced violent discontents, which at last broke out into

rebellion. The Mainots, whose prince he had placed in durance, were the first to throw off his authority. They were followed by the people of Hydra, who established a provisional government, at the head of which were Miaulis and Condourioti, assisted by Mavrocordato. The French and English ships of war in the Archipelago stood neutral; but the Russian admiral, Ricord, eagerly took a part in the contest, on the side of the president. With this aid he attacked Poros, where the Greek fleet lay; but the islanders had anticipated his design, and, when the loss of their ships of war became inevitable, blew them up to prevent them falling into his hands. Whilst this contest was going on, the son and brother of Mavromichaeli, the captive bey of Maina, instigated by a feeling of revenge, came to Nauplia, and assassinated the president at the door of a church, on the 9th of October, 1831. One of the assassins was murdered on the spot by the people, and the other was seized, tried, and executed. A new commission of government was then appointed, consisting of Augustin Capo d'Istrias, with Coletti and Colocotroni, who thought it prudent to convoke a national assembly. Loud complaints were made that the free choice of the people was defeated by force and fraud; and when the assembly met in December, it speedily separated into two hostile bodies, one of which remained at Argos, while the other seated itself at Megara, and thence fulminated decrees against Augustin and his associates. The Moreots generally adhered to the former, the Rumeliots to the latter. Civil war now raged furiously in the country, and the peaceful cultivators were driven, as in the time of the revolutionary struggle, to desert their homes, and seek refuge in the woods and caverns. This lamentable state of things probably quickened the languid proceedings of the conference in London, who in May, 1832, fixed upon Otho, second son of the king of Bavaria, as the sovereign of Greece. The prince was born in 1815, and was of course a mi-

nor; but the defect was supplied as far as possible by a council of regency. The three powers, parties to the conference, obtained an extension of territory and a better frontier for the new state, including the province of Acarnania, for which, however, a price was to be paid to the sultan; and, in order to put Otho in a condition to meet initiatory difficulties, they guaranteed a loan of £2,400,000 for him, to be paid in three equal annual instalments. Otho landed at Nauplia on the 31st January, 1833, attended by 3600 Bavarian soldiers, and was warmly welcomed by the people. The French troops had been gradually reduced, and were now entirely withdrawn. The regency commenced the work of organizing the government, made a new division of the country, disbanded the palikars, formed a small body of Greek regulars, and took some steps toward the establishment of tribunals. As might have been expected, its endeavors to introduce order soon awakened the factious spirit of the klephts or military chiefs, some of whom, including the arch-anarchist Colocotroni, were tried for plotting the overthrow of the government, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment or exile.

So necessary was repose to all classes of the people after the ravages of a long war, that the first years of Otho's reign passed in comparative tranquility, although the sullen murmur of discontent was frequently heard, especially with reference to the state appointments, which were filled by the king's German friends, to the exclusion of the native Greeks. Otho refused to establish a representative system of government till September, 1843, when the people rose and accomplished a revolution which has hardly any parallel for the skill and success with which it was executed. There was neither bloodshed nor violence, nor was the personal safety of the king in anywise endangered. But the plans being matured, and the army gained over, the ministers were arrested, and people, assembling in front of the palace in

the middle of the night, demanded a constitution. The king appeared at a low window, and they presented to him a charter including a representative government and other popular objects, and enforcing the dismissal of the Bavarian and other foreign officers. The king was required either to sign this charter or quit the shores of Greece at once and forever, in a vessel that had been equipped, and was lying ready for his embarkation. At first he promised to consider the demand and consult his ministers; but he was informed that the ministers were no longer recognised, and an immediate decision was necessary. The king now acceded with as good grace as he could; the obnoxious ministers were released, and the new ministry, selected by the constitutionalists, repaired to the palace, where they afterwards appeared with his Majesty on the balcony, while the people cried "Long live the constitutional King;" and the affair terminated apparently to the satisfaction of all parties. It is said, however, that before long the constitution had become a veritable farce, the deputies being in every case direct nominees of the king, and military force being employed, when necessary, to carry the candidate of the government. Not only the chambers, but the whole civil and military administration, had become little else than a refined system of corruption. The judges likewise, the professors of the university, and the masters of the gymnasia and inferior schools, fell under the unlimited control of the government, being all removable at pleasure.

The only subsequent events of general interest have been the interventions of foreign powers, rendered necessary by the duplicity of the government. The first of

these was in 1850, when a British fleet blockaded the Greek ports for three months before the government would consent to compensate certain British subjects for injuries which had been inflicted on them. The other interference occurred at the commencement of the war between Turkey and Russia in 1854. Taking advantage of the embarrassed position of the Turkish government the Greeks made an attempt to enlarge their kingdom by an insurrection in the provinces still held by Turkey. This revolution, after the interference of the allies in favor of Turkey, was incompatible with their proclamation; and seeing that neither the revolutionists nor the king took heed of their advice, they were obliged to land some French and English troops at Piræus, and to send a few British ships into the *Ægean*.

The king was obliged to comply with their demands, dismissed his ministers, recalled his officers, issued proclamations to all Greeks that took up arms to return to their homes and consented, on his own part, to submit the conduct of his government to the surveillance of the allies for a time.

In 1862 the Greeks rose against king Otho and compelled him to give up the throne. A provisional government was established, and the crown was first offered to Prince Alfred the second son of Queen Victoria. The English government, however, declined to implicate itself in any way in the affairs of Greece, and after some time a new monarch was found, in Prince George of Denmark the son of the king of that country. His reign has thus far been tranquil, the only event that has transpired to disturb it being the insurrection in Crete, against the Turkish power, which was finally suppressed in the beginning of the year 1869.

ITALY.

THE fate of Italy was that of Rome till the dissolution of that colossal power. When the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, Italy, though accounted a portion of the Western Empire, was treated as a dependent province, and continued with only a semblance of power, till a soldier of fortune founded the kingdom of Italy.

Odoacer, who by his intrigues had raised himself to the command of the German mercenaries in the imperial service, gathered hordes of Heruli and other followers of Attila, besieged and captured Pavia, Ravenna, and Rome, and proclaimed himself king of Italy (August 23, 476), and put an end to the Western Empire. The conqueror consigned Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, to the *Castrum Lucullanum*, near Naples, where he was allowed to end his days in obscurity and confinement. Odoacer used as much prudence and humanity as could have been looked for in a rude conqueror; but his kingdom was of short duration. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, at the instigation of the Emperor Zeno, who reigned in Byzantium, invaded Italy, and after defeating Odoacer at Aquileia (March 27, 489), and again near Verona, and on the Adda, besieged him in Ravenna. In 493 Ravenna surrendered, and Theodoric, who murdered Odoacer as they sat together at table, erected a sovereignty, which, besides the whole of Italy and Sicily, extended northwards to the Rhine and the Danube, and eastwards to the frontiers of Dacia and

Macedonia. The only part not subjected was some islands in the lagoons of the Adriatic Sea, inhabited by those fugitives who had first found a refuge there from the ravages of Attila, after the fall of Aquileia (A.D. 452), and had there secured freedom, and, by the capability of defending themselves, laid the foundation of what subsequently became the republic of Venice. Under the government of Theodoric, the Goths multiplied rapidly, and Italy for a time enjoyed all the advantages of peace. By his external policy Theodoric had acquired the confidence of the other Gothic tribes, even in the remote regions that border on the Baltic Sea, and had introduced strong forms of government into Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia. Though the jealousy of the emperor at Byzantium induced him to invade the territory commanded by Theodoric, and to employ both a large fleet and a powerful army, his attempts were repelled, and he retired from the contest.

Theodoric was not less successful against King Clovis, the leader of the Franks, who were checked in the midst of a career of victories in Burgundy.

Ravenna was the seat of the government of this prince, though he occasionally resided at Verona. He once visited Rome, where he was received with rapture by the populace, and with the highest marks of respect by the senators. Cassiodorus and Boethius were among the ministers of Theodoric. His endeavors to amalgamate his Italian and

Gothic subjects were much obstructed by the religious controversy between the orthodox and the Arians. Whilst adhering to the latter sect, he tolerated at first, and even honored, many of the other profession; but in the later years of his reign, when the emperor Justin began to persecute the Arians, Theodoric retaliated upon the orthodox; and in the disorders that followed, Boethius ended his days in prison, and his father-in-law, Simmachus, was executed.

Theodoric died in the palace he had built at Ravenna in 526, after having by his will divided his dominions between two grandsons, bequeathing Italy to Athalaric, then a boy of twelve years of age. The youthful sovereign was left under the pupillage of his mother Amalasontha, from which he was early withdrawn by the flatterers who surrounded him. His mother then entered into a negotiation with the Emperor Justinian, tending to secure a safe retreat to herself at Dyrrachium, in Epirus; but the death of Athalaric at the age of sixteen, from premature consumption, caused her to assume the power of the state. She was smothered in a bath on a small island in the lake of Bolsena by order of Theodatus, a husband she had chosen to be a sharer of the throne.

The imperial court was eager to take advantage of the unsettled state of Italy to reduce it again under subjection. Belisarius, the most renowned of the generals, was despatched, but with an inconsiderable force. He regained Southern Italy as far as Naples without any defensive steps being taken by Theodatus, who at last resigned his crown to Vitigis, who was elected by a solemn assembly of the Goths. The war began now to rage with great fury. Vitigis appeared before Rome, which had received Belisarius, and summoned it to surrender. After a siege of a year (March, 537-38), in which both besiegers and besieged fought with desperate fury, Vitigis, being threatened in the rear by the lieutenant of Belisarius, set fire to his camp, and proceeded by forced marches to invest Rimini. Belisarius would now

have been able to subjugate the enemy but for the dissensions which broke out amongst the officers in command of the several divisions of the army of Justinian in 538. The chief command was then conferred on Narses, a eunuch, whose conduct at that period, whatever military merit he afterward displayed, tended greatly to the injury of his sovereign's party. Vitigis recovered several strongholds, marched to Milan, and because it had admitted a Greek garrison, put to death all its inhabitants.

Narses was soon recalled, and Belisarius being reinstated in the supreme command, captured Ravenna, where Vitigis had in vain sought safety, and returned with numerous captives to Constantinople to receive the applause of the people and a splendid triumph. His departure revived the spirits of the remaining Goths, and the feeble efforts of the successive generals of Justinian were insufficient to crush the war. The handful of the barbarians chose Totila for their king, in the year 541; his progress was rapid, and almost without interruption. He captured Naples and besieged Rome, which, after an unsuccessful attempt to relieve it by Belisarius, who had been recalled from the wars of Persia, was compelled by famine to surrender in the year 546. After a useless occupation of Rome when it had been abandoned by Totila, Belisarius was recalled to Constantinople, and the command once more conferred upon Narses, who was furnished with troops, stores, and money, with a profusion widely different from the parsimony exercised towards his predecessor. He advanced with his forces by the head of the Adriatic Sea, and encountered and totally defeated the Goths under Totila, who himself was killed in the conflict. And after his death, those who had escaped elected Tejas as their king; but he too was soon subdued by Narses, and with him terminated, in 553, the Gothic supremacy in Italy.

After these events, Italy became a province of the Eastern empire, of which Ravenna formed the capital, and in which the

representatives of the emperor, the exarchs, fixed their residence. Narses, the first of them, was removed by Justin, the successor of Justinian, and in revenge for his dismissal and the insulting language of the Empress Sophia, he despatched a messenger to Alboin, king of the Longobards, inviting him into Italy. The Longobards are supposed to have been of Scandinavian origin, and to have gained a settlement between the Oder and the Elbe, in the reign of Augustus. They gradually descended towards the south and approached the Danube, which they passed to reduce, in pursuance of a treaty with Justinian, the cities of Noricum and the fortresses of Pannonia.

They were thus established on the frontiers of the Roman empire, and had for neighbors two other tribes, the Avars and the Gepidæ, who were sometimes hostile towards each other, though commonly at peace, demanding and receiving what they deemed tribute, but which the imperialists denominated presents. The Avars and Longobards, at the instigation or with the connivance of the Emperor Justin, jointly attacked the Gepidæ. The bravest of them fell in battle; their king Cunimund was slain, and his daughter Rosamund became the captive of Alboin, the chief of the Lombards, and by marriage shared that throne which had before been occupied by the daughter of Clovis, the king of the Franks.

The ambition of Alboin was excited rather than satisfied by the conquest of the Gepidæ, and the submission of the Avars to his authority. Fifteen years before, his subjects, as the confederates of Narses, had visited Italy; the mountains, the rivers, and the highways, were familiar to their memory. The report of their success, and the sight of the spoils, kindled in the rising generation the flame of emulation and of enterprise. Their hopes were encouraged by the spirit and eloquence of their leader. No sooner had Alboin erected his standard, than the native strength of the Longobards was multiplied by the adventurous youth of Germany

and Scythia, and by the peasantry of Noricum and Pannonia, who had resumed the manners of barbarians.

The whole nation of the Longobards, accompanied by their allies, and attended by their wives, their children, and their cattle, began their march through the Carnic Alps in April, 568. Leaving a strong garrison to guard the passes of the mountains at Forum Julii, the modern Cividale, which was erected into a dukedom under his nephew Gisulphus, Alboin passed without encountering any opposition, through the Venetian country, and the city of Aquileia opened its gates, most of the inhabitants having abandoned their homes at the approach of the invaders. Padua and some other cities were passed by, either because they did not intercept his progress, or because they were too strongly garrisoned. Vicenza, Verona, Trent, Brescia, etc., were easily occupied, and each city was garrisoned and entrusted to one of his officers with the title of Duke; and five months after his departure from Pannonia, the conqueror invested Milan, then the capital of Liguria, which was captured after a short siege, the principal people, with their bishop, Honoratus, having fled to Genoa. In Milan the ceremony of the inauguration was solemnly performed. Alboin was lifted on a shield in the midst of his troops, received the emblems of royalty then in use, and was proclaimed king of Italy.

From Milan Alboin sent out expeditions, which reduced Piacenza, Parma, and Modena, and the other inland cities in Æmilia and Tuscany. Pavia offered an obstinate resistance, but, after a siege of three years, it surrendered; and being strongly fortified, it was fixed as his place of residence, and long continued to be the capital of the Longobard kingdom. Whilst Alboin was taking the steps necessary to defend the dominions he had acquired, and to reconcile his new subjects to his rule, he was murdered in his palace at Verona, 28th June, 573, at the instigation of his wife, who had been mortally insulted by the request of Alboin to drink

out of the skull of her father, Cunimund, which he used as a goblet. The queen, with her paramour, made an attempt to obtain the command of the Longobards; but not succeeding in their purpose, they fled to the Roman garrison at Ravenna, where both perished most miserably. Clephis, a relation of Alboin, having been raised to the throne, extended the Longobard power to the gates of Rome; but he conducted himself with such cruelty, that he was killed by his own people, after a reign of eighteen months. His actions produced a dislike to monarchical power, and for ten years no king was chosen. The dukes who had been created among the chiefs of the Longobards acted in their respective territories as independent but allied sovereigns. Under this kind of government their power continued to extend, and that of the emperor gradually retreated before it. The want of a central authority was, however, soon discovered; and in 584 Autharis, the son of Clephis, was chosen as king, and, by his valor and prudence, established the throne securely. It is not necessary to enter into a minute history of the several kings of the Longobards. A kind of aristocratic monarchy was created, composed of thirty principalities, the chiefs of which were distinguished by the titles of dukes, counts, or barons, which, with the revenues of the land, were held as fiefs under the kings, and became gradually hereditary.

The islands of the Adriatic were formed into a republic, and the inhabitants, by electing, in 697, their first doge or duke, formed an independent and central government. The exarch appointed by the government at Constantinople held authority at the city of Ravenna, and had under his power Romagna, the Pentapolis, or five maritime cities of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Ancona, and almost the whole seashore of Lower Italy, where Amalfi, Naples, and Gaetà had their own dukes. The island of Sicily, and the capital, Rome, in which a patrician ruled in the name of the emperor, formed also parts of the imperial dominions.

Constantly pressed upon by the Longobards, the power and influence of Constantinople gradually declined; and its fall was hastened by the Emperor Leo, called the Isaurian, whose zeal in the destruction of images exasperated the clergy of the orthodox church in Italy. The inhabitants of cities forcibly expelled the imperial authorities, and elected a senate, with consuls, as in the time of the Roman republic. In Rome itself a certain power was acknowledged in the bishop, which, on account of the sanctity of his character, was of a paternal nature; at first it was exercised in ecclesiastical affairs, but by degrees extended to civil matters, and in process of time arrived at temporal sovereignty. The popes, who were anxious to defend their territory against the Longobards, when the Byzantine court had neglected or abandoned them, applied for assistance to the Franks.

The original Longobard invaders, composed as they were of various tribes, comprised different religions, some of them still adhering to the ancient heathenism, whilst others had embraced the Christian religion, but with the heretical tenets of Arianism. These tribes had gradually been led to embrace the profession of the Roman Catholic Church. Luitprand, who ascended the throne in 712, was the last of that nation to abandon his heresies, which he did in the presence of Pope Gregory II., at Rome in 729; upon which the pontiff made a public renunciation of his allegiance to the imperial court, and withdrew all claim of obedience from it. The popes were, however, indisposed to form an alliance with Luitprand, whose vicinity to the capital of their diocese they viewed with suspicion. When the emperor was making preparations to invade Italy, in order to enforce his decrees for the destruction of images, Gregory III. addressed himself to Charles Martel, who then governed the Franks, and was the best commander, and the most powerful prince of Western Europe.

Gregory despatched an embassy to his residence, with numerous presents of holy

relics. It was received with respectful distinction, and a treaty was speedily concluded, by which Charles engaged to march with an army into Italy in defence of Rome and of the church, in case any attack should be made by the emperor or the king of the Longobards. The Romans, on their part, were to acknowledge Charles as their protector, and to confer upon him the dignity of the consulship.

Leo the Isaurian was succeeded by his son Constantine, surnamed Copronymus, who carried his rage against images to a greater extent than his predecessor, and forbade the worship of the saints and of the Virgin Mary. This occasioned new disturbances in Italy, and made the Romans more zealous than before to separate themselves from their dependence on Constantinople. Zachary, who had succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, urged on Luitprand the restoration of four cities, and also the district of Sabina, which had been seized upon thirty years before; and in compliance with the representation, they were thus added to the sacred patrimony. Luitprand died in 744, after a reign of thirty-two years. His son Rachis, who succeeded him, was anxious to extend his dominions, and invaded the territory ceded to the holy see by his father, when Pope Zachary visited him, and, by his representation of the punishment hereafter to be inflicted on those who violated the rights of the church, so operated upon his mind, that he not only restored the towns and territory he had seized, but took the habit of a monk, and entered into the monastery of Monte Cassino, where he passed the remainder of his days, honored as a saint by the other monks of the fraternity.

Astolphus succeeded his brother on the Longobard throne in 751. The exarchate of Ravenna and the duchy of Rome excited his love for conquest. The city, the capital of the first, was surrendered with little difficulty. He advanced towards Rome, and, arriving at Narni, sent an embassy to the pope, announcing his determination to enter that city, to seize the wealth of the Romans,

and to impose a tax of a golden *solidus* on every one who would not swear him allegiance. Stephen, who then filled the papal chair, attempted by negotiation to avert the threatened storm; but failing to appease Astolphus, in imitation of his predecessor, he had recourse to the assistance of France. Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, now filled the throne of that kingdom, and professed unlimited obedience to the holy see. Stephen, by the consent, or at least connivance, of Astolphus, whose forces were encamped round the city of Rome, made a journey to France, and Pepin immediately, accompanied by the pope, passed the Alps with a large army, and advanced into Italy. Astolphus could not raise a sufficient force to repulse his assailants, and, after some slight reverses, retired to Pavia. In that city he was besieged, and compelled to sue for peace. This was granted, upon the condition that he should give up, not to the emperor, but to the pope, the several cities he had captured in the exarchate and the dukedom, and deliver hostages for the performance of the conditions agreed on. Pepin with his forces returned to France, and the pope proceeded to the south, in the expectation of being placed in possession of the cities and territories which Astolphus had stipulated to deliver up to the holy see. The Longobard king, however, as soon as the storm passed over, broke into the dukedom and besieged Rome. The pope again had recourse to Pepin, who readily advanced. Astolphus, after an unavailing siege of three months, abandoned Rome, and once more took refuge in the strong fortifications of Pavia. During this second siege, which Pepin speedily commenced, an embassy from the Emperor Constantine Copronymus arrived at his camp, to remonstrate against the donation of the exarchate to the pope; and offered to repay the expenses of the war to France, if the territories were delivered over to the power of the emperor. Pepin replied to the envoys, that "as he had a right to those territories by the sword, and had thought proper to bestow them on the

pope, nothing should induce him to alter his resolution." By a vigorous prosecution of the war, Pepin obtained a peace; and for the pope the city of Comacchio, in addition to what had been before ceded to him. From this period, 756, the pontiffs assumed the language as well as the power of sovereigns, no longer using for the dates of their rescripts the year of the reign of the emperor, but that of their own pontificates.

Astolphus, soon after executing the treaty concluded at Pavia, met an untimely death, the manner of which, however, has been variously described. During the succeeding twenty years the Longobards languished in a state of weakness and decay, but interrupted by a disputed succession, which ended in the elevation of Desiderius to the vacant throne. A double marriage was arranged between two daughters of this Longobard king and Carloman and Charles (usually called Charlemagne), the sons of Pepin. Charles soon divorced his wife, under the pretence of barrenness; and Carloman died, leaving two sons, who with their mother fled for refuge to Desiderius, when Charlemagne took possession of their father's estate. Thus family jealousy was one amongst many grounds of quarrel. Desiderius was induced to attack the dominions granted to the pope; and, at the invitation of the pontiff, Charlemagne advanced with a large army. Desiderius took refuge in Pavia; and after the capture of Verona, and a visit to Rome, Charlemagne drew up his forces, a part of which had blockaded it, around that city. The defence was brave and protracted; but by famine, and by the plague, which raged within the walls, the city was at length compelled to surrender. Desiderius was made prisoner, and sent with his family to France. All the other cities submitted to Charlemagne in 774.

Thus ended the kingdom of the Longobards, after it had existed two hundred and six years. Though the kings were at first rude and barbarous, yet, when they had embraced the Christian religion, they ruled with equity and mildness.

The policy of Charlemagne to his newly-acquired kingdom appears to have been wise and liberal. He sanctioned the laws by which the districts had been governed, whether Roman or Longobard; but to the latter he made a few additions. The emperor was left in quiet possession of the whole of Apulia, and of the other places in Italy that he held. He allowed to the dukes of Spoleto, Friuli, and Benevento, the same power and authority as they had exercised under the Longobard kings; and the smaller dukes were continued in their dignities, but were compelled to take annually the oaths of allegiance to him; and, unless they violated it, the dignity was made hereditary in their families. Having thus settled the affairs of Italy, he returned to France, having in 781 appointed his son Pepin his viceroy.

A seditious controversy in Rome respecting the election of a pope, induced Leo III., who had been raised to that dignity, to pass the Alps and apply for protection to Charlemagne, against the Roman populace. The conqueror of Italy, in consequence of this, repaired to Rome, where, on Christmas day 800, during the celebration of divine rites, Leo placed a valuable crown on his head, and the church resounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans." The title thus conferred by the pope on the conqueror has been retained by his German successors, till it was abandoned in the present century, out of compliment to revolutionary France.

During the life of Charlemagne, whilst his son Pepin was acting as viceroy, Venice, which had grown up to be a consolidated and warlike power, disavowed the title conferred by the pope, and commenced hostilities against his Italian dominions. The Saracens, a new power, availed themselves of the circumstances, and attacked the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, where they obtained much plunder, and made captive many of the inhabitants. Pepin equipped an army and a

fleet to reduce Venice to submission; but having failed in the attempt, and lost most of his vessels among the shoals and rocks of the islands, he died shortly afterwards at Milan through chagrin. A natural son of Pepin, named Bernard, was nominated by Charlemagne as his viceroy in Italy.

Charlemagne died the 28th January, 814, and was succeeded by his son Louis. Louis and Bernard met at Aix-la-Chapelle, and arranged the mode of ruling the extensive dominions of their departed ancestor. The ambition of Bernard, however, led him to attack his uncle, and to dispute his succession; but he was defeated, captured, and condemned to the loss of sight, under which operation he expired, in the fifth year of his reign.

Italy remained as a portion of the Frankish monarchy till the treaty of Verdun in 843, when it was delivered over, with the imperial title, and with the addition of the country of Lorraine, to Lotharius I. the eldest son of Louis. In 850, he bequeathed his dominion to Louis II., who appears to have been one of the best of the princes of the Carolingian race. The choice of a pope, Benedict III., his rejection by Louis, and the ultimate submission of the monarch to the legality of his election, were sources of vexation, though not of actual hostility. In the latter years of his reign, the Saracens, who had occupied Sicily since the year 828, invaded the south of Italy, ravaged Apulia and Calabria, and took possession of several strong places in which they established themselves. A defeat they sustained near Capua checked for a while their progress; but three years afterwards they resumed their attacks, and carried their depredations as far as Rome, which was saved by the courage and energy of Pope Leo IV. in 849. The death of Louis II. in 875 seemed the signal for discord, from the various claimants in the imperial family to the Italian dominions. Charles the Bald of France first took possession; but dying in 877, Carloman, king of Bavaria, seized the inheritance; and he was followed in 880 by his brother Charles the Fat, king of Suabia,

who, for the last time, united under one sovereign the whole of the Frankish monarchy. During seven years Italy was the theatre of the lawless violence, in which the nobles required an Italian prince, and the pope was anxious to have a foreigner placed on the throne; whilst the Saracens, availing themselves of the disturbances, extorted money from the pope as the price of peace, and still continued their depredations. Berengar, duke of Friuli, and Guido, duke of Spoleto, with the Marquis of Ivrea, were rivals for the throne; but Guido was, in 894, crowned as emperor and king, and his son Lambert nominated as his successor in these dignities. Arnulf, the German king of the Carolingian race, urged and succeeded in his pretensions, and was crowned in 896; but, like those who succeeded him, he was unable to exercise any considerable power except whilst he continued to reside among his subjects.

After the death of Lambert, in 898, and of Arnulf in 899, Louis, king of Lower Burgundy, appeared as the rival of Berengar I., but without effect; and the same fate befel another claimant, Rudolph of Upper Burgundy; in spite of the pretensions of both, the possession of the throne was at length, in 913, in the hands of Berengar, who was solemnly crowned. The power in the hands of the feudal vassals of the throne was so much weakened by the recent dissensions, that it became almost impossible to repress the plundering inroads which the Saracens were continually making on his dominions. This monarch was murdered in 924, when Rudolph of Upper Burgundy was induced to transfer his pretensions to the throne to Hugo, count of Provence. Hugo endeavored, by the exercise of the most bloody tyranny, to gain the unsteady dominion of Italy; but his nephew, Berengar, marquis of Ivrea, having escaped some snares that were laid for him, fled for refuge to Otho the Great in Germany, collecting there a number of fugitives, turned towards Italy, and in 945 succeeded in compelling Hugo to abdicate the throne, and transfer it to his son, Lotharius

who was less the object of general aversion than himself, and who, upon his accession, appointed Berengar his first minister of state.

The death of Lotharius occurred in 950, and was supposed to have been the result of poison administered by Berengar, who was desirous to marry the beautiful wife of his royal master to his own son. To avoid this match, and to escape from the consequences of rejecting it, Adelheld fled for safety to the Castle of Canossa, against which her persecutor commenced a siege. She then applied for assistance to King Otho. He with a great expedition passed the Alps, liberated the lady, defeated Berengar, captured Pavia, and having seated himself on the throne of Italy, espoused the fair Adelheld in 951. Berengar made himself useful to the new sovereign by his early submission, and by his delivering up the Friuli (the keys of Italy) to the brother of Otho; and thence his offers of service were accepted, and he was appointed to rule the country in the name of Otho. After ten years, complaints reached the throne from the great vassals in Italy, when Otho returned there, dismissed Berengar from his station, led him as a prisoner to Bamberg, in Germany, and having united Italy with his German dominions, was crowned with the iron crown at Milan in the year 961. Otho certainly granted the best lands as fiefs to his German nobles; but he conferred great privileges on the cities of Italy, and on these their free constitutions were grounded. During the tenth century, the liberality of the Frankish kings, who had served their purpose, so corrupted the church, and so weakened the royal authority, that it effectively undermined it; whilst the clergy and the people elected the popes according to the dictation of the consuls and of the inferior patricians. Thus it happened that, in the first half of the tenth century, two women of great beauty and skill in intrigue disposed of the holy see. Theodora, in 914, raised her son by her lover Pope John X. to the chair of St. Peter, which he filled under the name of John XI. The brother of the

last, Alberich of Camerino, and his son, Octavian, were absolute masters of Rome; and the latter was consecrated pope in 956, at the age of twenty years. Otho, when crowned at Rome in 962, annulled the election, and appointed Leo VIII. in his stead; but the people, jealous of this exercise of power, elected Benedict V. The popes, instead of governing Rome, were thus themselves dependent on the leaders of the populace, who were at this time the real dispensers of the patronage.

The republics of Gaetà and Amalfi, and the dukedom of Naples, still maintained their independence against the Longobard dukedom of Benevento. They had a common enemy to contend with in the Saracens, who had by each party been invited to afford them assistance in their quarrels, but who had fixed themselves in Apulia, and there constructed powerful fortifications. The emperor Louis II., and king Macedo, by their united forces, had so broken the power of the Mussulmans in 866 that the latter could no longer maintain themselves in Lower Italy; and thus enabled the Greeks to form establishments on the territory previously occupied by the Saracens. They founded a province called the Thema of Lombardy, which was ruled by a chief residing in Bari, and which maintained its independence during more than a hundred years.

Otho the Great was succeeded in 973 by his son, Otho II. Under his reign, Crescentius, then consul in Rome, on the pretence of restoring the ancient constitution, attempted to secure to himself the sole power of that city; whilst Otho, engaged in warfare against the allied forces of the Greeks and Saracens in Lower Italy, suffered the vicious popes, Boniface VII. and John XV., to exercise supreme authority. Otho III., who, when only three years old, in 983 had succeeded his father, elevated his cousin, Gregory V., to the papal throne; but Crescentius, with the assistance of the populace, drove him from the city, and filled his station with a Greek pope, John XVI. Otho entered

Rome a second time; deposed John, and elevated to the papal chair his late tutor, Gerbert (Silvester II.) Crescentius and twelve others of his associates, who had thrown themselves into the Castle of St. Angelo, were besieged, taken prisoners, and beheaded in 997; and the city was compelled by force of arms to take the oaths of allegiance.

The death of Otho III., in 1002, was deemed by the Italians a dissolution of their connection with the German emperors, and Hardouin, Marquis of Ivrea, was crowned king of Italy in Pavia; upon which the jealousy of the Milanese, the habitual rivals and enemies of Pavia, induced the citizens of that place to declare Henry II. of Germany king also. The immediate consequence was a civil war, in which each city and district took a greater or a less part, and all suffered most severely. Henry was indeed, in 1004, acknowledged by the assembly of nobles collected in Pavia; but, in the tumult which arose on the occasion, a great part of the city was destroyed by fire. Hardouin died in 1015, and Henry remained without any competitor. He died, without leaving any children, in 1024, and with him ended the Saxon dynasty. Conrad II., of the house of Weiblingen, and surnamed the Salic, who had been recommended by Henry on his deathbed as most worthy to succeed him, was elected by the states of the empire in Germany, and having descended to Italy, was crowned at Rome in 1027. A general assembly was held near Piacenza, at which smaller fiefs were declared to be hereditary, and attempts were made to obtain peace and security to all the states. These efforts were ineffectual, from the rage between the growing cities and their bishops, as well as the hatred between the clergy and the inferior inhabitants and the nobles. In Rome, where the family of Crescentius still directed the voices of the public, neither Henry, nor Conrad, nor the pope, could enforce obedience. When Henry III., the son of Conrad, came to Italy in 1046, he found no less than three popes in Rome. These he displaced, and selected

Clement II., who was placed in the chair of St. Peter, and regularly afterwards this emperor conferred the spiritual dignities upon German ecclesiastics. This reform, although apparently wise at the time, as giving dignity to the pontiffs, was afterwards found in practice to have tended to corrupt them.

During the long minority of Henry IV., after the death of his father, Hildebrand, a monk, afterward Pope Gregory VII., took the lead in opposition to the temporal power. The increase of clerical power was much promoted by the transactions of the Normans. As early as the year 1016, some warriors from Normandy settled in Apulia and Calabria, and having early formed alliances against the Saracens, they became, with the Longobards, the republics, or the Greeks, as best served their purpose, through their warlike habits, a very powerful party. Leo IX. made several attempts to draw them away; but these all failed, and ended in his own captivity and submission. Nicholas II., on the other hand, formed alliances with the Norman leaders, and in 1059 endowed Robert Guiscard with the feudal rights of all the lands he had conquered in Lower Italy. Afterwards, the popes, in the contentions with the imperial power, trusted chiefly to the aid they could draw from their faithful confederates, the newly-created Dukes of Apulia and Calabria, and the great Counts of Sicily, Normans also. Whilst in the south of Italy the small states thus became larger, in the north the great states were broken up into several of small extent and power. The Longobard states founded their subsequent greatness, and Venice, Genoa, and Pisa had already become rich and powerful. The Pisans, who, in 980, were in alliance with Otho II., and performed great services against the Greeks, and against the Saracens in Lower Italy, united with the Genoese, now a seafaring and warlike people, to attack the unbelievers in Sardinia, and twice, in 1017 and 1050, conquered those intruders, and finally divided the lands, in large districts, amongst the most eminent of the native inhabitants.

Gregory VII., who was elected pope in the year 1073, used all the exertions and influence of his station to extend the power of the church. He laid claims to authority over Spain as a fief of the church, and required of that kingdom all the conquests which had been made from the Moors. Sardinia was demanded of the conquerors, and France was under his authority. He made attempts to exercise his power in Hungary, and even in Russia; and extorted from England the tax known by the name of Peter's pence, which long continued to be paid. In Italy, where knowledge had begun to dawn, there were many opposed to the vast extension of the papal power; but they were outnumbered by others, who feared more the government of a German prince. In most of the other parts of Europe the regular priest had so much influence, that the pretensions of the pontiff were submitted to with little or no reluctance. It was not so, however, in Germany. The policy of Gregory had enjoined on the priests the observance of celibacy, and the German clergy were reluctant to put away their wives. They opposed the pope's decrees, and joined with the emperor in resisting them. The German bishops in council pronounced the deposition of the pope; and the pontiff issued his excommunications against them and their emperor. A war thus broke out between Henry of Suabia and Pope Gregory, though Clement III. had been created pope by the Germans. Gregory with his army was defeated, and he retired to the castle of St. Angelo, where he was long besieged. On his release by Robert Guiscard he removed to Salerno, where he died in the year 1085. Two popes were chosen in succession by the cardinals, Victor III. and Urban II.; whilst the antipope Clement, with his conclave, sometimes in Rome, at other times driven from it, never ceased to fulminate his excommunications. Urban maintained the contest with Clement, and in fact triumphed over him. His success was owing in a great measure to the part he took in favor of the Crusades,

which about that period began to excite the attention and rouse the passions of all Europe to achieve the conquest of the Holy Land. The enthusiasm of the period enabled Urban to drive Clement from the city of Rome, and to take possession of the chair of St. Peter, in which dignity he terminated his life in the year 1099. Paschal II. was fixed by the cardinals at Rome in the papal chair; and though the party of Clement on his death elected another antipope, it did not weaken the secure hold on the dignity to which Paschal had been elevated. The son of Henry IV. was encouraged by the pope to rebel against his father, as one who, being excommunicated, could not convey to his successor any right. Henry IV. was made prisoner by his son, who as Henry V. was then crowned emperor and king.

Henry V., though, until he obtained the throne, the devoted defender of the papal claims, after his accession became their antagonist, and thus gained the support of his German nobles. After suppressing commotions in other parts of his dominions, he crossed the Alps with an army of eighty thousand men; passed through Italy to Rome without serious opposition; and there massacred many of the citizens, shut up the pope, the cardinals, and the nobility in prison, and held them confined till he had compelled Paschal II. to renounce the right of investiture in 1111, and to crown him as emperor. Henry had scarcely departed and reached his patrimonial dominions when he found a general flame kindled around him. The Lateran council disavowed all that the pope had done, upon the notorious ground that it had been extorted by force. The French clergy had acquiesced in the excommunication, and those of Germany rejected the bull of investiture; whilst a rebellion, excited by Duke Lothario, broke out in Saxony. By the aid of the Duke of Stauffen-Suabia, Henry was enabled to lull the threatening domestic storm, and again with an army marched to Italy, and seized upon Rome, whilst the pope fled to Apulia. At

last, in the year 1122, by the Worms compact, the respective rights of the emperor and the pope were clearly defined, both with regard to the imperial investitures and to the selection of bishops and their oath of allegiance. Shortly afterwards Henry died at Utrecht in May, 1125.

During the reign of these German princes many of the cities of Italy had risen to considerable wealth, power, and splendor, and, from the emperors being often absent with their armies in the other parts of their dominions, had assumed to themselves almost all the rights of sovereignty. These cities forced the others of less extent near to them into alliance, by which they obtained the aid of their population whenever they had occasion to have recourse to arms. The two cities of Milan and Pavia, in the north of Italy, were the chief of rival associations. Disputes between Milan and Cremona gave occasion to the first hostility between the former of those cities and Pavia, in 1129, to which a contest between two rivals for the crown of Italy, Lothario II., and Conrad of Hohenstauffen, gave a different direction, and created two parties, the Guelphs, the adherents of the pope, and the Ghibelines, the supporters of the German emperors. These two parties, which long divided Italy, derive their origin from a family which in the eleventh century held extensive possessions in the north of Italy, amongst the mountains between St. Gothard and the Brenner, and bore the name of Welf. They descended into the plains of Germany, and obtaining settlements in some of the finest provinces in the south of that country, were thus enabled in process of time to become the founders of both the royal and ducal houses of Guelph; the first seated on the throne of Great Britain, and the second possessing the duchy of Brunswick.

This family quarreled among themselves, one branch bearing the name of Welf, changed by the Italians into Guelph, and the other Weiblingen, changed into Ghibeline; and they had, before their intermeddling in the

Italian wars, fought a bloody battle at Winsberg in 1140. The state of Italy favored the creation of parties, to which the chiefs of the two branches of this German family attached themselves, and continued their animosity during more than one hundred years.

In Rome there were violent schisms between the partisans of rival popes; and this again gave rise to that spirit of independence which that city had constantly nourished. It was especially excited by the preaching of Arnold of Brescia, an eloquent monk, the pupil of Abelard, who declaimed with great energy against the luxury of the clergy and the temporal power of the popes, and in favor of that liberty which Rome had in ancient times enjoyed. Though banished in the year 1146, he returned again from Zurich, where he had taken refuge, and, under the English Pope Adrian IV., was taken and burnt alive in 1155. In the meantime the two great cities had strengthened themselves. Milan had in her alliance the cities of Tortona, Crema, Bergamo, Brescia, Piacenza, and Parma. Pavia was at the head of Cremona and Novara. Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Mantua, who were nearly equal in power, maintained each its independence. Turin was at the head of the towns of Piedmont, and disputed the authority of the Counts of Savoy. The great feudatories were the Marquis of Montserrat and the Prince of Asti. To the south of the Po the city of Bologna had acquired great power, and exercised influence over Modena and Reggio on one side, and Ferrara, Ravenna, Faenza, Forli, and Rimini on the other. Florence had risen to superiority in Tuscany by the destruction of Fiesole, and had as allies the cities of Pistoia, Arezzo, San Miniato, Volterra, Lucca, Cortona, Perugia, and Siena.

Such was the state of affairs in Italy when the diet of the empire of Germany assembled at Frankfort in the year 1152, bestowed the crown of that kingdom on Frederick duke of Bavaria, of the house of Hohen-

stauffen, better known by the name of Barbarossa, the nephew of Conrad, his predecessor in that dignity. The new emperor is recorded by the authorities of his time to have been brave, just, and not addicted to cruelty, yet his reign was a most disastrous one for Italy. The cities were zealous to defend the rights of self-government which they had obtained, and, though filled with factions, resolved to maintain them. They were surrounded with strong walls, impregnable against the arts of attack then practiced; and they were well peopled with men, patient, brave, and abstemious. The open country and the smaller towns, from which the numerous fortified cities drew their sustenance, suffered severely whenever an army traversed the country; and, to produce a greater pressure on the cities, the rude soldiery of that time not only destroyed the provisions they could not consume, but cut down the growing crops before they were fit to be harvested, or set them on fire, with the houses and the barns of the cultivators. Barbarossa viewed the whole of Italy as his subjects, and treated those who opposed him as rebels and traitors; and as the Ghibelines, who were the weaker party, adhered to him, his chief operations were directed against the Guelphs, of whom Milan was the main support and centre of union.

Six times did the emperor cross the Alps with a numerous German army to reduce the country to obedience, and each time his attempts were frustrated. In 1154, in conjunction with the people of Pavia, he defeated the Milanese army, but could not take the city; yet he destroyed Tortona, and was then crowned in Pavia with the iron crown of Lombardy, and at Rome with the golden crown of the empire, though the ceremony was performed in the suburb, admission within the walls of the latter city being refused. After plundering Spoleto, sickness and desertion so thinned his ranks, that he led back the remnant of his troops, and repassed the Alps by way of Trent and the Tyrol. The most savage destruction was perpetrated in

the retreat; but the cities were unassailed, and rejoiced in their freedom, though they did little injury to the retiring army. In the interval that followed, a civil war was carried on by the two parties, at the head of which were Milan and Pavia; but in this the latter, the weaker of the two confederates, suffered the most, whilst by the former the citizens of Tortona were received with sympathy, their houses rebuilt, and their fortifications restored.

Barbarossa entered Italy again in 1158, with the vassals who crowded to him from all parts of Germany. At Brescia the terror of his name induced that city to renounce the alliance with Milan, which refused to receive the emperor. By the aid of the militia of Cremona and Pavia he was enabled to besiege Milan; but his engines being insufficient to beat down the walls, he resolved to starve it into surrender, and intercepted all provisions and destroyed the growing crops. In this situation of distress Blandrate, an independent noble, known as a protector of Lombardy, with some others of the same rank, assumed the office of mediator, and obtained favorable terms. The city agreed to pay a tribute, and to restore the rights of the emperor, on condition that they should elect their consuls, and not be bound to open their gates to the emperor. Tortona and Crema were both included in this pacification, which was signed on the 7th of September, 1158. A few weeks afterwards, a diet of the kingdom of Italy having been convoked at Roncaglia, fixed much wider bounds to the regal rights than the Milanese would admit, upon which they again took up arms and prepared to defend themselves. Another diet was called, which met at Bologna in the spring of 1159, and by whose decision Milan was declared to be under the ban of the empire. As that city was too strong to be captured, the first attempt of the emperor was directed against the allied city of Crema, which was compelled to surrender, after a siege of six months, in January, 1160.

The German troops were exhausted by

the severe duty of the siege, and their term of service having expired, many of them withdrew; but Frederick, with the Italian Ghibeline cities of Pavia, Cremona, and Novara, carried on the war by devastating the country of the Guelphs, and excluding all supplies from Milan. In June, 1161, a new army reached the theatre of war in Italy, when the emperor resolved to reduce what he called his rebellious city. The defence of Milan was hopeless, but firmly maintained, when a fire, which destroyed the chief magazine of provisions, induced the inhabitants to surrender at discretion in March, 1162. Frederick ordered the militia of the Ghibeline cities to raze the walls, and so to destroy the buildings, that not one stone should be left on another. The poorer inhabitants were placed in villages at some distance from the place; and many sought hospitality in other cities, where their perseverance was recorded with applause, and where they spread the love of freedom and hatred of tyranny. The spirit of independence so rapidly increased that it was soon communicated to the Ghibeline cities; and the effect of it was to produce a widely extended confederacy. Frederick had entered Italy in 1163, attended only by his splendid train of nobles, but without an army, under the impression that he could at pleasure call out the militia of the Ghibeline cities. He directed his steps towards Rome, where, on account of a contest for the papal chair, occasioned by the death of Adrian IV., he thought his presence necessary. Whilst in the south, a union was formed in the Veronese, which he deemed injurious to his prerogatives; and he hastened to call out the militia of the Ghibeline cities of Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, and Como, to lead them against Verona; but they were indisposed to the service, upon which he returned to Germany to collect an army, on whose exertions he might depend.

In October, 1166, Frederick descended from the Grisons with his newly collected army. His military operations were ineffect-

ual; and whilst he advanced to Rome and to Ancona, the confederation of the cities of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, begun at Pontida in April, 1167, was cemented on the 1st December of the same year, and assumed the name of the Lombard League. Frederick had been repulsed at Ancona, whilst he had been victorious at Rome; but his victory proved useless. His army was attacked by disease, which swept away great numbers; and with the remnant he could scarcely protect himself from the increasing influence of the League, whose authority had already restored Milan, and built the new city of Alessandria, at the confluence of the rivers Tanaro and Bormida. In March, 1168, the emperor, with but a very few troops, was enabled to effect his retreat from his Italian subjects, by the road of Mount Cenis, and soon prepared a new German force, which was to be employed in coercing them.

In the efforts to lead the Germans again into Italy, he was baffled by their reluctance, and remained inactive, as far as regarded Italy, during the next five years. He sent, indeed, his warlike chancellor, Christian, archbishop of Mentz, to raise his party in Tuscany, the only district in which there existed any portion of attachment to the Ghibeline cause.

In October, 1174, Frederick again entered Italy at the head of a powerful army, but was detained four months by the siege of the newly-built town of Alessandria; and the sickness among his troops, occasioned by the severity of the winter, so weakened him, that having abandoned the siege in April, 1175, he was unable to attack the forces of the League, and was thus induced to enter on a negotiation. Much time was spent, but no plan of conciliation was adopted; and Frederick again sent into Germany for an army, which arrived in the spring of 1176 at Como, whither, he was enabled secretly to join them; but he could get very little aid from the few cities of the Ghibeline party. He advanced to the neighborhood of Milan, and on the 29th May, 1176, at Legnano, attacked the

forces of the League. Though at first he met with success, yet the issue of the battle was so decisively against him, that his camp was pillaged, his army dispersed, and himself compelled to flee for his life. Finally he escaped to Pavia, to contradict the report of his death, which had prevailed during several days. Negotiations followed his defeat. The pope and the Venetians acted as mediators, and in 1177 a truce for six years was concluded. During its continuance the political power of the League was strengthened and consolidated; whilst, on the other hand the emperor had learned the lesson, untaught to his predecessors, of submitting to restrictions imposed by subjects on their sovereign. The truce was followed by the treaty of Constance, 25th June, 1183, which secured the privileges of the cities, and recognized the prerogatives of the monarch, with certain necessary restrictions.

Barbarossa partook of the religious enthusiasm which infected all Europe, and, after the peace of Constance, repaired to the Holy Land, where, in 1190, he was drowned in crossing the Calycadnus, an inconsiderable stream in Armenia.

Though the peace of 1183 gave political freedom to the cities, yet, as it was not followed by any confederation, each thought only of strengthening its own defences, and of intriguing for power and supremacy. A party spirit was thus kindled, which spread and continued during the whole period that the emperors of Germany of the house of Hohenstauffen continued to exercise the shadow of sovereignty. The cities were soon divided again into Guelphs and Ghibelines. Where the Guelphs had the government, a large minority constantly opposed them; and the same was the case where the opposite faction had the upper hand. Noble families were engaged in feuds with each other, which endured through generations, and were constantly occasioning open murders or private assassinations. An instance of the prevalent feudal proceedings may not be without its use in showing the effects of such a state of

society. A noble Guelph, named Buondelmonte, of the upper vale of the Arno, had demanded the hand of a lady of the Ghibeline house of Amidei at Florence. His proposals were accepted, and preparations were made for the marriage. But a lady of another family, the Donati, stopped the lover as he passed her door; and bringing him into the apartment where her females were at work, raised the veil of her daughter, whose beauty was most captivating. "Here," said she, "is the wife I had reserved for thee. Like thee, she is a Guelph; whilst thou takest one from the enemies of thy church and race." Buondelmonte, dazzled and enamored, instantly accepted the proffered hand. The Amidei considered this inconstancy as a deep affront; and all the noble families of Florence of the Ghibeline faction, about twenty-four in number, met, and agreed that he should atone with his life for this offence. Buondelmonte was attacked on the morning of Easter Sunday, as he passed the bridge on horseback, and was there killed. Forty-two families of the Guelphic faction then met, and swore to avenge the insult, and much blood followed. Every day some new murder or some open battle alarmed the citizens of Florence, during the space of thirty-three years. These two parties stood opposed to each other within the walls of the same city, and although sometimes in appearance reconciled, yet every little accident renewed their animosity, and they again had recourse to deadly warfare.

The nobility of Italy, who possessed extensive feudal estates in the neighborhood of the cities, were bound by their tenures to take part with the emperor in the hostilities he had carried on against them. They soon became deeply involved in debt; and their creditors were for the most part the inhabitants of the cities, to whom the estates were pledged. They were a high-spirited race, had by practice acquired great skill in arms, and were acuter and abler political intriguers than the magistrates of the cities. Some of the nobles who had castles sufficiently

strong, lands sufficiently extensive, and vassals sufficiently numerous to defend themselves, became attached to the Ghibeline party. Those of them whose castles were weak from their situation, or near to cities too populous to be ruled by them, had been admitted to become citizens of such places, had assisted them in war, had obtained a considerable share in their government, and were for the most part compelled by their interest to become adherents of the Guelphic faction. The plains of Italy were thus deprived of all the independent nobility, who had become citizens of some of the free republics; but every chain of mountains was thickly set with castles, held by those who, whilst they maintained their own independence, professed to owe and to acknowledge allegiance to the emperors. As war was their sole occupation, they were often gladly received by the republics, which stood much in need of able captains. It seems that the independent nobles who became connected with the cities as commanders of the forces were not always, though most commonly, of the same faction; for the Ghibeline family of Visconti, which held most extensive fiefs, associated itself with the Guelphic republic of Milan. These nobles, however, when connected with the cities, soon acquired extensive influence, and became finally founders of families who obtained hereditary, and, some of them, sovereign power. Of these the house of Este, allied to the Guelphs of Saxony and of Bavaria, who had strong castles on the Euganean Hills, joined the republic of Ferrara. The family of Ezzel or Eccelino, whose fiefs and castles were at the foot of the Tyrolean range, and who were devoted to the Ghibeline party, formed connections with the republics of Verona and Vicenza. On the northern side of the Apennines, the fortresses of several Ghibeline nobles excited and maintained revolutions in Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, and Modena; whilst on the southern side of those hills were the castles of other Ghibeline nobles, in turn citizens or enemies of the republics of Arezzo, Florence, Pistoja, and Lucca.

The state of society here briefly sketched continued during the whole of the reign of the family of Hohenstauffen; yet in the latter years of that period the art of painting first made its appearance in Italy, and the first dawn of the revival of literature became visible in the horizon, by the improvement made in the language, by the discovery of magnifying glasses and of the magnet, by the establishment of the University of Bologna, and by the appearance of many writers of genius and learning, to whom the literature and civilization of all Europe became deeply indebted.

During the nominal reign of the German family, no one of the individuals who succeeded to the title after the death of Barbarossa is deserving of notice, excepting his grandson, Frederick II., who attained the dignity before he had arrived at the age of eighteen. During his reign, Innocent III. attained the pontifical chair; a man of vast talent, rare force of character, great learning, and an irreproachable life. Though the instigator of the crusades against the Albigenses in France, his acts originated in the view he took of the moral effect of the increase of the ecclesiastical power, and of its concentration in the head of the church. He made efforts in Rome to establish civil liberty, by forming a representative senate, to whom all power but the judicial was intrusted; but he issued his commands to all the princes of Europe in stronger tones than those of Gregory VII., which, if obeyed, would have deprived them of all political liberty.

Frederick, who, at his coronation, had promised to undertake a crusade to the Holy Land, embarked for Palestine in 1228, and succeeded in making a treaty with the Sultan in 1229, by which he obtained Jerusalem, and agreed that access to the Holy Sepulchre should be free both to Mohammedans and Christians. Gregory IX., who had succeeded Innocent, dissatisfied with the arrangements, excommunicated him. Having returned to Italy in 1237, he defeated at Cortenuovo his opponents, who lost 10,000 men: and

his subsequent activity gained all Upper Italy to his party, except the four cities of Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, and Bologna. But Gregory IX. induced the maritime republics of Venice and Genoa to rescue the Guelphs from destruction. This gave a turn to affairs, though Pisa still held fast to the emperor and the Ghibelines. A general council, summoned by the pope, ratified his excommunication, and his party forsook him by degrees. The mendicant orders everywhere excited conspiracies against him; he became suspicious of every one around him, and was at length obliged to concede everything to the pope. On every side Frederick now met with reverses, his friends and councillors were torn from him, persecuted and ignominiously killed. His ministers turned against him and deserted him. All had been severed from him, and last, his chancellor Peter de Vineâ was to be taken away either by foul treason in himself, the most galling stroke of all, or by ungrateful injustice in the emperor. The cause of the disgrace and death of his favorite was not clear, even in his own day. The rumor ran that Frederick was ill and the physician of De Vineâ prescribed for him; the Emperor having received some warning, addressed De Vineâ: "My friend, in thee I have full trust; art thou sure that this is medicine, not poison?" De Vineâ replied: "How often has my physician administered healthful medicines!—why are you now afraid?" Frederick took the cup, sternly commanded the physician to drink half of it. The physician threw himself at the king's feet, and as he fell overthrew the liquor. But what was left was administered to some criminals who died in agony. The emperor wrung his hands and wept bitterly: "Whom can I now trust, betrayed by my own familiar friend. Never can I know security, never can I know joy more." By one account, Peter de Vineâ was led ignominiously on an ass through Pisa, and thrown into prison, where he dashed his brains out against a wall.* Through the mediation of St. Louis of France,

Frederick proposed, as the condition of his readmission to the church, that he should go to the Holy Land and join the crusaders. Whilst waiting the effect of his proposals he died from dysentery in the castle of Fiorentino in Apulia, the 13th December, 1250.

After the death of Frederick, the new pope, Innocent IV., who had sought refuge at Lyons, returned to Italy, but he was deceived in the expectation of general submission which he had formed. During his progress through Genoa, Milan, Ferrara, Bologna, and Perugia, he was in some places received with coldness, and in others with disdain. Meanwhile, in the absence of the head of the empire, great confusion ensued, and freedom was extinguished. The Eccelinos became for a time absolute masters of the north of Italy. The cities of Mantua and Ferrara fell into the power of D'Este, and Verona into that of Mastino della Scala. Pallavicino became lord of Cremona, and the Torriani of Milan, Brescia, Alessandria, and Tortona. The whole of Italy, with the exception of Tuscany and the maritime cities, quietly submitted to a military commander.

During the period in which the emperors of Germany of the Suabian or Hohenstauffen race were the kings of Italy, the maritime cities of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa had grown up to be powerful republican states, and were only by slight ties bound to the common sovereigns of Italy. The nobility who had been admitted to the rights of citizenship were the senators; and some member of their families was commonly chosen as a ruler, with the title of doge or duke. They were strict aristocracies, preserved in that form by laws which, whilst they gave security to their privileges, secured in like manner the rights and possessions of each individual. Under this state of security they naturally became wealthy, and their progress was accelerated by favorable circumstances. The crusades, which animated the whole west of Europe, created a demand for shipping to convey troops and stores to and from the Holy Land; and thus a mercantile navy was called

*Milman's Latin Christianity. Vol. 5





into existence, which could at any time be easily converted into a warlike fleet. It was in this way that Venice was enabled to take, and for a time to retain, the city of Constantinople itself. The commerce of the East had also greatly contributed to increase the wealth, and consequently the power, of these free cities. The chiefs of the Crusades, who returned from these expeditions, brought with them from Asia a taste for its luxuries; and for these the maritime cities became the storehouses, supplying the countries in the western part of Europe.

After the death of Pope Alexander IV. in 1261, his successor, Urban IV., among several princes who sought the government of Italy, selected Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis of France, appointed him king of Naples, a senator of Rome, papal vicar of Tuscany, and finally king of Italy. This gave a new direction to the two parties, the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, which still distracted the country. One of them was considered as the friend, and the other as the enemy, of the French aspirant. Besides these parties, there were also the republics; and besides them, contests between the nobles and the people, in most of which the latter were, in the beginning at least, the conquerors. Charles invaded Naples, and defeated Manfred, the king, who fell in battle at Benevento, February 26th, 1266, and thus gave the superiority to the Guelphs, which he further increased by placing a garrison in Florence, and excluding from the councils the whole of the nobles, and all others of the Ghibeline party. He was for a short time alarmed by an invasion from Germany under Conradin, the grandson of Frederick II., and the last of the house of Hohenstauffen, who claimed the throne of Naples. Conradin was only sixteen years of age when he arrived at Verona at the head of 10,000 cavalry, where he was joined by all the Ghibeline commanders who had distinguished themselves under his ancestor, and aided by the efforts of the Ghibeline cities, Pisa and Siena. The citizens of Rome were so disposed to fa-

vor him, that on his advance they opened their gates and promised assistance. But all this zeal in his favor was of no avail. He entered the Abbruzzi, and in the Campi Palentini, near Tagliacozzo, fought a desperate battle 26th August, 1268. It terminated in the total defeat of the Germans. Conradin, with the chiefs, were made prisoners, and, after a mock trial, were condemned and beheaded at Naples on the 26th of October, 1268. After these executions, an uninterrupted exhibition of similar spectacles filled the two Sicilies, and some other parts of Italy, with such horror and dismay, that Charles of Anjou reigned triumphantly, and soon acquired the mastery over the republican cities.

Gregory X., who ascended the papal throne in 1272, saw the impolicy of his predecessors, who had given themselves a French master. He endeavored to raise the Ghibeline party so as to counterbalance the Guelphs; and engaged Pisa, Venice, and Genoa, to co-operate with him in choosing a chief. The election was made the following year, when Rodolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the house of Austria, was declared emperor. Martin IV., who was made pope in 1280, undid the work of his predecessor, and persecuted the Ghibelines with great fury; but in the mean time the popes had secured to the holy see the temporal power over the ecclesiastical territories. During this period hostilities took place between the maritime republics. The Genoese had assisted Michael Palæologus in his successful efforts to retake Constantinople from the Venetians, and had received for their reward the island of Chios. In 1284, the Genoese had nearly annihilated the fleet of the Pisans in a sea fight near Meloria; and in another battle, near Curzola, they had gained the command of the sea by their defeat of the Venetians.

Charles was preparing an armament in all the ports of Naples and of Sicily, with the intention of contending in Greece for the Eastern Empire. This induced him to levy taxes of great amount with excessive rigor, and the judges endeavored to prevent resist-

ance by striking terror into all those who declined or even delayed the required payments. John of Procida, who had been the friend and confidant of Frederick and of Manfred, a native of Salerno, visited the cities of both Sicilies, to reanimate the zeal of the Ghibelines, and to rouse their hatred towards the French. He had also obtained promises from Greece and from Spain. It was not necessary, however, to have recourse to foreign aid, for a sudden and popular explosion took place in Palermo. It was excited by a French soldier, who behaved rudely to a betrothed lady, as she was on her way with her affianced husband to a church to receive the nuptial benediction. The indignation of her family was on the instant communicated to the populace. The bells of the churches were ringing for vespers; the people answered by the cry, "To arms! death to the French!" The French were furiously attacked in every quarter. Those who attempted to defend themselves were soon overpowered; others, who endeavored to pass for Italians, were known by their pronunciation, and instantly put to death. In a few hours more than four thousand persons thus perished in Palermo, and every other town in Sicily followed the bloody example. Thus the Sicilian vespers overthrew the dominion of Charles and of the Guelphs, separated that island from the kingdom of Naples, and transferred the crown of the former to Peter of Aragon, the son-in-law of Manfred, who was considered as the heir of the house of Hohenstauffen. The massacre occurred on the 30th of March, 1282.

In 1282, the democratic principle had been established in Florence by the attainder of the nobles as a body, and the Guelphic party had received great accessions of strength; but some disputes which had originated in the neighboring town of Pistoia, were extended to Florence, and in a short time divided the whole of Tuscany into two factions of Guelphs, called the *Bianchi* and the *Neri*, or the Whites and the Blacks. The mutual animosity and hostility of these

factions lasted till 1302, when by the intrigues of Boniface VIII., and the instrumentality of Charles de Valois, the *Bianchi* were plundered and expelled the country. Many of them thereupon joined the *Ghibelines*. In Lombardy the dying cause of freedom still continued to exist, and was at length rekindled; and the people, wearied out with the feuds of their nobles, between 1302 and 1306 drove them from the towns. At this period, by the management of Philip le Bel, a Frenchman, Clement V. was chosen pope, who removed the seat of the papal throne to Avignon, where it was maintained till 1377. This gave room for the display of the spirit of freedom in Rome, and in all the territory of the church. The authority, and almost the name of the Emperor of Germany had been neglected in Italy during sixty years, whilst the minds of the people were wholly occupied with internal disputes. At length, in 1308, the diet of Germany advanced Henry of Luxembourg to the imperial dignity, after three other princes had enjoyed that honor. Henry VII. had little power to enforce obedience in Germany, and foresaw symptoms of opposition, which he wished to divert by flattering the vanity of conflicting parties, and uniting them in projects for extending his authority over the several parts of Italy. Henry crossed Mount Cenis, and appeared in Italy in 1310, accompanied by a few cavalry, not amounting to two thousand, composed chiefly of Belgians, Germans, and some Savoyards. At Turin he was received by many of the nobles of Lombardy and Piedmont, who at least professed obedience; and even the cities, in confusion and distress as they all were from their internal contentions, gave indications of a strong desire for tranquillity under their constitutional chiefs. Henry professed strict impartiality, and his conduct corresponded with his professions; but he was sadly in need of money. Supplies were furnished to him with great parsimony by all but the citizens of Pisa, who were extremely liberal and increased his force with

a guard of six hundred bowmen, who accompanied him to Rome, where he received the golden crown of the emperor from the pope's legate, without the walls, as the citizens refused admission to him and his troops, but had admitted a garrison of Neapolitans. The term for which his foreign troops had enlisted had expired on his coronation, and they mostly left his service; but the Ghibelines of Central Italy gathered round him, and formed a respectable force. He made some ineffectual efforts to conquer the democracy of Florence, who had taken a garrison of mercenaries into their pay. Reinforced by the Pisans, he then marched towards Rome to contend with Robert, king of Sicily, who maintained an ill-disciplined force in that city, and expected reinforcements from the Guelphs of Tuscany. On the road, not far from Siena, on the 24th of August, 1313, he died from poison administered to him in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper by a Dominican monk.

On the death of Henry, disputes arose at the diet at Frankfort respecting the succession to the imperial crown, but they seemed to have had little effect on the condition of Italy. In a few years most of the republican cities in the middle of Italy had fallen under the government of some distinguished military family, whilst Tuscany alone maintained a share of liberty, by selecting Robert, king of Naples, as its protector. The Ghibeline city of Pisa found a master in Uguccione della Faggiuola in 1314; and, after his expulsion in 1316, in Castruccio Castracani. Padua fell to the house of the Carraras. Alessandria, Tortona, and Cremona were reduced to submission by the Visconti of Milan. Mantua fell to the share of Gonzaga in 1328. In Ferrara the family of the Este established their hereditary power; and Ravenna became the patrimony of the Polentas. In the other cities the same tyranny was established, and in each succeeding age with ever increasing evils. The petty tyrants adhered to Robert of Naples, whose greedy lust of power obtained the means of indul-

gence, when Clement V., designing thereby to hold the balance of parties in his own hands, appointed him vicar-general of Italy. Louis of Bavaria made his appearance in Italy in 1327, in order to put down both Anjou and the Guelphs. He was at first supported by the Ghibelines; whom, however, he soon completely estranged by his weakness and treachery. Meanwhile, the wickedness of Pope John XXII., who supported the Guelphs, had so cooled their zeal in his favor, that the two parties who had so long opposed each other, in the cause of common freedom, were now reconciled.

At this period (1330) John, king of Bohemia, the son of the Emperor Henry VII. made his appearance in Italy; and having been invited by the citizens of Brescia, and favored by the pope, he was announced as the mediator and pacificator of the kingdom. But his purposes were frustrated by the opposition of Tuscany, where a dread of the government of a single person was generally entertained. His fickle disposition made him soon abandon his objects, and he quitted Italy in 1333.

After his departure, Mastino della Scala, who had been one of his supporters, and who was lord of the half of Lombardy, and of the territory of Lucca, began to threaten the independence of Italy. He was opposed by a league at the head of which was Florence. But hostilities had hardly begun when they were brought to a close, and the freedom of Florence was thereby secured. The necessities of Mastino induced him to sell his city of Lucca to the Florentines, upon which the Pisans rose and took that city for themselves. After this transaction, the Florentines, disgusted with those who had caused the loss of Lucca, selected as their chief a military adventurer, who, in the Crusades, had obtained the title of the Duke of Athens; but, owing to his severity, they soon dismissed him. In Rome, torn by aristocratic factions, Cola di Rienzo was chosen tribune of the people, in order to restore the laws and tranquillity; but after seven months he was obliged to

give way before the power of the nobles, in 1347. After a banishment of seven years, in 1354 he returned with Cardinal Albornoz; but his rule was short, and he was killed in an insurrection instigated by the nobles. The Genoese, tired out with everlasting quarrels between the Guelphic families of Spinola and Doria, and the Ghibeline families of Grimaldi and Fieschi, drove them all out of their city, and elected their own first doge or duke. In Pisa the Ghibelines were divided into two violent parties, those of Bergolini and of Raspanti, when, after much contention, the latter succeeded in expelling the former, in 1348. At this period Italy suffered from a dreadful famine which, in 1347, swept away by absolute starvation, vast numbers of the inhabitants; and in the following year a pestilence of a deadly nature swept the peninsula. Such was the suffering produced by these visitations, that it was calculated that two-thirds of the whole population were destroyed. Another tremendous scourge followed, and was longer endured. After each peace, troops of disbanded soldiers were formed under chiefs called *condottieri*, who carried on war on their own account, burning some towns, ransoming others, and plundering everywhere. They were mostly Germans, who had been called in by the Viscontis and Della Scalas. A Duke Werner, a Count Lado, and a Friar Monreale, led bands of these robbers, who devastated Italy from Montserrat to the extremity of Naples, between 1348 and 1354. Meantime another war had broken out between the maritime republics of Genoa and Venice. The Venetians formed alliances with the Greek emperor and with Peter of Aragon. Formidable fleets were collected, one commanded by the Genoese admiral, Paganino Doria, and the other by the Venetian, Nicolo Pisani. A battle was fought between them on the 13th of February, 1352, which proved indecisive; but in a second, fought in the following August, the Genoese were defeated with great loss. In two years success changed sides; and after a

defeat of the Venetians in November, 1354, a truce was agreed to, which terminated in a peace in the month of May following.

The family of Visconti had risen to great power in the centre of Italy. John Visconti had influence in Genoa, intrigued in Venice, and threatened to destroy the independence of Tuscany. He died in 1354, and his power and pretensions, being divided between his three nephews, became weaker, and received a check when Charles IV. returned to Italy in 1355 to remodel the governments of Pisa and Siena, and so far overcame Tuscany, though only for a short period, as to compel even Florence to adopt the title of an imperial city. With but little real power he opposed the Visconti; but ended by obtaining money from them, as he did from most parts of Italy, in his progress through the country. In 1363 he liberated the city of Lucca from the dominion which the Pisans had obtained over it. Between the years 1365 and 1375, Pope Innocent VI. obtained absolute power over the cities of the papal dominions; but lost much of it again, from the discontent excited by the tyranny of the legate, and by the interference of Florence in favor of their freedom. Robert of Geneva, who was elected as pope, and took the name of Clement VII., established his court at Naples, in 1378, under the protection of Queen Joanna. He was opposed by another pope, Urban VI. The church was thus divided between two popes and two colleges of cardinals, and the temporal power of the holy see was weakened. Several of the cities had been enfranchised by the Florentines; but those of Romagna, with some others, fell under the yoke of petty tyrants.

The continued thirst for dominion of the Visconti in the centre of Italy, where they had rendered themselves masters of Genoa and Bologna, excited a general combination against them, at the head of which was Florence; and the old parties of Guelphs and Ghibelines were forgotten in this new and threatening crisis. In Florence the Guelphs were divided into two parties, the

Ricci and the Albizzi. After much bloodshed, Michael de Lando, a man of humble origin, but brave and generous, restored tranquillity in 1378. The party of the Ricci, which had thus suffered a temporary check, was essentially aristocratic, and comprised among its members the family of Medici, whose names are then for the first time to be met with in Italian history. This party, soon afterwards, in another tumult, banished Lando, and those who had supported his nomination, and then re-established the former aristocracy more firmly than before.

In the other republics the same progress was made. The leaders of the democracy, or their heirs, created themselves tribunes of the people, and became a fresh aristocracy, with the power of transmitting it to their families. At Genoa a civil war was carried on for a long time between the two strongest parties. It ended in their conferring the sovereignty, in 1396, on Charles VI., king of France.

In Lombardy, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who was on the throne of Milan, having rendered himself master of the smaller cities in that district, alarmed Siena, Pisa, Bologna, and other considerable places. Being restrained by the opposition of the Florentines from attacking them at that time, he carried out his design a few years later, and conquered most of them. Tuscany itself was endangered by his ambitious views, and was only saved by the appearance of the plague, to which Gian Galeazzo, with many thousand others, fell a victim in 1402. This event gave a breathing time to that part of Italy; and, during the minority of the son of Gian, many of the places he had seized were retaken. Milan fell into a state of anarchy, and the Venetians availed themselves of it to conquer Padua and Verona, whilst, on the other side, the Florentines captured Pisa; and Gian Maria, a youth, was only supported on the tottering throne of Milan by the arms of his mercenaries. His tyranny and cruelty are painted in the blackest colors by all the writers of his age; and

he at length fell a victim to the indignation of some of the nobles, by whom he was assassinated, in May, 1412.

In 1409, a new but transitory danger threatened the republic of Florence, by the invasion of Ladislaus, king of Naples, which was no sooner repressed than the power of the Visconti became predominant. The Duke Philip Maria of that family, with the assistance of his celebrated general, Carmagnola, between 1414 and 1420, conquered all the states which had belonged to the family in Lombardy; and Genoa submitted to him in 1421. Venice and Florence then made a league in 1425, and Carmagnola conquered the whole of the territories on the river Adda, and secured them by the peace of Ferrara in 1428. The condottiero Braccio Montone contrived to make himself master of the city of Perugia, and of the whole of Umbria, and extended his power to Rome itself; whilst the Petrucci, in 1430, firmly established their power in Siena.

After the weakening of Milan by the Florentines and Venetians, and owing to the constant disturbances raised in Naples by the party of Anjou against Alfonso of Aragon, there was no longer any dangerously preponderating power in Italy. There existed, however, constant hostility between the armed military bands, in two divisions, according to their usual practice. One of these was led by Braccio Montone, and the other by Sforza Attendolo. Francis Sforza was enabled to make himself, after the death of Visconti, master of the whole territory of Milan, in 1450. The Venetians, greedy of extended territory, made an alliance with some of the smaller states; Sforza made a counter treaty with Florence, which, under the change of circumstances, providently changed its policy. At this period the house of Medici, by its wealth and its prudence, began to attract notice and gain importance in Florence. The power of Milan, where Sforza ruled; of Venice, which possessed the half of Lombardy; of Florence, which was wisely directed by Lorenzo de' Medici;

and of Naples, which was not in a state to venture on offensive war; formed toward the end of the fifteenth century the political balance of Italy, and, in spite of manifold feuds, gave confidence to each state that its independence was secure.

In 1494, Charles VIII., king of France, advanced towards Italy, designing to conquer Naples; and Ludovico Sforza came forward, first to support, but afterwards to oppose him, whilst the pope, Alexander VI., in order to elevate his son Cæsar Borgia, courted the French alliance. The opposition to Charles was feeble, but the cruelties and the rapine which he caused or permitted filled Italy with disgust. Ludovico Sforza collected an army in the north, which induced Charles to leave one-half of his force to retain the possession of Naples, which he had gained. He was impeded in his retreat, and lost in it the greater part of his army before he could enter his own kingdom. That portion of his force which he had left in Naples was obliged to capitulate at Atella in July, 1496; so that after two years of a devastating war, the French did not gain the least footing. Louis XII., who had succeeded to Charles VIII. in April, 1498, made pretensions to the government of Milan. He was opposed only by Ludovico Sforza, because Venice, which would have joined Ludovico, was engaged in an alarming war with the Turks; and Florence, from which the Medici had been banished, was ruled by a party intent upon subjecting Pisa to their authority. Alexander VI., who had opposed Charles, formed an alliance with Louis, on condition that Cæsar Borgia should be made Duke of Valentinois in France, and of Romagna in Italy. Frederick king of Naples, though aware that he must be ultimately the victim of France, was too much occupied in restoring tranquillity at home to take any active measures to protect Italy.

Louis, favored by the position of affairs, passed the Alps with a powerful army in August, 1499. He took some small towns by assault, and put the garrisons and most

of the inhabitants to the sword; a ferocious proceeding, which produced universal terror, so that Sforza could make no opposition, but dispersed the army he had collected, and withdrew with his family and treasures into Germany. There he found protection with the Emperor Maximilian. The cities of the north of Italy opened with trembling anxiety their gates to the troops of the French king, and he was installed as Duke of Milan in that capital, whilst Genoa, which had been an ally of Sforza, made terms with France. After this hasty subjugation, Louis returned to Lyons. The insolence of the French, their violation of all national institutions, their contempt of Italian manners, the accumulation of taxes, and the irregularity of their administration, rendered the yoke insupportable. Ludovico soon became acquainted with the ferment which prevailed, and the eager wishes of his subjects to see him again at their head. Presenting himself on the Swiss frontier, he hastily collected a small force. With this he entered Lombardy in February, 1500, having only five hundred horse and eight thousand infantry. Como, Milan, Parma, and Pavia, opened their gates to receive him; and after a short siege Novara capitulated. But Louis was active, and his general, Tremouille, advanced to suppress this rebellion with an army in which were ten thousand Swiss. Hired troops of the cantons were in both armies. When they met, these troops had parleys between themselves, and the part in Ludovico's army agreed with those in the army of Tremouille to murder their Italian fellow-soldiers, and to leave the service in which they had entered. This was executed. Ludovico Sforza was delivered up and sent to France, where he died after ten years' imprisonment; and the Swiss returned home with the wages of perfidy and the curses of Lombardy, whilst the French continued masters of the country till 1512.

The French then attempted to gain Naples, and a most infamous treaty was concluded with Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain,

who had engaged to defend it, by which that unfortunate country was subdued; and in the division of it, quarrels broke out between the French and Spaniards, in consequence of which, after the battle of the Garigliano, gained the 27th of December, 1503, by Gonzalvo, the general of the latter, the French were completely driven out, and the kingdom of Naples became an appanage of the Spanish crown.

By the death of Pope Alexander VI., and the accession of Julius II., the pretensions of Cæsar Borgia vanished, as the new pontiff was more zealous to strengthen the holy see than to advance the son of his predecessor. With this view he formed a treaty with the kings of France and Spain, called the League of Cambray, in 1508, the object of which was to check the engrossing measures of the Venetian republic. Failing in this object, his holiness, in 1509, entered into a treaty with the Venetians themselves, in which the king of Spain and the Swiss cantons were comprehended. His aim was to drive the French out of Italy; but he finally abandoned this project, from the fear that the council of French and German prelates assembled at Pisa would be induced to declare his election to the popedom invalid, and dismiss him from the dignity. In the meantime Maximilian of Germany and the king of France had made up an alliance at Blois, by which it was agreed to divide between them the whole of the dominions of Venice on the continent; and in consequence of it, hostilities commenced in 1509. The cities surrendered to the French, the Germans, or the Spaniards, all of whom exercised the most abominable cruelties. The pope, in the midst of the conquests of the great powers, became alarmed, and attempted to free Italy from their ravages, by inflaming the emperor against the French, by forming a league with Venice, and by calling in the aid of the mercenary Swiss. The pope raised an army, commanded by the Duke of Urbino; and though it was defeated in 1511, he succeeded in forming a league, to which the prefix

of Holy was given, on account of his being at the head of it, with the kings of Spain and of England, and which also comprehended the Swiss and the Venetians.

A powerful Spanish army from Naples, in 1512, advanced to assist the pope, commanded by Raymond de Cordova, who was gladly received by the people. The French advanced under the command of Gaston de Foix, and a murderous battle was fought near Ravenna, on the 11th of April, 1512. The French were victorious, but their victory was more than counterbalanced by the loss of their great general, who fell in the action. Maximilian suddenly betrayed his allies, recalled the German troops from the French service, and gave a passage through his territory to the Swiss to join the Venetian army. Ferdinand of Spain and Henry VIII. of England simultaneously attacked France, which was thus obliged to recall her troops from Italy, and abandon the country to the power of the Holy League. The liberties of Italy were then annihilated. Florence, with Tuscany, after being plundered by the Spaniards without pity or remorse, was delivered over to the banished but now restored Medici. Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X., with some other members of that family, reimbursed themselves for their long proscription, by the abundant wealth they employed their power to extort.

Charles V., already king of Spain, on the death of his grandfather Maximilian, was raised to the imperial throne in 1519. Charles, and Francis the king of France, had abundant subjects of contest; and Italy was doomed to become the theatre of their quarrels. Francis, in 1523, sent an army under Bonnivet to invade Lombardy and take possession of Milan. The city had time to collect stores and complete its defences, owing to the supineness of the French general, and thus was preserved from capture till the emperor raised an army of sufficient strength to meet Bonnivet in the field.

In the next year the imperial army received

such reinforcements that Bonnivet thought himself unable to resist it, and resolved to withdraw his troops. On the retreat he was wounded, and the command devolved on the Chevalier Bayard, who was killed in the battle. The remnant of the French now only thought of escaping to their own country, leaving Lombardy in the power of the imperialists. Charles was so elated by the success of his arms in Italy, that he resolved on invading the patrimonial dominions of Francis, and accordingly Pescara led his army into Provence, and began the siege of Marseilles; but the attempt proved unsuccessful, and Francis once more mustered courage to make an attempt to retrieve the reverses he had suffered in Italy. The French passed the Alps by Mount Cenis, and the rapidity of their movements enabled them to enter Milan, which was unprepared for the attack; but the imperial general secured and garrisoned the citadel, which in some measure commanded it. Francis then laid siege to Pavia, which was strongly fortified, and garrisoned by six thousand veterans. The siege occupied several months, and thus gave time for Charles to collect his troops. Francis was resolved to fight, though urged by his generals to avoid a battle. On the 24th of February, 1525, the two armies engaged; the contest was obstinate, and the issue long doubtful; but after a dreadful carnage, the imperialists were victorious, Francis himself was taken prisoner, and with him Henry king of Navarre, and a few only of the body guard escaped. The French in Milan retired, and in fourteen days after the battle, not a soldier of that nation remained in Italy.

After this attempt of the French on Italy, which, like all that preceded, had only shown that a temporary ascendancy could be obtained by that nation, but could never be retained, the preponderating influence was securely held by the Emperor Charles V. Most of the reigning houses disappeared, and their successors were appointed either avowedly or secretly by him. When the

male line of the Marquis of Montferrat became extinct, Charles, in 1536, gave his dominions to Gonzaga of Mantua; and Maximilian II., in 1573, created it a dukedom. The Florentines made an attempt, after murdering the Duke Alexander in 1537, to regain their independence; but their efforts were unavailing, and Cosmo de Medici was raised to supreme power by the influence of Charles. Parma and Piacenza had been seized upon by pope Julius II. for the holy see; but Paul III., in 1545, erected those states into a dukedom for his natural son Peter Alexander Farnese, whose son Octavio, in 1556, was invested by the emperor. Genoa, which, since 1499, had submitted to France, found a delivery from that power in the person of Andrea Doria, who established a firm aristocracy, which overcame the conspiracy planned by Fieschi for its overthrow. Charles in 1553 had conveyed Milan, and also the kingdom of Naples, to his son Charles. At the peace of Chateau-Cambrésis in 1559, Philip II. and Henry II. of France renounced their pretensions to Piedmont, which was given to the legitimate heir, the brave Spanish general Emanuel Philip, duke of Savoy. In 1597 the legitimate line of the house of Este became extinct, upon which Cæsar d'Este, a natural son of the last prince, obtained Modena and Reggio by an enfefment from the empire; and Ferrara was conveyed to him as a feudatory of the papal throne.

The end of the sixteenth century was a period of peace in Italy, and of such prosperity as could be expected after the discovery of the way to India by the Cape of Good Hope had destroyed the eastern traffic it had so long monopolized and found so lucrative. In the next century only some insignificant changes of territory took place. By the treaty of Lyons, 12th January, 1601, the house of Savoy gave up some possessions it had in France, and received in return the estate of Saluzzo. By the peace of Chierasco in 1631, the cunning of Richelieu obtained Pignerol and Casale, which commanded

the passes into Italy; but in 1637 he was obliged to give up the latter fortress. The peace of Italy was not disturbed by any of the operations of Louis XIV. of France. Its neutrality had been made one of the terms of the treaty of Turin in 1696.

The war of succession in Spain, which broke out in 1700, produced considerable changes in Italy. The battle of Turin, won (September 7, 1706) by the Imperialists under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy, caused the French to surrender to Austria (March 13, 1707) all the possessions and fortresses which they occupied in virtue of the Spanish rights in Lombardy; and thus Spain, after having held them for two centuries, lost them without even her consent having been asked. The duchy of Mantua shared the same fate. Ferdinand Gonzaga, the last duke, sunk in sensuality and sloth, and utterly indifferent to affairs of state, had allowed the French to occupy it during the war. It, too, was surrendered to the Imperialists, notwithstanding the protest of Ferdinand, who died of grief at Padua a few months after. By the Treaty of Turin, October 7, 1703, Montserrat, which formed part of the duchy, was ceded by Austria to Savoy as the price of her co-operation. In 1707 the imperialists took possession of Naples with scarcely any resistance from the Spanish viceroy. By the peace of Utrecht (April, 1713) and the two treaties of Rastadt and Basle (March 6, September 7, 1714) the arrangements which had followed the battle of Turin were ratified, and the emperor was confirmed in possession of Naples. The island of Sardinia, given up by Spain, was added to his conquests, and Sicily, chiefly through the agency of England, was also wrested from Spain, and given to the house of Savoy. After the death of Louis XIV., Spain, at that time governed by Cardinal Alberoni, endeavored to retrieve her losses, and pounced upon Sardinia in 1717, and on Sicily in the following year. England, France, Holland, and Austria, immediately formed themselves into a league against her, known

as the Quadruple Alliance. The war that begun was brought to a close by the peace of February 17, 1720. Naples was left in the possession of the house of Austria, which also received Sicily, exchanging it with the house of Savoy for the island of Sardinia. From this time the dukes of Savoy have taken the title of kings of Sardinia. The contingent succession to Tuscany, and to Parma and Piacenza, upon the extinction which was then anticipated of the Medici and Farnese Families, was secured to Don Carlos, the younger son of Philip V. of Spain by Elisabetta Farnese, his second wife.

The war of the Polish succession, 1733-38, caused other important changes in the Italian peninsula. The Spanish Infant Don Carlos, to whom the duchies of Parma and Piacenza had already devolved (January 10, 1731), seized the kingdom of Naples, defeated the Austrians at Bitonto (May 25, 1734), and was crowned at Palermo (December, 1734) as king of Naples and Sicily. Emmanuel of Savoy, now king of Sardinia, joined France and Spain, and with the aid of the former was enabled to take possession of the duchy of Milan. By the treaty of Vienna, of November, 1735 (at first entered into only by Austria and France, but to which afterwards Spain and Sardinia found themselves obliged to give in their adhesion), it was stipulated that Don Carlos should deliver up Parma and Piacenza to the emperor, and in return be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily; that the king of Sardinia should restore the duchy of Milan to Austria, retaining only Tortona and Novara; that Tuscany, at the death of the grand-duke Giangastone de' Medici, who had no heir, should go to the house of Lorraine in compensation for their hereditary states, which, on their taking possession of Tuscany, were to go to Stanislaus, the father-in-law of Louis XV., in return for his renouncing the Polish crown, and after his death to France. Giangastone, in whom the line of the Medici became extinct, complained of these arrangements formed without his knowledge; but all he could obtain

was an imperial diploma, issued with the consent of the Germanic Diet on the 24th January, 1737, which, to remove any chance of reversion to the empire, provided that at his death the sovereignty of Tuscany should be vested in Francis of Lorraine, and his male descendants in the order of primogeniture; in case of the extinction of that line, in Charles of Lorraine and his male descendants; and, failing in the male branches altogether, it should be vested in their female descendants. Giangastone died the same year, and Francis of Lorraine, who had married Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., afterwards empress of Austria, came to his newly acquired state in 1739. Massa and Carrara, in 1743, fell by hereditary succession to the duke of Modena.

The death of Charles VI. without male issue gave origin to the war of the Austrian succession. By a treaty agreed upon at Worms in 1743 by Austria, England, and Sardinia, the Finale was wrested from the republic of Genoa, a neutral power, which was thereupon driven, in self-defence, to join Spain and France. In the course of the war the Austrians were defeated at Velletri, near the Neapolitan frontier (10th August, 1744), by Charles III., and were driven out of Milan by the Spaniards, who, in their turn, were expelled by Charles Emmanuel of Savoy. Genoa surrendered (7th September, 1746) without opposition to the Austrians, who did such deeds of tyranny and extortion that the people rose *en masse* and drove them out of the town. The next year (1747) it withstood successfully a severe and protracted siege by Austrians and Piedmontese on land, and by an English squadron at sea. At length, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (30th April—18th October, 1748), Charles III. was maintained in the possession of Naples and Sicily; the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, were settled on his brother Don Philip; Milan was restored to the house of Austria; the districts of Vigevanasco and Bobbio, and some portions of Anghiera and Pavia, which Maria Theresa had ceded to

the king of Sardinia for his services, were secured to him, and the Finale was restored to Genoa.

As soon as peace was definitely made, Genoa continued with greater energy the warfare which had been going on in the island of Corsica from 1736; but finding herself unable to cope alone with the islanders, especially through the genius and military skill of General Paoli, by a treaty concluded at Versailles (15th May, 1768) she made over the island to Louis XV. A large French army, after a protracted and obstinate resistance, overcame the Corsicans, and Paoli, with more than 400 of the leading patriots, was compelled to make his escape from the persecution of the conqueror on the 13th June, 1769.

From the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the attack of the French upon Piedmont in 1792, Italy enjoyed forty-four years of peace, during which the country made steady progress in the improvement of its social and political institutions. The Emperor Joseph II. encouraged the University of Pavia, abolished in part the feudal institutions, and checked the privileges of the clergy in Lombardy, which, under the mild and wise administration of his minister, Count Firmian, increased greatly in wealth and population. His brother Leopold, grand-duke of Tuscany, gave a new code of laws, introduced numerous improvements into every branch of the administration, and supported the bishop of Pistoia, Scipione de' Ricci, in his attempts at ecclesiastical reform. In Naples, Charles III. and, after his accession to the throne of Spain, his son Ferdinand, under the ministry of the Marquis Tanucci, adopted the same course of reforms. Feudal rights and jurisdictions were nearly all abolished, attempts were made towards a methodical arrangement of the numberless existing statutes, pragmatics edicts, &c.; and the mortmain laws were enacted to check the increase of the excessive landed property of religious corporations. Numerous improvements were also made in the duchies of Parma and Piacenza by Dor

Philip, under the direction of his minister Dutillet. Even the Roman States had not been stationary. The reform in the secondary branches of the administration begun by Benedict XIV. (Lambertini, 1744-1758); neglected by Clement XIII. (Rezzonico, 1758-1769); were continued by Clement XIV. (Ganganelli, 1769-1774), who, yielding to the demands of the courts of France, Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Parma, suppressed the order of the Jesuits (21st July, 1773); and by Pius VI. (Braschi, 1774-1799), who drained the Pontine Marshes.

Such was the state of Italy when the French attacked Sardinia in September, 1792. As the narrative of the events by which Italy fell under the dominion of Bonaparte is elsewhere given under the head FRANCE, it is only necessary to refer the reader to that article. When possession of most of the peninsula had been gained in 1797, republicanism was in the ascendant at Paris, and the Cisalpine republic was formed. Lombardy was extended by adding to it a portion of the papal territory. Genoa formed another republic, called the Ligurian; and Venice, which had submitted without opposition, changed its own institutions on the model of the French republic, though it was soon afterwards transferred to Austria by the treaty of Campo-Formio. Naples also was, in 1799, formed into the Parthenopæan republic, but after a few months Cardinal Ruffo re-established the government of Ferdinand IV., the leading patriots having surrendered the castle on condition that they should be allowed to go to France. The capitulation was broken by Lord Nelson; and the liberals who had already embarked on ship-board, and who numbered many of the best and most learned men in Naples, were all executed. When Bonaparte became first consul, the Cisalpine republic was new-modelled after the pattern of France, and converted into the Italian republic. In 1805, when the military regime was completed in France, and Bonaparte had become its emperor, Italy was united to the same monarchy

and he was crowned at Milan on the 26th of May, with the iron crown of Lombardy. In January, 1806, a French army entered Naples and proclaimed king his brother Joseph, who, however, in 1808, exchanged it for the throne of Spain, and was succeeded by General Murat. For one of his sisters, who had married Paschal Bacciochi, Parma and Piombino were formed into a principality. Tuscany became a kingdom of Etruria, and was given to the Parma family; but in 1808 they were all converted into a province of France. Ferdinand of Naples, who in 1806 took refuge in Sicily, was enabled to maintain himself by the assistance of the English navy and army. Whilst Murat reigned as king in Naples, and Eugene Beauharnais as viceroy in Milan, they were both summoned, with all the forces they could collect, to join the grand army for the subjugation of Russia. After the retreat from Moscow, both returned to their dominions with the remnant of their forces. Eugene maintained the fidelity for which he had engaged; but Murat, offended with Bonaparte, formed an alliance with the confederated monarchs of Europe. After the abdication of the imperial throne, Eugene withdrew, and the states of Italy returned to the government of their former rulers, with the exception of Venice, which remained subject to Austria.

On the return of Bonaparte from Elba in 1815, Murat took up arms, advanced northwards, and entered Bologna. Driven thence, he was soon afterwards defeated near Tolentino, and his power completely destroyed. The capital was entered by the Austrian general Nugent, and Murat fled to France, while his wife and family found refuge in Austria. Ferdinand returned from Sicily to Naples, and maintained, with few changes, the Code Napoleon and the other institutions introduced by the French. Murat made a feeble attempt to recover his kingdom; and having collected a small body of troops in Corsica, landed with them at Pizzo, in Calabria, where he was made prisoner, tried by a

military tribunal, and shot. By the final treaty of Vienna, the following arrangements regarding Italy were agreed to, which continued till the union. The king of Sardinia received back all his dominions, according to the boundaries existing in 1792, with some few changes in the frontier on the side of Geneva. To these were added the city of Genoa, and the territory attached to it in former times when it was a republic. The emperor of Austria united with his hereditary monarchy the newly-erected kingdom of Venetian Lombardy, in which were included the districts of the Valteline, Bormio, and Chiavenna parts of the Swiss canton of Grisons. Istria was not included in the Austrian kingdom of Illyria. The valley of the Po was fixed upon as the boundary between the Papal States and Parma. The house of Este was again declared sovereign over Modena, Reggio, Mirandola, Massa, and Carrara. The Empress Maria Louisa received the state of Parma as a sovereignty for her life, after which it was to fall to the Duchess of Lucca and her heirs, who were to give up a territory in Bohemia to the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon and Maria Louisa. Prince Ferdinand of Austria received Tuscany and the district of Piombino, with the title of Grand Duke. He also obtained the sovereignty of the isle of Elba, on condition of reserving in that island the rights of Prince Buoncompagni Ludovisi. The Infanta Maria Louisa received Lucca as a sovereign dukedom, and with it a yearly pension of 500,000 francs, till the decease of the Empress Maria Louisa. The pope was fully reinstated in all his dominions, with the exception of a few small portions on the left bank of the Po; but Austria reserved the right of recruiting in Ferrara and Comacchio. Ferdinand of Naples was again acknowledged as king of both Sicilies, and the republic of San Marino and the Prince of Monaco were guaranteed in the enjoyment of their ancient rights.

Thus, at the end of twenty years of war, Italy lost the ancient liberties of some of its provinces, and saw the Austrian sway more

firmly established and extended in others. But this was not the worst. Her rulers, who before the French Revolution, had commenced civil and political reforms, came back with an obstinate aversion to any change. All that the country had gained was the abolition of the remnants of feudal rights and privileges, the division of feudal domains, and of the extensive lands wrested from the suppressed monasteries, and the introduction of the Code Napoleon into most of its states.

The restoration of the old governments, however, was not followed by the return of tranquillity, still less of contentment among the Italians. A new spirit was astir among them which was not likely to be allayed by the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna—the spirit of national independence. Awakened first by a few poets of the last twenty years of the eighteenth century, it had been fostered by the allied powers themselves, who found it their own interest to oppose it to the French rule. The archduke John of Austria, in 1809, Lord William Bentinck, in 1814, at Genoa, and General Nugent, in 1815, had all promised independence to the Italians, and excited them to rise in the name of their country's freedom, and defend their own rights and their own liberties. Even Murat, in his march to Upper Italy, in 1815, had appealed to the spirit of national independence, and gave out the freedom of Italy as the object of his expedition. It became then the favorite theme of the national literature, and the measures adopted by the Congress of Vienna contributed to strengthen it. By the extension of the Austrian power in the peninsula, all the Italian sovereigns became virtually so many liege lords of the empire; their policy was dictated by the cabinet of Vienna, and not one of them dared to act or think for himself. Thus King Ferdinand, who, on leaving Sicily in May, 1815, had addressed to the Neapolitans a proclamation, in which he promised to be the depositary of such laws as should be decreed by a constitution, in June of the same year, by a secret treaty signed at Vienna, engaged himself not

to introduce into his states any principles of government irreconcilable with those adopted by Austria in her Italian provinces; and accordingly, in 1816, he put, *de facto*, an end to the Sicilian constitution of 1812. The accumulated hatred of all the tyranny and petty persecutions that took place in any part of Italy after the restoration fell therefore upon Austria, which, right or wrong, was looked upon as their instigator and abettor. This feeling increased in proportion as at every effort made by the people to rid themselves of the tyranny under which they were groaning, the Austrians stepped in to support their sovereigns, and rivet their chains. A conviction then arose that there could scarcely be any real improvement in the state of the peninsula until national independence had been obtained. These observations will give a clue to the events that have taken place from 1815 up to the present time.

The Italian sovereigns, on returning to their respective states, neither restored the ancient order of things, nor adapted their new policy to the fresh wants and altered conditions of society. In compliance with the dictations of the Holy Alliance, they undid not only what had been done under the French rule, but also their own previous reforms. By an agreement with the pope, the Jesuits were restored everywhere, many of the suppressed monasteries were re-established, and the mortmain laws of the eighteenth century were repealed. The taxes upon land were increased, and exports and imports checked by means of high duties. The system of passports was made much more stringent, and permission to leave one's native town, even for a few days, often denied. Elementary education was narrowed in its limits, and thrown entirely into the hands of the clergy; its highest branches were discountenanced and lowered by the expulsion from the universities of some of the ablest professors, supposed to entertain liberal views. Private lecturing or teaching was not allowed without a previous license from the ordinary and the police agent. The free-

dom of the press was fettered more than it had ever been before, and every work before being published was subjected to a rigorous scrutiny. Public functionaries were changed without any regard to justice, but merely because they had served under the former government. All who had distinguished themselves in the time of Napoleon, or who were of a liberal turn of mind, were openly persecuted, or held in disfavor, and their movements and words suspected, watched and reported. In addition to all this, in the papal states ecclesiastics returned to fill all civil offices, and the Code Napoleon was withdrawn from those provinces which had formed part of the kingdom of Italy. Hence there arose general discontent among the people, and thousands of otherwise quiet persons, either in the hope of finding redress and protection, or only out of a feeling of revenge, joined the *Carbonari*. This was a secret political society which had been formed during the French rule for the purpose of emancipating the peninsula, and is supposed to have been at first encouraged by the Bourbons of Sicily against Murat. The Carbonari counted among their numbers many officers who, when the army at the restoration had suddenly changed its colors, were either expelled or not regularly promoted. This vast combination, supported by the general sympathies of the people, wanted but a small impulse to break out into open rebellion, and it was in vain that the government of Naples tried to oppose to the Carbonari another secret society, called the *Calderari*, who adhered to the royal party.

The Spanish military revolution of January 1, 1820, which proclaimed the constitution adopted by the Cortes in 1812, produced an excitement which spread rapidly throughout Italy. Its first effects were experienced at Naples. In July, 1820, the army mutinied, and demanded the Spanish constitution. The king thereupon named as vicar-general his eldest son Francis, who assented to the demand in his father's name, and appointed a provisional junta. In pro-

sence of this body, as well as of the chiefs of the army, both he and his father, on the 13th July, swore fidelity to the new order of things. An assembly was convened, which adopted the Spanish constitution, with some trifling modifications, decreed a large military force, and began reforms in several branches of the public administrations. General Florestano Pepe was sent with a body of troops to restore tranquillity in Palermo, where, on the 15th July, at the news of the events of Naples, a popular outbreak had created great confusion. Pepe landed at Melazzo, marched towards Palermo, entered it by capitulation on the 6th of October, and proclaimed the constitution.

Meanwhile the emperors of Austria and Russia and the Prince Royal of Prussia met in October at Troppau, where the ambassadors from France and England were also present, and decided on a military interference in the affairs of Naples. Austria at this time had marched an army of 80,000 men into her Italian provinces, and Great Britain and France had each stationed a naval squadron in the Bay of Naples, with instructions to watch over the safety of the king and the royal family.

The three sovereigns having invited Ferdinand to meet them at Laybach, the king announced his resolution of accepting the invitation, and received the assent of parliament, on his declaring that his going would have no other object than to avert a war and maintain the constitution in its integrity. The crown prince was appointed regent, and the king proceeded, on the 13th December, in an English ship of the line to Leghorn, and thence to Laybach. The congress decided not to allow the continuance of the new order of things at Naples, and entrusted the emperor of Austria with the power of suppressing what they called a revolt. This resolution was made known to the prince regent in Naples. He was also informed that an Austrian army was ready to enter the kingdom, and that if it was insufficient, a Russian army would follow

The regent and the parliament having determined to resist, and made preparations for defence, the representatives of the allied powers withdrew from Naples, a large Austrian army under General Frimont advanced, and after encountering and routing the Neapolitans on the frontier of the Abruzzi, entered Naples on the 23d of March, 1821, and restored the old regime. Ferdinand returned soon afterwards to his kingdom to direct the state prosecutions.

While these events were taking place in Naples, another military insurrection, originating in the same causes, but differently directed, broke out early in March in Piedmont, and proclaimed the Spanish constitution. The king, who had assented to the resolutions of the Congress of Laybach, refused to yield, on the 13th abdicated the throne, and in the absence of his brother and heir, Charles Felix, who had set out for Modena to meet the king of Naples on his return from Laybach, appointed Prince Charles Albert Carignani as regent. Charles Felix, by a proclamation of the 16th, declared that the abdication of his brother was forced and illegal, and disavowing the changes that had taken place in Turin, appointed General Latour to take the command of the loyal troops stationed at Novara, and to suppress the insurrection. The liberal party determined to resist; but as soon as this resolution was adopted, the prince regent, on the night of the 21st, fled to Novara, and there declared his readiness to submit to the royal pleasure. An army, hastily collected, was dispatched from Turin to attack Latour, and on the other hand Count Bubna, the Austrian commander-in-chief in Lombardy, to whom Charles Felix had applied, on the 8th April crossed the Ticino and marched to his assistance. After a short but brisk skirmish near Novara on that day, the liberal army was defeated, General Latour entered Turin on the 10th, and Count Bubna took possession of the fortress of Alessandria on the 11th of April. Victor Emmanuel confirmed solemnly no

the 19th his act of abdication; Charles Felix assumed the title of king, with a power as unrestricted as that of his brother had been; Charles Albert, who was refused admittance by the new king, after a short residence in Florence, went to make amends for his liberal tendencies by serving in the French army, which restored despotic rule in Spain in 1823.

These movements were followed by numerous state trials and executions in Naples and Piedmont, as well as in the rest of Italy. Among those arrested in Lombardy were Silvio Pellico, Count Gonfalonieri, Maroncelli, and other distinguished literary men, who, after being condemned to death, had their sentences commuted into imprisonment in the castle of Spielberg. In the kingdom of Naples, a call for a constitution by a few young men at Boscotrecase in 1827, was followed by a bloody retribution; many of the inhabitants were massacred; the rest were dispersed; the village itself was razed to the ground, and its site was effaced by the plough. In the Roman States, after the death of Pius VII. (August, 1823), his successor Leo XII. (della Genga) adopted a coercive policy of still more grinding severity, while the strange excesses of Cardinal Pallotta, the espionage and blood-thirsty persecutions of Cardinal Rivarola, and the extraordinary commission of Monsignore Invernizzi spread dismay and affliction in every family.

After nine years of proscription and repression, the French revolution of July, 1830, gave new hopes to the Italians, and was the proximate cause of fresh disturbances. The secret societies, which had never been entirely extirpated, increased in number and activity, and their leaders received and held out promises that if they came to an open rupture with their sovereigns, they might rely on effectual assistance from the newly-established government in France.

No disturbances, however, took place in Lombardy and Piedmont, where the prosecutions had somewhat abated; nor in Tus-

cany, which was mildly governed; nor in the Two Sicilies, where the general amnesty by which Ferdinand II. initiated his kingdom in 1830 allayed discontent, and gave a hope of moderate reforms. In Modena the Duke Francis IV. had for some time promoted the conspiracy with arms and money, and was intimate with Ciro Menotti, a young man who led a first movement on the 3d February, 1830. The troops were called out, and after some fighting in the streets and from Menotti's house, he and his party surrendered. Two days later, on the arrival of the news of the events at Bologna, a more formidable revolt broke out; in consequence of which the duke deemed it expedient to withdraw to Mantua, taking with him his prisoners—of whom Menotti was afterwards shot—and a provisional government was established. Parma soon followed the example, and the duchess withdrew to Piacenza. But the most important events happened in the Roman states, where the old and infirm Pius VIII. (elected 31st March, 1823), being both unwilling and unfit to change the course followed by his predecessor, Leo XII., gave the people no hopes of better times, and drove them almost to madness. On the 4th of February an insurrection broke out at Bologna, which compelled the legate to resign his authority; and a provisional government abolished by a decree the temporal power of the pope. The insurrection spread rapidly to Ancona, which capitulated to a handful of the insurgents. Meanwhile a division of a large Austrian army, already collected in Lombardy, advanced to Modena and Parma, and reinstated their respective rulers. The Italians, relying on the declaration made by France soon after the days of July, that she would not permit Austria to interfere in Italy, were buoyed up with the hope of French assistance; but when Louis Philippe had firmly established himself on the French throne, he explained away that declaration by stating that it did not bind him to take any steps to prevent such interfer-

ence. A negotiation between Austria and France ended in an understanding that the former power might suppress the several Italian insurrections without permanently occupying the countries in which they prevailed. Accordingly, another division of the Austrian army advanced to Bologna, and having entered it without any resistance, marched towards Ancona, where the members of the provisional government (who belonged to some of the noblest and wealthiest families in the country) had taken refuge. Before the arrival of the Austrians, the insurgents, who in their flight had taken Cardinal Benvenuti and carried him with them as a hostage, surrendered to him the citadel on condition that indemnity should be given to all political offenders; but the pope refused to ratify the cardinal's stipulation. Pius died on November 30, 1830, and was succeeded by Gregory XVI. (Cappellari) 2d February, 1831.

The events we have related caused Austria, Prussia, France, Russia and England to present a joint memorandum (10th March) to the new pope, in which admission of the laity to administrative and judicial functions, and a general improvement in the laws and the administration, were strongly recommended. The only result, however, was a *motu proprio* (10th July, 1831), by which the pope modified in part the municipal institutions. On the 15th July, the Austrians withdrew, but no sooner had they crossed the frontiers than the liberal party took up arms again in the four legations. After a skirmish at Cesena, in which the insurgents were defeated, the papal troops entered Bologna, shot at random many people in the streets, and committed such horrors that when the Austrians arrived the inhabitants welcomed them with rejoicings. This fresh intervention of Austria having called the attention of the French government, a French fleet with an army on board appeared before Ancona in March, 1832, seized the citadel, and drove away the papal troops. This led to some detailed negotiations, which

ended in a treaty of the 16th of April, by which it was settled that the French were to remain at Ancona at their own expense and without receiving any reinforcements, and were to depart as soon as the pope should have no longer occasion for the assistance of the Austrians.

From this period there was a lull of nearly ten years in the Italian agitation, with the exception of the outbreaks, caused chiefly by the cholera, in 1837, at Syracuse and at Palermo, in Sicily. It was easily put down by the Neapolitan minister of police, Del Carretto, who shed blood unsparingly, and it gave an excuse to Ferdinand II. to put an end to the separate government that the island had enjoyed from the foundation of the monarchy in the twelfth century. In 1838 the French withdrew from Ancona, and the Austrians from the Legations.

No attempt to reform having been made, and the police, in the Roman States and the Two Sicilies especially, becoming more stringent and inquisitorial every day, the discontent and agitation reappeared stronger than ever in 1844, and were kept alive and spread by the scientific Congress which met every year in one of the Italian cities. An attempt at revolt at Cosenza in Calabria was easily repressed; the brothers Bandiera, with a few followers, were captured soon after landing on the Calabrian coast, and all executed by the Neapolitan government, which had been acquainted of their projects by the English ministry, and was accordingly prepared to meet them.

The death of Gregory XVI. (1st June, 1846), and the election of his successor, Pius IX. (Mastai Ferretti, June 16), opened another period in the history of Italy. On the 16th July, a month after his election, the new pope granted a general amnesty to all political offenders. The hosannas were countless. Pius IX. was hailed as a deliverer in every part of Italy. The cry of *Viva Pio Nono* became the rallying word of the liberal party. Reforms followed re-

forms, and hopes grew stronger every day. Austria became alarmed and threatened to interfere. The Nuncio, Monsignor Viale (who, at a later period, was to take a prominent part in framing the Austrian concordat), acting in direct opposition to his instructions from Rome, discussed with Metternich the excesses of the liberals, the weakness of the government, and the probability of its requiring aid. On the 17th July, 1847, the Austrians crossed the Po and occupied Ferrara, where several outrages were committed by the Croats. The governor of the Legation, Cardinal Ciacchi, and the secretary of state, Cardinal Ferretti, protested strongly against the invasion of the papal territory; the Austrian cabinet replied; Ferretti protested again, and sent a remonstrance to the European powers; and the Austrians at last withdrew.

The agitation was everywhere on the increase. A handful of daring men proclaimed a constitution at Reggio, in Calabria, and attacked the troops at Messina, in September, but were easily beaten off. Then followed, as usual, arrests, a state of siege, councils of war, the brutal license of the army. In Lombardy, the commander-in-chief, Marshal Radetzky, imprisoned by hundreds, and brought the prisoners before councils of war. The affairs of the peninsula having called the attention of the European powers, the British government determined upon sending to Italy Lord Minto, who formed part of the cabinet of Lord John Russell. Lord Minto's instructions were to recommend to the Italian sovereigns those political changes and that good faith which would give security to their governments, and to their subjects that moderation which might lead to the establishment of liberty. He began by visiting Switzerland, whence he went to Italy, where he acted up to his instructions faithfully. He became the butt of numerous accusations and misrepresentations both abroad and at home; but he served his government with ability as well as with honor, and deserved well of Italy by his honest and

faithful endeavors to inculcate good faith on her rulers.

The last months of 1847 saw the first important political change in the form of Italian governments. In Tuscany, a law of the grand duke (September 4th); in Rome, a *motu proprio* of the pope (25th October); and in Piedmont a notification of the king (29th October), established elective consultative bodies to act as councils of state. At Lucca, the same reforms having been called for, the duke withdrew, and the duchy was united to Tuscany, 11th October, 1847.

Naples and Austria proclaimed that their states needed no reforms. On the 2d January, 1848, a liberal demonstration at Milan caused the Austrian garrison to massacre many harmless old people and women in the streets. Funeral ceremonies for these victims were celebrated in Piedmont, Tuscany and the Roman States. On the 4th, proclamations were seen posted in the streets of Palermo, declaring that a revolution would take place on the 12th January, if the king, before that day, did not grant some reforms. No reforms were granted, and on the appointed day the population of Palermo rose in arms against a garrison of 8000 men, who, after four days, were strengthened by reinforcements of 5000 men and eight war steamers. The insurgents formed a provisional government, presided over by old Admiral Ruggiero Settimo. In Naples, on the 27th January, a large number of people assembled before the palace and called for a constitution; the king changed his ministry, and on the 29th promised to give it. On the 1st February a general amnesty was granted to all political offenders; on the 10th the constitution was published, to which, on the 24th, the king and all the members of the royal family took their solemn oath.

The period of consultative councils was over; that of representative institutions had begun. Constitutional statutes were published on the 15th February in Tuscany, at Turin on the 4th, and in Rome on the 14th

of March. But in Sicily fighting was still going on; and, as the royal troops had the worst of it, the king entreated the British government to interpose its good offices, and despatched a messenger with an invitation to Lord Minto, then in Rome, who arrived on the 4th of February, and began to confer with the government as to the terms to be offered to Sicily. Meanwhile, the citadel at Palermo surrendered to the insurgents; the royal forces were everywhere defeated, and on the 24th the provisional government summoned a parliament in order to adapt their constitution of 1812 to the present times.

The breaking out of the French revolution gave a new turn to Italian affairs. New passions were called into play, new conflicts arose. A small republican party, stirred up and abetted by French agents, got the upper hand in many places. The peninsula was covered with blood, and at last, with the exception of Sardinia, lost all it had gained in the first four months of the eventful year 1848.

On hearing the news from Paris, the king of Naples entrusted Lord Minto with the terms which he was requested to offer to Sicily; but on arriving at Palermo (9th March), with the squadron of Sir William Parker, Lord Minto found that a Neapolitan war steamer had brought those terms, and published them as an *ultimatum* of the king, and that public opinion, excited by the contemporary arrival of the French news, had already rejected them. With great difficulty Lord Minto succeeded in obtaining from the government of Palermo that the royal terms should be accepted with some trifling modifications. These, on being transmitted to Naples, were refused by the king, who protested against any act which might take place from that time in Sicily (22d March). The king, by this time was possessed of no stronghold in the island except the citadel of Messina. Parliament having assembled at Palermo (25th March), decreed that the Bourbons had forfeited the throne of Sicily, (13th April), and, after accomplishing the re-

form of the constitution, called to the throne the Duke of Genoa (11th July), the youngest son of the king of Sardinia. A messenger, sent to announce the election, was conveyed to Genoa by an English war steamer, speedily followed by a French one with a formal deputation on board. The duke neither accepted nor refused the crown.

In Naples the moderate constitutional ministry (of which Poerio was a member) was replaced, 3d April, in consequence of the events in France, by a more radical administration. The franchise was now extended by a new electoral law; a modification in the appointment of the upper house was announced; and an army was sent under General William Pepe, to join in the war against the Austrians. On the 15th of May, the day on which parliament was to meet, the republican party, encouraged by the presence of the French fleet, and prompted by the representative of the republic, raised barricades with the aid of many French officers and sailors, and called for a modification of the upper house. A collision ensued, which cost more than 1000 lives and great destruction of property. The fight lasted seven hours, and the royal troops, after carrying the barricades, were assisted by the lower classes in the pillage of the houses. The next day the king changed the ministry, dissolved the chambers that had never met, issued a proclamation stating "his most firm and immovable will to maintain the constitution," and recalled the army from Bologna, where it was on its way to the Po. A new electoral law was framed. The chambers met for the first time on July 1st, and supported the government in stifling the revolution originated in Calabria by the news of the 15th of May.

The events of Piedmont and Southern Italy, and the news of the French republic, acted like an electric shock upon the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom; yet no important events took place until the rising of the people at Vienna on the 13th March, had

thrown the imperial government into confusion. Before proceeding to hostilities the Milanese demanded several concessions. Their refusal was followed by the insurrection of Milan (18th March, 1848), and the expulsion of the Austrians (23d March), by the capitulation of the commander of Venice (24th), and by the rising of the whole kingdom.

Provisional governments were established, under the presidency of Casati at Milan, and of Manin at Venice. On the 23d, King Charles Albert declared war against Austria. On the 8th April, he forced the Austrian lines on the Mincio in three places, and crossing the Adige, took up a position to the North of Verona. On the 30th, the Austrians were dislodged from Goito, and driven to the gates of Mantua. After these victories, Piacenza, Parma, Modena, Lombardy, and Venice, by universal suffrage, joined the Sardinian monarchy, on condition that the constitutional statute should be remodelled by a general constituency. Radetzky, who had received an accession of strength of 15,000 men brought by Nugent, on the 28th May, with 40,000 men fell upon and defeated 5000 Tuscans and Neapolitans at Curtatone, and on the 30th, attacked the right wing of the Sardinians at Goito. He was repulsed with great loss, and on the same day the fortress of Peschiera surrendered to Charles Albert. Radetzky recovered his loss by marching with 30,000 men upon Vicenza, where the papal army under General Durando was quartered, and having been joined by Welden with a reinforcement of 15,000 men, on the 10th June, after a bombardment of forty-eight hours, he compelled Durando to surrender on the terms that the Romans should cross the Po and not take up arms against Austria for the space of three months. The Sardinians, on the 13th July, invested Mantua, but in doing so they left their strong position, and lengthened their line too much. The watenful Radetzky at once saw their mistake, attacked them on all points, and gave them a severe defeat on the

25th, at Custoza. The Sardinians withdrew to Milan, where, on the 4th August, they were again defeated. On the 6th, they crossed the Ticino, and Radetzky entered Milan, where, on the 9th, he signed an armistice.

As soon as these events were known in Naples, the king hastened the preparations he had been making for attacking Sicily, and an expedition under General Filangieri finally left Naples for Messina on the 30th August, 1848. The Neapolitan troops disembarked on the 3d September, reinforced the garrison of the citadel, and invested the town. They then opened a fire upon the place, which was defended by the inhabitants with the energy of despair. After a murderous bombardment of five days they got possession of it; and rushing in, perpetrated such atrocities, that the commanders of the French and English fleets then in the Bay of Naples interfered and extorted an armistice from the conquerors.

Important events were meanwhile taking place in Rome. Soon after the papal troops had marched to the frontiers, Austria, by threatening to dissolve the spiritual connection between Germany and Rome, so powerfully influenced the pope, that on the 29th April, 1848, in a secret allocution in consistory, he disapproved of the war with Austria, and the project of an Italian alliance for its prosecution. As soon as this became known, great dissatisfaction was expressed, and the pope began to grow unpopular. On the 13th September, a new ministry was formed under the presidency of Cardinal Soglia. One of the leading members of the cabinet was Count Rossi, who, seizing the helm with a strong and skillful hand, steered the ship of state in a constitutional course. Meanwhile, the republican party, driven from Naples and Lombardy, had concentrated its strength in Rome. Seeing in Rossi an obstacle to the execution of their wild schemes, they murdered him on the 15th November, on his way to the chambers. Several acts of disorder followed the perpe

tration of this crime ; the pope grew alarmed, and, encouraged by Martinez de la Rosa, Spaur, and D'Harcourt, the Spanish, Bavarian, and French ambassadors, left Rome in disguise on the night of the 25th November. Flying for refuge to Gaetà, he was there received by the king of Naples. On the following day a supreme junta was formed, which, after a useless attempt to induce the pope to return, presented and passed a bill through the chambers (26th December), summoning a constituent assembly to deliberate upon the form of government.

The pope opened the new year, 1849, with a protest from Gaetà, 1st January, against these acts, and with a threat of excommunication, which exasperated the people. The moderate party were now left unsupported, and the republicans gave practical effect to their principles without check or opposition. The constituent assembly met on the 5th February ; on the 8th passed a decree abolishing the temporal sovereignty of the pope, and establishing a republic. On the 9th the republican flag was hoisted on the tower of the capitol.

After the disasters of the Sardinian army, and the truce of Milan, France and England mooted a mediation for the affairs of Italy, to which Sardinia easily acceded. Austria, after some objections, consented to send Count Colloredo to Brussels, where the conferences were to be held ; Tuscany also sent a representative. But the flight and protest of the pope, and his appeal to the arms of foreign powers, and the flight which followed of the grand duke of Tuscany marred the whole project, and put an end to the mediation.

The events at Rome so far emboldened the small ultra party at Piedmont, that the government was compelled to resume the war against Austria. Accordingly, on the 12th March, 1849, a superior officer expressly sent to Milan, announced the cessation of the armistice to Marshal Radetzky. General Chrzarnowsky, a Polish officer, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Sardinian

army, and the king accompanied it merely as a general officer at the head of the brigade of Savoy.

The hostile armies crossed the Ticino at the same time in order to invade the enemy's territory ; the main body of the Sardinians at Buffaloro, and the Austrians twelve miles lower down the stream between Vigevano and Pavia. Chrzarnowsky had placed General Ramorino with a division of the army in an angle formed by the Po and the Ticino opposite Pavia, with injunctions to prevent the Austrians from crossing. Ramorino not only did not oppose the passage, but disobeyed orders so completely, that he was deprived of his command, and, at the end of the war tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and shot. By this neglect of duty on the part of Ramorino, Radetzky was placed between the two divisions of the Sardinian army, and in a position to command the road to Turin. The Sardinian vanguard had already advanced to within five leagues of Milan, when a retrograde movement became absolutely necessary. On the 23d March, the duke of Savoy, who had remained behind with the reserve, attacked the Austrians at Mortara, but was driven back, and on the 24th, Radetzky advanced, and placed himself between Vercelli and Novara. It was here that the two armies met, and an engagement took place which put an end to the campaign. The Sardinians were defeated, and driven back into divisions. At the end of the day, Charles Albert abdicated, and the Duke of Savoy, now king Victor Emmanuel concluded an armistice, which was afterwards changed into a final treaty. The terms were that Sardinia should pay the expenses of the war, and suffer the fortress of Alessandria to be garrisoned by a joint Austrian and Piedmontese corps.

Intestine revolution was added to the evil of a foreign defeat. When the news of the disaster and the armistice of Novara reached Genoa, the people were thrown into a state of excitement, of which the republican party took advantage. General Avezzana, the

commander of the National Guard, summoned the citizens to arms; barricades were erected, a severe conflict with the royal troops followed, and a Ligurian republic was proclaimed. The government immediately sent a large force under the command of General della Marmora, who, on the 5th April, invested the place with such energy that the insurgents begged for a truce, which was granted, and on the 11th, the town was unconditionally surrendered. A general amnesty was granted, except to Avezzana and eleven other chiefs, who took refuge on board an American war steamer.

Naples felt the effect of what was passing in Upper Italy. At the first news of the cessation of the armistice of Milan, the king, on the 13th March, dissolved the chambers, which were then sitting, and which were destined never to meet again. Meanwhile the English and French governments had failed to arrange matters between Naples and Sicily, and their respective admirals now ceased to enforce the armistice. As soon as the intelligence of the defeat at Novara arrived at Naples, the king sent orders to General Filangieri to resume hostilities. Catania, after the most desperate resistance, was captured on the 6th April; Syracuse next surrendered, and Palermo sent in its submission to the commander-in-chief on the 25th. The royal troops entered it on the 15th May, and the whole island submitted to Ferdinand II.

The summoning of a constituent assembly in Rome caused a small faction to call also for a constituent in Tuscany. The grand duke, on the 10th January, 1849, opened the session of the legislative chamber with a speech, in which he stated that the reasons for prosecuting the war against Austria still existed, and that he concurred in the wishes of the people. In less than a month (7th February), he silently abandoned Siena, where he was staying, and betook himself to the fishing village of Santo Stefano, in the Maremma, whence, on the 21st, he sailed to Gaet  on board H. B. M.'s war steamer the *Bulldog*. In a letter which he left behind

for the minister Montanelli, he announced, that the pope having threatened to excommunicate him if he adhered to the Italian constituent, he saw no other means of extricating himself from the embarrassing position in which he was placed than by quitting Tuscany. On the arrival of this news at Florence, a provisional government was formed, and Mazzini, one of its members, tried to make Tuscany a province of the Roman republic. But the country had little sympathy with her extemporized administration. The members met at first with sullen opposition, but on the 12th April, the municipality of Florence, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, and the support of the peasantry, drove them away, restored the monarchy, formed a new ministry, and recalled the grand duke. Delegates were sent to Gaet  to tender him the crown on the base of the constitution. Leopold issued a proclamation in which he formally promised to uphold the free institutions; yet, shortly afterwards, under the plea that Leghorn had not agreed to the restoration, he called in the Austrians, who, under the command of General D'Aspre, entered Tuscany on the 5th May, 1849. The grand duke, encouraged by their presence, returned to his dominions and suppressed the constitution.

The numerous diplomatic intrigues that had been going on at Gaet  for the restoration of the pope came at last to an issue, and the Roman Catholic powers undertook a crusade against republican and antipapal Rome. A French expedition, under General Oudinot, landed at Civita Vecchia on the 25th April, and on the 29th, reached the walls of Rome. A corps of 16,000 Neapolitans crossed the frontier and took up a position between Albano and Frascati. A large Austrian army entered the Legations; and even Spain, stirred by the piety of her ambassador, Martinez de la Rosa, sent a division, which landed at Fiumicino, and proceeded to Terracina, committing all sorts of excesses on their way.

The French professed to come as friends.

but their presence was neither solicited nor desired. In a first attempt to enter the city, their advanced corps was vigorously attacked by the Romans and compelled to fall back. After protracted and unsuccessful negotiations between the triumvirate and the French agent, M. Lesseps, whose arrangements were disavowed by the French ministry, Oudinot made preparations for a vigorous prosecution of the siege. On the 2d and 3d of June, some sharp fighting took place near the Villa Doria, which was taken and retaken several times. On the 13th, the French opened a brisk fire against the walls; on the 1st July, after forty-eight hours of cannonade, the breach was declared practical, and the columns rushed to the attack. Resistance was now useless, and the triumvirate resigned their power into the hands of the municipality. On the 3d July, the French entered Rome. The pope sent three commissioners, Cardinals Della Genga, Vannicelli, and Altieri, into whose hands Oudinot, on the 3d August, resigned the civil administration of affairs, reserving to himself the maintenance of public order. The commissioners began the usual work of imprisonment and persecution.

The pope did not as yet venture to meet his subjects, and on the 4th September, 1849, moved from Gaetà to Portici. It was on the 4th April, 1850, when tranquillity was deemed sufficiently re-established, that after blessing the king of Naples, who accompanied him to Terracina, he proceeded by Velletri to Rome, where he arrived on the 12th.

Venice alone, though blockaded by the Austrian fleet on the side of the sea, and vigorously bombarded since the month of June on the land side, continued to assert Italian independence. Famine, conflagration, the plague of cholera, and the usual horrors of a siege, failed to quell the unconquerable courage of the inhabitants. The war continued during July and August with unabated violence, maintained with skill and constancy by the Austrians, with desperate valor by the Italians. When the news ar-

rived of the first Hungarian disasters, the assembly accredited Manin, the president, with full power to act to the best of his ability, for the safety and honor of the city. On the 23d August, having received certain intelligence that Hungary was entirely subdued, and seeing that it was hopeless single-handed to resist Austria and Russia, he gave up all authority into the hands of the municipality, and with the chief leaders escaped on board a French steamer. On the 29th, the Austrians entered Venice in silence. There, and on that day, the war of Italian independence came to a close. There is no brighter fact in those two eventful years, than the orderly conduct, the calm endurance, and the noble defence of Venice, which cost the Austrians 20,000 men.

Sardinia alone, after 1848, preserved her liberal institutions, and fairly worked out a regular constitutional government. Hence her very position as a free state, in direct antagonism to the military despotism by which the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was swayed, became a standing menace to Austria. The feeling of nationality, and the liberal aspirations of the Italian subjects of the latter power, not only were kept alive by the constitutional liberties thriving in a neighboring Italian state, but found expression and sympathy, and were constantly fanned by the free Sardinian press, which never failed to register and expose any general act of despotism, or any instance of individual wrong and oppression, exercised by the Austrian rulers of Lombardy and Venice. For the attacks by the press Austria often demanded redress from Sardinia; and was uniformly answered, that the press being free by the constitution, the government had no control over it; but if the newspapers made false statements, they might be prosecuted for libel. Many Lombards and Venetians, to escape persecution after 1849, availing themselves of the permission to expatriate given by the Austrian laws, had established themselves in Sardinia, where some of them even sat in the Chambers, or filled high official

situations. It was in the nature of things, that as Austria was the countenancer and supporter of the despotic rulers, so the constitutional party, all over Italy, should look up to Sardinia as their representative and leader, and the power by which they might expect a voice to be raised in their behalf.

Under such circumstances it was evident that Austria would never have a peaceful supremacy in Italy, so long as a constitutional government existed in Sardinia; and that, on the other hand, the liberal institutions of the latter country were constantly in danger of being trampled upon by the former, whenever a favorable opportunity occurred.

This state of things had almost daily been growing worse, when a few significant words of menace offered by the French emperor to the Austrian ambassador, at Paris, on New Year's day, 1859, accelerated a crisis, which otherwise would have been only delayed, not avoided. Austria, suspecting the existence of an accord against her between France and Sardinia, poured a formidable force into Italy, and assumed a threatening attitude towards the latter power, by bringing a division of her army up to the frontier, on the Ticino, and by strongly fortifying and garrisoning Piacenza, in the duchy of Parma.

Sardinia protested against the Austrian movements, especially against the fortification and occupation of Piacenza, contrary to the treaties of 1815. At the same time she made preparations for defence, and applied to France and England for assistance, in case of attack. The relations between France and Sardinia grew at this time closer, by means of a marriage between Princess Clotilde, a daughter of King Victor Emmanuel, and Prince Louis Napoleon.

The English government, under Lord Derby's administration, endeavored to bring the parties to an understanding; and to that effect Lord Cowley, from the embassy at Paris, was sent by Lord Malmesbury on a special, but, as it turned out, fruitless mission to Vienna. It was proposed that Austria should give up the separate treaties she had made,

since 1815, with the smaller Italian powers, and should withdraw from the Duchies and the Legations. The efforts of England were, in a certain way, thwarted by the proposal of a congress by Russia. But the rather too favorable attitude England assumed towards Austria, by raising a hope, that, in case of war, she would eventually join her, may possibly have tended to induce her to take the step which finally led to the rupture of peace. For, whilst arrangements for a pacific solution of the difficulties were still going on, Austria addressed to Sardinia a peremptory summons to disarm within three days. The Sardinian government having answered, that though it was unreasonable for the strong to ask the weak to disarm, yet they would abide by the decision of France and England. After a few days, at the end of April, the Austrian army, in three bodies, crossed the Ticino, and invaded the Sardinian territory.

Had Count Gyulai, the Austrian commander-in-chief, pushed on with the greatly superior force he had, the Sardinians would scarcely have been able to cover Turin; and they were so much prepared to give it up, if necessary, that the state archives had been removed to Chamberg. But before the arrival of the French, the Austrians lost invaluable time in comparative inaction, and in exacting heavy, and unreasonable requisitions of provisions of every kind, and money, in the provinces of Lomellina, Vercelli, and Novara.

Meanwhile a large French force, which was sent on the first news of the Austrian summons, began to pour its numbers into Italy, in aid of the Sardinians, across the Mont Cenis and the Mont Genevre, and by Genoa; and, on the 12th of May, the French emperor himself landed at the latter place, and assumed the command-in-chief of the French and Sardinian armies.

An imperial manifesto promised the independence of Italy, from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic Sea; and for a time it seemed as if the promise was to be fulfilled. In less than two months from the commencement of

hostilities, the Austrians, beaten in every encounter, were driven back from the Sesia and the Po, beyond the Mincio.

The main body of the French army assembled at first round Alessandria. Large forces were afterwards concentrated on the right, and seemed to aim at Piacenza, and forcing a passage of the Po, between that fortress and Pavia. An endeavor of the Austrians to dislodge them from their position led, on the 20th, to the battle of Montebello. The French were reposing within their lines, when, at 11 A.M., the Piedmontese outposts gave the alarm. A Sardinian cavalier, covered with blood and dust, galloped into the French camp, calling out, "To arms! the Austrians!" A detachment of Sardinian cavalry, under General Sonnaz, and two French battalions of the line, commanded by General Forey, had to sustain for hours an unequal combat against overwhelming forces. At length, strong French reinforcements having been brought up from Voghera, the headquarters of Marshal Baraguay D'Hillier's division, the Austrians, after a sanguinary struggle of six hours' duration, were repulsed, driven out of Montebello, and, fairly beaten, retreated to Casteggio.

After several skirmishes on the 31st, the main body of the French army crossed the Po at Casale, and took the road to Vercelli, where the passage of the Sesia was carried out by the successful action of Palestro, to cover their rapid march on Novara. At the same time, two actions, gallantly fought by the Sardinians, made the Austrians believe that the French were marching on Mortara, in the centre of their line.

By these strategic movements the allies outflanked the right wing of the Austrian army. On the 2d of June, General M'Mahon, with his division, threw a bridge over and crossed the Ticino at Turbigo, and marched towards Magenta, on the road to Milan; whilst the emperor, with other army corps, advanced towards the bridge of Buffalora.

The Austrians having learned, on the night of the 2d, the passage of the Ticino at Tur-

bigo, rapidly sent across that river, at Vigevano, three army corps, and on the 4th opposed at once the passage at Buffalora, and attacked M'Mahon's division at Magenta. A fearful struggle took place, in which the troops on each side engaged in the action exceeded 100,000 men. After a sanguinary conflict, which lasted more than eight hours, during which the Imperial and Sardinian guards took and retook the position six times, at half-past eight P.M. the allies remained masters of the field of battle; and the Austrians, who, according to the French accounts, had 15,000 killed and wounded, withdrew, leaving 4 guns, 2 flags, 5000 prisoners, 12,000 muskets, and 30,000 knapsacks. The loss of the allies was put down at 4000. Two French and one Austrian general fell in battle. General M'Mahon, to whom the victory was chiefly owing, was created a field-marshal and Duke of Magenta.

This victory was followed up by another signal success at Melegnano, from which place Marshal Baraguay D'Hilliers, on the 8th, dislodged bodies of Austrian troops that had entrenched themselves. The Austrian loss was estimated at nearly 2000; the French at 943, among which were 69 officers.

The Austrian accounts, which admitted a loss only of 5000 men at Magenta, greatly deprived the action of its former proportions, and represented it more like a drawn battle than a victory. Its great importance, however, was proved by its practical results. In conjunction with the brilliant action of Melegnano, not only it opened the way to Milan to the allies, but it cleared Lombardy of the Austrians; at first, as far as the Adda, and afterwards the Mincio. Pavia, Brescello, Pizzighettone, and Piacenza, were hastily evacuated; and the great fortifications, constructed at the latter places with so much labor and expense, which gave one of the pretexts for the present war, were destroyed. In every direction the Austrians fell back upon their reserves in the fortresses beyond the Mincio. They precipitately retired even from Ancona and Bologna, in the papal

states, which they had occupied since 1849. On the 8th of June, the day of the battle of Melegnano, Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan, and received the enthusiastic greetings of the inhabitants.

On the same day, by a proclamation to the Italians, Napoleon III., after disclaiming any view of personal ambition, or enlargement of the territory of France, and only claiming the moral influence of contributing to render free one of the most beautiful parts of Europe, invited them all to unite in one sole object, the enfranchisement of their own country. "Form a military organization," he continued; "hasten all of you to place yourselves under the flag of King Victor Emmanuel, who has already so nobly shown you the path of honor. Remember, that without discipline there is no army; and, animated with the sacred fire of justice, be nothing to-day but soldiers. To-morrow you will be free citizens of a great country."

The Austrians, under General Count Schlick, the successor of Gyulai, who was deposed in consequence of the defeat of Magenta, continued their retreat along the north bank of the Po, within the quadrangle of the fortresses of Peschiera, Verona, Mantua, and Legnano; and the allies, keeping the northerly road, crossed the Adda and the Oglio without opposition.

On the 22d of June, the hostile armies had come so near face to face, as to make it evident that a great battle was imminent. The allies were encamped between the Chiese and the Mincio, occupying Lenato, Castigliona, and Montechiaro; and having their left wing resting on the high ground near Brescia and the southern end of the lake of Garda. At their extreme left was General Garibaldi, who, with the Cacciatori degli Alpi, a body of volunteers, after a most daring and brilliant series of manœuvres round the extreme northern frontiers of Lombardy, had come down on the lake of Garda. The Austrian forces were on the left bank of the Mincio, resting with their right on Peschiera and Verona, and with their left wing on Mantua.

On the 23d, the Austrians poured out their numbers from Mantua, Verona, and Peschiera; and, led by their young emperor, Francis-Joseph, who had assumed the command-in-chief, in the course of the evening crossed the Mincio at four different places, confident of defeating the allies, and driving them beyond the Chiese.

On the 24th, one of the bloodiest battles on record took place. The Austrians began the attack at daylight; and at 10 A.M. the whole of the two armies had come into collision. The battle lasted fifteen hours, and extended along a line of nearly 18 miles, from the neighborhood of Brescia down towards Mantua. The right wing of the Austrians occupied Pozzolengo, where they met the Sardinians; their centre was at Caviana and Solferino, whilst their left wing marched on Guidinolo and Castel Goffredo, and for a time succeeded in repulsing the French.

The day was decided by a concentrated attack, made about three o'clock P.M., by the French Emperor on Solferino, a village in a commanding situation, where the Austrians had fortified themselves. After several hours of desperate fighting, the place was carried by the French, who, thereby breaking the Austrian centre, moved large masses against their left wing, which, having pushed on almost to the Chiese, was in danger of being surrounded and cut out. Late in the evening, the young emperor of Austria, with tears in his eyes, saw that the day was irrecoverably lost, and gave the order for the retreat beyond the Mincio, which was accomplished under the protection of a violent storm, that had begun to rage since three o'clock in the afternoon.

Few battles, in modern history, have been marked with more slaughter and horror. More than 300,000 human beings were brought into a close fight, and at night 35,000 of them, at least, were dead or dying. The French, according to their own statement, had 12,720 killed and wounded, and the Sardinians 5525. The Austrian loss, which was put by them at 11,213, is generally asserted

to have exceeded 18,000. Numerous prisoners, 13 pieces of cannon, two flags, and large quantities of arms and ammunitions, fell into the hands of the allies; and Napoleon III. slept at Solferino, in the very apartment which, the previous night, had been occupied by Francis-Joseph.

After the battle of Solferino, the command-in-chief of the Austrian army was given to Baron Hess, who offered no opposition to the passage of the Mincio by the allies. On the 1st of July, the latter received a reinforcement of 35,000 men, brought by Prince Napoleon through Florence and Modena.

Whilst the Sardinians were investing Peschiera, a French division was at Goito to watch Mantua; Garibaldi's Cacciatori degli Alpi, supported by General Cialdini's division, were moving to close up the valley of the Adige; and the emperor, with the main body of the army, was approaching Verona, —the startling news was received that Napoleon had sent an aide-de-camp to ask for an armistice; and that, on the 7th July, an armistice was actually concluded between him and Francis-Joseph. Events took at once a pacific turn. On the 11th, the two emperors met at Villafranca, and signed the following preliminaries, which were afterwards modified in the treaty of Zurich:

"Italian Confederation under the honorary presidency of the Pope.

"The Emperor of Austria cedes his rights to Lombardy to the Emperor of the French, who transfers them to the King of Sardinia.

"The Emperor of Austria preserves Venice; but she will form an integral part of the Italian Confederation.

"General amnesty."

The intelligence of the peace, and its terms, was received with bitter disappointment in Italy; and no where more, perhaps, than in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Legations. From the beginning of the war those states had overthrown their despotic governments; and, encouraged by the French emperor's proclamations, had declared their wish of

joining in the war against Austria, and uniting themselves to Sardinia. The peace of Villafranca threatened them with a restoration of their despotic rulers.

On the 3rd September, a Tuscan deputation presented to Victor Emmanuel, at Turin, an address, stating the unanimous proclamation by the Tuscan Assembly of the will of Tuscany to form part of an Italian kingdom under his constitutional sceptre. The king replied, that the accomplishment of their wish could only take place by negotiations, which were about to begin, on the affairs of Italy; that he would second their desire, and support it before the European powers, especially before the French emperor, who had done so much for the Italian nation.

A similar petition was made by the people of the Romagna who had risen against the authority of the pope. The Sardinian army had already occupied two posts, Torre Urbano and Castelfranco, in this province, in spite of the indignant protest of the Roman government. The king of Sardinia answered their deputies in almost the same terms as the Tuscans, and while the settlement of the matter was pending, he appointed Buoncompagni who had been extraordinary commissioner at Florence regent of the Central Italian States. The Emperor of the French, meanwhile met the remonstrances of the pope with very cold admissions of his undoubted right over the revolted provinces, but suggested, as the only solution of the question, their surrender to the Sardinian government, since it was impossible to restrain the will of the people.

It was agreed between France and Austria by the treaty of Villafranca, that a congress should be called to conclude the pacification of Italy. This project, however, failed, as it was found impossible to reconcile the opposite views of France and England with regard to the re-establishment of the duchies of Parma and Modena and the grand duchy of Tuscany. France was pledged to their restoration while England would not consent to any interference with the wishes

of the inhabitants, which were already opposed to the return of their former sovereigns. A great deal of diplomatic correspondence passed upon this subject without leading to any result. A pamphlet published in Paris at this time called *Le Pape et le Congrès*, the authorship of which was attributed to the emperor, contributed not a little to the abandonment of the congress. This work called for the reduction of the temporal power of the pope to the city of Rome, and the Austrian government was so much offended at this suggestion that it refused to meet the other powers unless France should renounce the views put forth in the pamphlet, and this France declined to accede to.

The English government then brought forward a series of propositions for the solution of the difficulty, the substance of which was that France and Austria for the future should abstain from interfering in the internal affairs of Italy without the consent of the other powers; that the French should evacuate Rome giving the pope time to garrison the city with his own troops; that Venetia should be entirely left out of the negotiations, and that the king of Sardinia should send no troops into Central Italy, until the states themselves had declared by a vote of their assemblies after a new election their wishes as to annexation, and should these be favorable to Sardinia that Great Britain and France should make no opposition to their fulfillment.

The French government at once proposed its willingness to agree to the first three of these propositions, and declared that the emperor regarded the fourth to be equitable and practical, but before taking any farther steps he considered himself bound to lay before the cabinet of Vienna what had taken place since the peace of Villa Franca, and to state the reasons which led him to the conclusion that no other solution was possible than that suggested by her majesty's government.

It could not be expected that Austria would accede to a series of propositions utterly at variance with all her established pol-

icy. The first point in regard to non-intervention was objected to as useless at the time, since there was not an Austrian soldier outside of the monarchy, and as to the future, Austria would not so readily abandon her time-honored privilege of maintaining the petty foreign princes of Italy upon their uncertain thrones; the second point about Rome did not immediately concern her; the third in regard to Venetia she of course accepted, as it was clearly in her favor; the fourth proposition was of course rejected, as "contrary to the principles which we profess," for admitting the right of a people even to choose their own sovereign was an idea too subversive of all hereditary dominions to be thus readily admitted by the Austrian empire.

Another solution was then offered by France but met with no better success, it proposed the annexation of Parma and Modena to Sardinia, the maintenance of the Roman power under a modified form in the Romagna, and the restoration of the grand-duchy of Tuscany. This arrangement pleased neither Sardinia nor Austria, Count Cavour, who was then in office, in a note to the Sardinian ambassador at Paris, admitted that if it had been suggested in August it might have been received with favor, and perhaps with enthusiasm, but that now Tuscany and the Romagna after enjoying the privileges of a national government for eight months would place the most serious difficulties in the way of a return to their former administration, and the vicariat of Victor Emmanuel would be no less obnoxious to the pope than the absolute separation of the provinces. He said in addition, that the government of Sardinia would accept unconditionally the choice of the people of the states of central Italy. If Tuscany preferred self-government it would support her in carrying out her wish, and would hold the same course with Parma and Modena and the Romagna; but if on the other hand they should declare for union with Piedmont, the government could no longer offer opposition; a minis-

try who should refuse a second demand for annexation would be immediately overthrown with a vote of censure.

The way being thus opened by the declaration of Cavour, a vote was taken on the 11th and 12th of March, 1860, and Tuscany, Parma, and Modena and the Æmilian province with one voice chose Victor Emmanuel for their king. Upon receiving their delegates the king said,—“In uniting to my ancient provinces not only the states of Modena and Parma, but also the Romagna, which has already separated itself from the papal government, I do not intend to fail in my deep devotion to the chief of the church. I am ready to defend the independence necessary to the supreme minister of religion, the pope, to contribute to the splendor of his court, and to pay homage to his sovereignty.” The annexation was soon afterward passed by the Sardinian parliament.

As a return to France for her consent to this increase of the territorial extent of the kingdom of Sardinia, it was in the meantime proposed to cede Savoy and Nice. This plan had doubtless been discussed as a possible event by the two governments before France engaged in the war for the liberation of Lombardy. The plea now put forth by the emperor to justify the arrangement in the eyes of Europe, was that historical traditions had accredited the idea that the formation of a powerful state at the foot of the Alps would be unfavorable to the interests of France, and that in case of its establishment the possession of Savoy and Nice was a geographical necessity for the safety of the frontiers of the empire. These pretenses were too slight not to disclose at once to Europe the motives which lay at the bottom of the Italian war, and the true value of the declaration of Napoleon the Third when he said at its beginning that the aggrandizement of France formed no part of his intentions, that France fought only for an idea—the freedom of Italy from a foreign dominion.

Cavour was now at the head of the Sardinian cabinet. To his intense patriotism and

ardent love of Italy the thought of alienating any portion of the Italian soil and people was most repugnant, but he saw that in yielding to the ambition of the emperor lay the only hope of the undisturbed possession of the central provinces, and these as affording a foothold on the peninsula, presented a step to the future extension of the kingdom, and to the realization of his grand vision of a single Italian monarchy. In point of nationality besides, Savoy was more French than Italian, and the people had little sympathy with the Piedmontese, indeed, the representatives of Savoy in the chambers always spoke in the language of France.

To give a color of fairness to this proceeding a vote of the people of the provinces in question was resorted to, and the ground having been canvassed, as it is said, by French emissaries, an almost unanimous confirmation of the cession naturally resulted. Cavour was thus enabled to justify his course by representing it as carrying out the wish of the inhabitants themselves. The chief opposition to the annexation of Savoy, however, came from the Swiss, who claimed that it would violate the neutrality of the districts of Chablais and Faucigny, which had been guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. These claims were not admitted by Sardinia, and Switzerland being the weaker party could do no more than embody its objections in a solemn protest to the European powers.

At the opening of the Sardinian parliament the king, in reference to the annexation, said, “Out of gratitude to France, for the sake of Italy, to cement the union of the two nations, whose origin, principles and destinies are common, a sacrifice was necessary, and I have made the one which was dearest to my heart.” Further on in his speech these memorable words occur, “We are now creating a new order of things; we must see in old party divisions only the remembrance of the services they have rendered to our common cause; we expect men of all sincere opinions to vie with one another towards the furtherance of the great object





Giuseppe Garibaldi

General of the Italian Army

of the welfare of the people and the country, which can no longer be the Italy of the Romans, nor yet the Italy of the middle ages; which must no longer be the open battle-field for foreign ambition, but must at last be the Italy of the Italians."

On the 12th of April, Count Cavour presented the treaty to the Chamber, and after a stormy debate it was passed by a majority of 229 against 33 votes. Garibaldi, who sat as deputy for Nice, his native town, was one of its most vehement opponents; he angrily denounced the measure, which he declared made him a foreigner in his own country.

Garibaldi was soon to appear as the chief actor in the great drama of the union of Italy. While Piedmont and Turin were engrossed with the intrigues of the French emperor, a revolution was breaking out at the other extremity of the peninsula which was to throw the kingdom of the Two Sicilies into the hands of Victor Emmanuel. Francis II., succeeding his father, Ferdinand II., on the throne of Naples, was prosecuting with all his power the hereditary system of repression and tyranny, which had seemed to be the constant fate of the Neapolitans; and the cruelty and oppression of his government had become so great that Lord John Russell wrote to the English minister at Naples, declaring that in the probable event of an insurrection and the overthrow of the dynasty no support could be expected from England.

In the beginning of April a revolt broke out at Palermo, the garrison was attacked, and the city placed in a state of siege, and the movement soon spread over the whole island. Garibaldi saw the opportunity and set to work to organize an expedition to help the insurgents. The government at the time disclaimed all connivance in the matter, but, after the successful result of the enterprise, the king, in an address to the people of Southern Italy, declared, "they were Italians fighting for their liberty, I could not, I ought not restrain them." Garibaldi

accordingly had little difficulty in getting out of Genoa with his two thousand men. On the way he stopped near the Roman frontier, and issued an inflammatory address to the Italian people, calling upon them to rise and help the Sicilians. He landed at Marsala on the 10th of May, and on the 14th joined the insurrectionary troops at Salemi. Here he proclaimed himself Dictator of Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel. The first encounter with the Neapolitan army was at Calata Fimi, and the royalists were defeated and driven from all their positions. Garibaldi then advanced towards Palermo. Failing in his design to draw the army into an engagement at a point some distance from the city, and to enter it by a flank movement in their absence, he resolved to attempt its capture by a sudden attack. This was so far successful that the Neapolitans were driven from the streets into the citadel where they kept up a bombardment of the town, aided by the royal fleet in the harbor. A truce of three days was afterward agreed upon, and it was prolonged by a convention under the terms of which the king's army was to leave Palermo without molestation, a garrison, however, remaining in Fort Castellamare. Upon the evacuation of Palermo, Garibaldi organized a provisional government, with a ministry consisting of Pisano, Crispi, Orsini, and the Abbé Coligni.

The revolutionists were again victorious at Mellazzo, a village about twenty-five miles from Messina, the fight lasting during the whole day of the 20th June. The Neapolitans at last retreated to the fort, and the next morning they capitulated and were allowed to retire with laying down their arms.

The king of Naples, in this extremity, endeavored to appease his subjects with reforms and concessions; but the time was passed, and Italy had too much experience of the value of promises made by the Bourbons. In vain the infamous S. Aiossa, the minister of police, was dismissed, a new ministry formed, the tricolor saluted on the castle of

St. Elmo, and the *Statuto*, or the constitution of 1848, which had been extorted from Ferdinand II., offered to the people.

Before crossing to the mainland, Garibaldi issued a proclamation to the Neapolitan people, urging them to unite with him in the cause of Italian independence. His troops were collected at Messina and Faro at the northeast extremity opposite the fortress of Reggio. The government expected that the landing would be attempted in the neighborhood, and had concentrated their forces around this post. But Garibaldi crossed the straits lower down, and disembarked at Melito, where no preparations had been made to resist him. He was soon afterward joined by a small detachment of his volunteers under Major Missori, who had succeeded in getting across at Faro, and had taken refuge in the mountains, their numbers being strengthened on the way by some Calabrian insurgents. On the 20th Garibaldi left Melito and marched upon Reggio, a long and narrow town lying along the beach and sheltered on the land side by high hills. He divided his force into three detachments; one was to take possession of the hills and attack the upper part of the town; another was to assault the bridge in the centre, and the third was to advance along the shore. The Neapolitans made no resistance. When they saw the Garibaldians descending from the mountains they left their works and retreated to San Giovanni. The town was soon cleared of royalist troops, and the garrison of the fort alone remained. The straits from the Faro point were covered with boatloads of revolutionists, whose passage the abortive efforts of some Neapolitan war steamers were unable to prevent. The fort itself surrendered after a short fire in which the commander was mortally wounded; a large quantity of artillery and munitions of war fell into the hands of the Garibaldians. The next point of attack was San Giovanni, the village to which the greater part of the troops from Reggio had fled. Garibaldi felt so confident of their surrender that he

ordered his command not to fire a shot. The result justified him, for, soon after his appearance before the town a flag of truce came over from the enemy, and presently shouts of *Viva Garibaldi! Viva l'Italia!* arose in the camp. Garibaldi was received with enthusiasm. The two thousand Neapolitans, with his permission, returned to their homes.

At this juncture the Count of Syracuse, the uncle of the king, addressed his nephew a letter advising him to follow the example of the Duchess of Parma, and leave his subjects to decide their own destiny. Francis II., however, clung to his kingdom. His ministers all resigned, and several of them, dreading the indignation of the people, placed themselves under the protection of the British admiral. Disaffection spread in the army, many towns declared for Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi, troops sent to restore order joined the revolutionists, and the general in command at Apulia informed the government that he was left alone with his staff. Abandoned by his ministers and counsellors, with Garibaldi almost at the walls, the king reluctantly left the capital that he could no longer hold. On the 6th of September he sailed to Gaet , the last fortress beside Capua still in his possession, and Garibaldi entered Naples two days later by the railway.

In the meantime the spirit of revolution had reached the States of the Church. In the Marches of Ancona at Tevaro, Montefeltro, and Urbino the people rose and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel as their king. The pope during the year had recruited a miscellaneous force from various countries, and among others a large number of Irishmen, who had been enlisted in Great Britain as railway laborers. The duty of forming these into an army was entrusted to the French general Lamorici re. In the beginning of September he received a message from General Fanti who commanded the Piedmontese army in the Romagna informing him that the Piedmontese troops would occupy Umbria and the Marches if the papal

forces attempted to repress any manifestation of the people "in a national sense." General Lamoricière replied that he had no authority to discuss the question and he transmitted the communication to Rome. In reply a dispatch was sent that the emperor had written to the king of Sardinia that if he attacked the Papal States he would be opposed *by force*. These two last important words were an interpolation, so that, as was presently seen the declaration amounted to nothing beyond a formal signification of disapprobation. General Lamoricière at this point found himself without any funds; the Papal treasury was in its chronic condition of bankruptcy, and the military chest had been left behind.

Count Cavour now sent a letter to Cardinal Antonelli, intimating that Sardinia would consider herself justified in invading the Papal territory unless the employment of mercenary troops was discontinued. A more reasonable ground of interference was put forth in a circular letter to the representatives of Sardinia, in the danger to the government which would result from opposition to the national sympathy with the oppressed inhabitants of the Roman provinces.

General Fanti now concentrated three divisions of his army under General Cialdini, on the frontier of the Marches, and another division under general Della Rocca, on the borders of Umbria. Cialdini on the 11th crossed the boundary and attacked Pesaro, which surrendered after a cannonade. Fano was next taken by assault and Urbino was already in the hands of the insurgents. General Della Rocca took Perugia, which was still in command of General Schmidt, the infamous Swiss mercenary who in the previous year had shown such cruelty in the indiscriminate massacre after a small revolt in that town. The garrison of seventeen hundred men became prisoners of war; Foligno was next taken, and Lamoricière retired to Macerata with a view of protecting Ancona. General Cialdini resolved if possible to intercept his army and cut him off from Anco-

na, and with this intention he hastened to occupy the heights of Osini and Castel Fidardo. The right column under Della Rocca took up its post at Muccia, and the central column was ordered to Albacina. The latter, in the meantime, had stormed Spoleto and captured the garrison which was chiefly made up of Irish recruits. Lamoricière having concentrated his forces at Loretto was now completely hemmed in, and his only chance was to force his way through the enemy's line. On the morning of the 18th, a strong column led by General Pimodan, a young Frenchman of a noble family, who had devoted himself to the protection of the temporal interests of his church, attacked the advanced position of the Piedmontese. The assault was met and repulsed with the bayonet; the steadiness of the Italian ranks resisted the repeated charges of the enthusiastic devotees of the papacy, who were forced back upon their camp, and the close of the day saw the battle-field in the possession of the Piedmontese. The ground was covered with the artillery, ammunition, and baggage which had been abandoned by the flying enemy. General Pimodan was found dying among the wounded. Lamoricière fled to Ancona; the remains of his army surrendered the next day at Loretto. Ancona was immediately invested by land and sea and after a severe bombardment it capitulated on the 29th of September. The complete overthrow of the Pontifical authority in the Marches and Umbria was effected in a campaign of eighteen days.

About this time Lord John Russell addressed a despatch to the English minister at Turin deprecating any attempt against Venetia, as a violation of the treaty of Zurich, and as possibly endangering the possession of Romagna. The real gist of the message, however, lay in the last sentence,— "Great Britain has interests in the Adriatic which her majesty's government must watch with careful attention." England while she has generally favored the cause of liberty in its first outbreak has always been foremost in

checking its career, when she has seen that it threatened the permanence of those traditional divisions and established governments whose existence she appears to think necessary to the stability of her own monarchy.

Garibaldi's dictatorship at Naples was a period of the utmost confusion. He appointed a ministry of men of the most radical opinions. The Neapolitan fleet was committed to a Sardinian admiral, the revenues of the church were seized in the name of the State, and a pension was conferred on the family of a man who had attempted to assassinate the king. The Piedmontese statute was proclaimed as the fundamental law of Italy. But the state of the city was far from peaceful, for among the Neapolitans there remained a large party who were interested in the old government and who now continually strove to produce a reaction, and almost as bad as these were the demagogues of the school of Mazzini who were opposed to anything with the name of monarchy. Influenced probably by these latter who were indeed his chief counsellors, Garibaldi deferred as long as possible yielding his place to the king of Sardinia. When the king actually came, however, he issued a decree announcing his arrival and welcoming him as the elect of Providence, the future ruler of a one and indivisible Italy. Before the king had crossed the frontier a bloody engagement on the banks of the Volturna crowned the retiring hero of Sicily with a distinguished victory. The royalists were driven across the river and retired to the fortress of Capua. The meeting of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi took place between Teano and Speranzano, on the 26th of October. As they approached each other the officers of the king and those of Garibaldi shouted "*Viva Vittorio Emanuele*," and Garibaldi raising his cap added in a voice which trembled with emotion, "King of Italy." Victor Emmanuel stretched out his hand to Garibaldi and with equal emotion replied, "I thank you."

A few days before Cialdini at the head of

the Piedmontese army crossed the frontier to the Abruzzi and took the direction of Capua. He was attacked by the royalists on the heights of Macerone, but in less than half an hour they were completely defeated, leaving many of their force behind as prisoners. Retreating behind the Garigliano they were driven from that position on the 3rd of November by the Piedmontese under the command of the king in person. Capua with its garrison of nine thousand men surrendered at the same time, and the fortress of Gaetà, the last refuge of Francis II., was now the only stronghold that remained to the Bourbons. This too would have been closely invested by the Sardinians if the French fleet had not protected it on the side towards the sea. The emperor declared that he wished to give the king an opportunity to make an honorable capitulation, and save him from becoming a prisoner of Victor Emmanuel.

During these movements in the south of Italy the French army of Rome had been largely re-enforced. All the towns on the borders of what now remained of the Papal States had been garrisoned by French troops so that the Piedmontese army could not extend their lines without a collision.

As soon as the people of the kingdom of Naples had decided by universal suffrage that Victor Emmanuel should be their king, he made his triumphal entry into Naples. He was welcomed with enthusiasm; the streets were decorated with arches and banners covered with inscriptions celebrating the union of Italy, and the performance of the miracle of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius testified the approval of the patron Saint of the city. Signor Farini was appointed lieutenant-governor of the Neapolitan provinces with an administration composed of Signors Ventimiglia, Pisanelli, Poerio, and others. Garibaldi left abruptly for his home at Caprera two days after the entry of the king. He could not go, however, without some last words to the people. In his proclamation he hinted at other move-

ments—"If the month of March, 1861, does not find a million of Italians under arms, alas for liberty, alas for Italian existence—gathered closely round the hero of Palestro we will give the last shock, the last blow, to the crumbling tyranny."

In the beginning of the next year, 1861, the French government decided to withdraw the fleet from Gaetà. As soon as the last ship was gone the Italian navy instituted a strict blockade. Pressed both by land and sea the fortress was compelled to surrender; and the capitulation took place on the 13th of February, the king and queen of Naples retiring to Rome. The Sardinian parliament met a few days afterward and the first bill introduced was a law declaring Victor Emmanuel king of Italy, and it need hardly be said that it was passed almost unanimously. The assumption of such a title implied more than a mere name, it was a direct announcement of the intention of the new government to unite the whole of the Peninsula from the Alps to the promontory of Lilibæum in a single state. This not only threatened the present temporal dominions of the pope, but was in defiance of the historical policy of the whole Papal line, who had always striven to keep their country split up into as many principalities as possible, and had fostered with all their influence the mutual jealousy between them. Pius IX., therefore, now issued a solemn protest against this act, but Great Britain immediately recognized the new kingdom, and France soon followed.

The exultation of the Italian people, however, was soon changed to mourning. Count Cavour died on the 6th of June, after a short illness at the country seat of his ancestors in Piedmont. The greatest statesman of his nation in modern times, he lived to see the realization, at least in name of his life-long dream—a consolidated Italy. It was entirely, too, by his skill and coolness that this great result was accomplished; he seemed to have inherited the spirit of the old Italian statecraft of the middle ages which made the little courts of Italy so powerful in the counsels

of Europe. He succeeded by subordinating all his natural feelings and impulses to his one grand object. Savoy and Nice were as dear to him as to any of his countrymen, but he saw that they must be sacrificed to gain Central Italy and Naples. Amid the universal lamentation over the dead patriot, one Italian voice was silent; no word of sympathy came from Caprera; the hero of Sicily, never before silent on any occasion, could utter no condolence for the loss of the man who had saved his country, but who had alienated Garibaldi's native province.

Baron Ricasoli succeeded as premier. Soon after his appointment, in reply to some rumors that were in circulation in reference to the cession of the island of Sardinia to France, while denying the truth of any such intention, he declared the aggressive policy of his ministry in terms more unguarded than his predecessor would ever have employed. "Not one inch must be given. What the king's government sees is a territory to defend, a territory to recover. It sees Rome; it sees Venice. To the Eternal City and the Queen of the Adriatic it turns the thoughts, the hopes and the energies of the nation. . . . Opportunity, matured by time, will open our way to Venice. In the meantime, we will think of Rome. Yes, we will go to Rome, but not by insurrectional movements, which may endanger our former acquisitions, and spoil the national enterprise. We will go hand in hand with France."

In February, 1862, Ricasoli resigned, on the ground that he could not command sufficient support in the Chambers; but there is good reason for believing that the female influence opposed to him at the Court was instrumental in hastening his withdrawal. The next prime minister was Ratazzi. In his first speech to the Parliament he did not hesitate to propose the same intentions towards Rome that were set forth in the words we have just quoted from Ricasoli. The continued enunciation of these threats by the Sardinian ministers, was soon productive of trouble to the government. Garibaldi was

led by them to believe that if any attack was made upon Rome, the whole Italian people would rise and join in it, and that Napoleon, in the face of such a demonstration, would withdraw the French garrison. He began to organize a movement in Sicily. His first act was to issue an inflammatory address to the Hungarians, instigating them to rise against their Austrian oppressors. Whether this was designed as a feint to cover the Italian expedition, or whether he hoped that Venetia would be able to throw off the Austrian yoke if the Hungarians rose at the same time, does not appear; however, it met with no sympathy from the Hungarians. Klapka, the Hungarian leader in the insurrection of 1848, wrote a reply from Turin, calmly stating that the present was no time for such a measure, that Hungary would gain most by waiting, and that Garibaldi himself was hurting the cause of Italy by his ill-timed rashness. After seizing the arms of the National Guard at Corleone, the followers of Garibaldi encamped at Ficuzza, near Palermo, and they afterwards took up their head-quarters at Catania on the coast. On the 3rd of August the king issued a proclamation, in which he declared that the government had no part in the movement, and that the dignity of the crown and parliament should be maintained. General Cialdini, accordingly, was sent to Sicily, but, before he arrived, Garibaldi and his volunteers had crossed the straits. Garibaldi, upon landing, marched against Reggio, but was met and repulsed by a detachment of the army under General Caschidio. General Cialdini then arrived at Reggio, and sent forward General Pallavicino to overtake Garibaldi. He found the Garibaldians encamped on the plateau of Aspromonte. A simultaneous attack was made in the front and on the flank of the camp. In the heavy fire at the opening of the engagement, Garibaldi and his son Menotti were wounded, and his followers, seeing themselves completely hemmed in, surrendered. Garibaldi was conveyed as a prisoner to Spezzia. The

wound in his ankle caused him great suffering, for the ball was not extracted until several weeks afterward. He published, immediately after the affair of Aspromonte, an account of the battle, in which the entire responsibility for the bloodshed in this unfortunate collision was laid upon the general in command of the king's troops. He declared that when the army approached, he ordered his men not to fire, and as long as he was able to command the order was obeyed.

The position of Garibaldi as a prisoner was very embarrassing to the Sardinian government. He had been taken in arms against the king; but it was impossible to punish as a traitor the man who had given Sicily and Naples to the kingdom. The only course, therefore, was a free pardon, and a general amnesty was extended to him and all his followers.

The Ratazzi ministry was no more successful than Ricasoli's. Before the end of the year he resigned, and a new cabinet was formed, with Signor Farini at its head. The new administration determined to devote itself to internal reforms and the maintenance of public order. And the condition of the south of Italy certainly called for attention. Brigandage was rife throughout the whole of what had been the kingdom of Naples. Large bands of organized banditti, recruited from the disbanded army of the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish and Irish adventurers who had volunteered in the service of the pope, rendered the highways perilous to travellers, and pursued their depredations even to the suburbs of Naples. They were favored and aided by the priests and the emissaries of the ex-king, and whenever they were hard pressed by the national troops they had but to cross the frontiers of the Roman States to find a ready shelter and sure protection. The whole of the next year was taken up with this kind of desultory warfare between the government and the brigands. In some instances, the engagements were of considerable sever-

ity. On one occasion, a party of thirteen soldiers were caught in the mountains and slaughtered by these wretches in the pay of the head of the Christian church, who styled themselves the royal army of the two Sicilies. The French army of occupation in Rome, at length joined in to suppress the bands which infested the Papal States, and, with their coöperation, General Della Marmora was able to check the spread of an evil which can never be entirely eradicated until the condition of the common people of lower Italy is much improved.

An important convention was concluded between Italy and France on the 15th of September, 1864. Its articles agreed: 1. That Italy should not attack the Papal States, and prevent, even by force, any such attack from without; 2. France to withdraw her troops from the Pontifical Territory gradually as the papal army was organized, the evacuation to be accomplished in two years; 3. The Italian government should raise no protest against the organization of a papal army, even if composed of foreign volunteers, provided that it did not degenerate into a means of attack against the Italian government; and 4. Italy declared herself ready to take under her charge a proportionate part of the debt of the former States of the Church.

About the same time, the removal of the Italian capital from Turin to Florence was determined upon. Foremost among the many reasons for this change was the exposed and defenceless state of the Piedmontese city, exposed, in case of war, both to France and Austria, while Florence lay behind the Apennines, which form an easily-defended barrier against an invading army. Rome, the centre and natural capital of the Peninsula, was unattainable, and, next to Rome, Florence was the largest and most central city, and her republican associations, too, as the last refuge of Italian liberty in the middle ages, combined to make her the appropriate seat of the national government. In the debate in parliament on the transfer of the

capital, General Cialdini made a speech in its favor, which produced a deep impression by its spirit and eloquence. The measure was carried by a majority of 134 to 47, and King Victor Emmanuel opened the next parliament in Florence.

In the beginning of 1866, the long-threatened war between Austria and Prussia broke out. Before hostilities were begun, Italy had entered into a secret treaty of alliance with Prussia, engaging to declare war at the same time against Austria. Prussia engaged to secure for Italy the mainland of Venetia, with the exception of the fortresses and the city of Venice, and Italy was not to retire until the Prussians should be in possession of the Elbe Duchies. The formal declaration of war was issued by Italy on the 18th of June, and on the 23d of the same month, the army, under the immediate command of the king, invaded the Austrian territory. The design of the campaign was to break through the celebrated quadrilateral and take up a strong position on the plain of Villafranca, as a base for further operations. The first encounter took place a little beyond Villafranca; the 3rd corps were attacked by the Austrian cavalry, but succeeded in holding their ground. The rest of the army, which were sent to secure the hills between Somma-campagna and Castelnuovo, met with greater opposition, for they found the enemy posted upon the heights in great numbers, with a large force of artillery. The Brignone division, less interrupted in its advance, pushed on to Custoza, where they discovered the hills of Berittara opposite occupied by the Austrians. In the cannonade that was immediately opened, these latter had the advantage of numbers and position. The Austrians took the offensive, and after a gallant resistance, which lasted the greater part of the day, the Italians were compelled to yield to the repeated attacks of the enemy, who continually received the aid of fresh reinforcements. The bravery of the defense is testified by the long list of killed and wound

ed. The Italian army lost in the battle of Custoza 720 men, among whom were 69 officers killed and 3112 wounded. After the defeat, the troops returned in unbroken ranks to the position at Valeggio, and the whole army subsequently retired behind the Oglio.

More disastrous in its results was the naval combat with the Austrian and Italian fleets off the island of Lissa. This island is one of the strongest fortresses in the Adriatic, and lies near the coast of Dalmatia. Admiral Persano began the attack on the 18th of July. With his iron-clads he forced an entrance into the harbor, while the other vessels bombarded the sea-batteries on the outside. On the third day a portion of the works were overcome, and the troops were being disembarked, when the Austrian squadron from Pola in Istria came up. The Austrian fleet, under Admiral Tegethoff, was composed of seven iron-clads, six frigates, one line-of-battle-ship, nine gun-boats and three paddle-wheel steamers—twenty-six in all, with more than five hundred and forty guns. The Italians numbered eleven iron-clads, a large ram called the *Affondatore*, and a line-of-battle-ship, besides frigates and small steamers. Before the engagement began, Admiral Persano left the *Re d'Italia*, his flag-ship, and went on board the *Affondatore*. The line of battle was nearly the same in both fleets—the iron-clads being placed in front and the wooden ships behind. Three Italian iron-clads at once broke through the Austrian line and assailed the second rank of wooden ships. Three others, at the same time, became engaged with the whole of the Austrian iron-clads, and the *Re d'Italia* had to bear the simultaneous attack of four at once. The *Palastro*, in coming up to her assistance, took fire, and blew up, with the loss of nearly all on board. As she went down the officers and crew shouted, “Viva il Re!” “Viva l’Italia!” The Austrian flag-ship *Kaiser*, in the meantime, ran into the *Re d'Italia*, and sank her with her crew of 600 men.

The line being broken, the engagement then became general. The firing was continued for nearly two hours. Both sides then drew off, and the Italian fleet went to Ancona. In this engagement, which resulted so disastrously, no charge of want of courage can be brought against the Italian officers and seamen, with the exception of their commander, Admiral Persano, who was afterwards cashiered by the Senate.

Several military movements of little importance were made during the war. Garibaldi and his volunteers attacked the enemy near the Lago di Garda, and were repulsed, he himself receiving a wound in the thigh. General Medici with a division of the army marched up the Lugano valley, and had almost reached Trento when the armistice put a stop to hostilities. General Cialdini and General Della Marmora crossed the Po with the main body of the army, and had occupied Padua and Vicenza without any resistance, when the end of the war stopped their advance.

Italy was now to obtain more than she had stipulated for in the Prussian treaty of alliance. As will be seen, in the history of Germany, Austria, after the defeat of Königgratz, ceded Venetia to France. The Emperor of the French, in pursuance of the policy he had so often proclaimed, if not always practiced, left it to the people to choose their own sovereign. The vote, of course, was unanimous for Victor Emmanuel, and Venetia was added to the crown of Savoy. The dream of the Italian patriots was almost realized. Italy, for the first time in her history, was united under a free government from the Alps to the Adriatic, but not from the Alps to the Sicilian sea; for in the centre of the peninsula the Imperial City was still maintained as a hostile state by a native pontiff and foreign bayonets.

The finances of the Italian kingdom had never been in a satisfactory condition, for the amount of the expenditure far exceeded the annual revenue. In 1867 the deficit was so great that it was resolved to sell the

lands in possession of the church to replenish the treasury. The measure met with much opposition in the parliament, and was the cause of two or three changes of ministry and a new election; but it was finally carried, and the ecclesiastical patrimonies were sold at auction—the proceeds surpassing the amount which had been expected.

In the autumn of 1867 another insurrection broke out in the Papal States. The Italian government immediately issued orders for the preservation of the national authority. Garibaldi was arrested as he was on the point of crossing the Roman frontier to join the insurgents, and was removed to his home at Caprera, and a guard of ships of war was placed around the island. It was impossible, however, to intercept all the bands of volunteers that crowded over the Roman border on every side. Menotti Garibaldi received the command in place of his father, and, under his direction, the revolutionists several times defeated the papal troops, and succeeded in reaching Monte-Rotondo, when Napoleon determined to intervene and stop the invasion. The French government declared that the Convention of 1864, which bound it to evacuate Rome within two years, had been annulled by the failure of the king of Italy to protect the pope from external attacks, this being one of the obligations of the treaty. The question of French interference led to the resignation of the Ratazzi ministry, and a new cabinet was formed with General Menabrea as prime minister. At the end of October, Garibaldi again appeared on the scene; he had escaped the vigilance of the fleet, and landed unobserved. He captured Monte-Rotondo with his volunteers, and established his headquarters there. But, in the meantime, other French reinforcements arrived at Civita Vecchia and entered Rome. At the same time, a body of Italian troops advanced into the Papal Territory. A collision between France and Italy was imminent, when the complete defeat and rout of the Garibaldians at Mentana put a stop to further hostilities.

The volunteers, after four hours' fighting under the walls of the town, yielded to the attack of a large force of the pontifical soldiery, aided by an almost equal number of the French army, armed with the newly introduced and formidable Chassepôt rifle. Garibaldi was captured and sent to Verignano. He was subsequently released.

The Revolution at an end, Italy called upon France to leave the Papal States. This was declined for the present, and it was proposed that a European conference should be called to settle the position of Italy towards the pope. Italy accepted conditionally, but the basis of the congress could not be agreed upon, and the project was allowed to drop. The French troops afterwards retired to Civita Vecchia, which the emperor declared his intention to hold till "the moment when the holy father should be no longer menaced."

Since the affair of Mentana, no political events of general interest have taken place in Italy. The internal administration is still much troubled by the difficulties of the finances, and the police are kept in activity by the agitations of the unemployed Bourbonists and the wild demagogues of the Mazzini faction, both working for opposite ends to overthrow the government of Victor Emmanuel. But while the political aspect is gloomy enough, the commercial prosperity of the country is developing itself. The opening of the tunnel through Mont Cenis promises to turn the current of the eastern trade again through the ports of Italy. The manufactures of Venice are reviving, and a line of steamers will soon bring the ports of the peninsula in direct communication with the New World. Free education, untrammelled by the control of the priesthood, is diffusing its light through the mediæval darkness of the southern provinces; the courts of justice have vindicated their independence of the canon law; and, with all the faults of her administration, Italy is now freer and more enlightened than she has ever been in the days of her power and supremacy.

The inhabitants of Italy are a mixture of races, composed of Greeks, Gauls, Germans and Saracens, who at various but distant periods have immigrated into the peninsula, and mingled with the aborigines.

During the many centuries that the peninsula and its islands were divided into numerous and often hostile states, with different institutions and interests, the common bond of the Italian people, as formerly with the Hellenic races, was a common language and a common literature. From the valleys of the Alps to the shores of Calabria, in Sicily, as well as in the island of Sardinia, notwithstanding the variety of dialects, any one who has the faintest claim to education can comprehend and enjoy the works of her great writers. Yet the origin of this bond of nationality is wrapped up in darkness. This however is not the place to discuss the origin of the Italian tongue. The learned Muratori endeavors to trace it to the corruption of Latin by the admixture of the words and phrases of the nations that overran the country after the overthrow of the Roman Empire. Perticari finds its origin in the modification of the Provençal. Bembo and Gravina, on the other hand, uphold it as the *vulgar* language of the country even in the best days of Rome, and maintain that it acquired importance and superiority in proportion as Latin, the literary language of the polished classes, died away. It is remarkable how little the Italian language has changed from the beginning of the 13th to the 19th century. It has been enlarged with new words, but has not altered in its grammatical forms, and very few words have become antiquated. The language in which king Manfred used to sing songs at night in the streets of Barletta, is still the language in which a prima donna sings in the Scala at Milan, or the S. Carlo at Naples. The *Ode to Poverty* by Guido Cavalcanti, a Florentine who died in 1301, so far as language is concerned, might have been written by Leopardi, who died in 1837.

The real time at which the Italian lan-

guage had acquired its well defined and distinct existence, has been the subject of great controversy. Early in the 13th century, however, it was already formed, and we find it employed in different and distant parts of the country. Ciullo d'Alcamo, a Sicilian, wrote poetry towards the close of the 12th century; and there is extant a hymn by St. Francis of Assisi, who died in 1226. Italian poetry was cultivated in Sicily at the court of Frederic II. of Hohenstauffen, by himself, as well as by his son King Enzo, and by his unfortunate secretary Pier delle Vigne. Some events of the life of the great emperor and his natural son Manfred were chronicled in Italian by Matteo Spinello of Giovinazzo, near Bari, who died about 1247. At the same time the Florentine Ricordano Malaspini was writing in good Italian the history of his country, and Guidotto da Bologna was translating precepts from Cicero, and embodying them in a flower of rhetoric, which he dedicated to King Manfred.

In the 14th century, which the Italians, in speaking of their literature, designate as the *Trecento*, besides numerous productions, most of which are now lost or forgotten, three works appeared, which alone would be sufficient, should every other literary monument perish, to keep Italian alive to the most distant ages:—the *Divina Commedia* of Dante Alighieri (born 1265, died 1321); the *Rime*, or poetry of Francesco Petrarca (1304—1374); the *Decamerone*, or tales of Giovanni Boccaccio (1313—1378),—all three Florentines. The *Trecento* was also the age of Giotto (1276—1337), of Giovanna da Pisa (1240—1320), and of Andrea Orcagna (1326—1389.)

The impulse which Petrarch and Boccaccio had given to the study of the Latin and Greek languages, was maintained after their death, and caused Italian to be much neglected till towards the end of the 15th century; at that time its use, as a literary vehicle, was resumed, both by the encouragement and the example of Lorenzo de Medici. With Angelo Poliziano (1454—1494), Lorenzo's

protégé, who wrote some of the finest stanzas in the Italian language, a galaxy of poets, historians, and miscellaneous writers arose which shone with uninterrupted brilliancy to the end of the following century.

Of the numerous standard works that appeared during this period, which the Italians call the *Cinquecento*, it will be enough to record a few of the most remarkable. The historical and political writings of Machiavelli (1469-1527), the didactic poems of Giovanni Rucellai (1475-1526), Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556), and Bernardino Baldi (1553-1617); the letters, dialogues, plays, etc., of Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1548), Cardinal Bembo (1470-1547), Annibal Caro (1507-1566), Antonfrancesco Grazzini (1503-1583); the histories of Francesco Guicciardini (1482-1540), Jacopo Nardi (1476-1556), Benedetto Varchi (1502-1565), and Camillo Porzio (1520-1580); the *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*, by himself (1500-1570); the *Lives of Painters* by Giorgio Vasari (1517-1574); and the well known epic poems of the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto (1474-1533), and the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso (1544-1595).

The decay of taste, which had begun towards the end of the sixteenth, prevailed generally in the seventeenth century, or the *Seicento* to such a degree that the word *seicentista* has remained proverbial in Italian as descriptive of a writer whose style is turgid, strained and bombastic, and whose thoughts are false, and replete with strange conceits. It is principally ascribed to the prevalence of the Spanish rule in most of the peninsula, though the falling of education into the hands of the newly established order of the Jesuits, and the introduction of the Inquisition by Pius V., had also their share of influence. Nowhere, certainly, did bad taste show so early and prevail so much as at Naples, which had become a Spanish province in 1504. Marini (1569-1625), a poet of great genius, but who did most to corrupt the Italian literature, was a Neapolitan.

The arts had the same fate; and the age

of Marini was also the age of the painter Michael Angelo da Caravaggio (1569-1609), the sculptor Bernini (1598-1680), a Neapolitan, and the architect Borromini, (died 1667).

The causes of mental degradation and literary corruption, however, did not operate in an equal degree in those states of the peninsula which, with their independence, retained their national spirit. Accordingly, two remarkable authors escaped entirely, and a few more in part, the depraved taste of their age. Foremost stands Galileo Galilei (1565-1641), an acute observer, a profound philosopher, and an elegant and perspicuous writer, who at the age of seventy, was imprisoned and tortured by the Inquisition for having adopted and expounded the Copernican system. Equal to him in elegance of diction, and not much inferior in the spirit of philosophical inquiry, was Francesco Redi (1626-1697), who wrote also the lively dithyramb of *Bacchus in Tuscany*. Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638), Fulvio Testi (1593-1646), Vincenzo Filicaia (1642-1707), and Alessandro Guidi (1650-1717), in spite of their faults, are among the best lyric poets; Paolo Sarpi (1552-1622), and Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino (1607-1667), both wrote the well known histories of the Council of Trent—the former a powerful but not elegant denouncer, and the latter an elegant but not powerful defender of the Court of Rome.

The earlier half of the eighteenth century saw several learned historical works, such as the *History of Naples*, by Pietro Giannone (1676-1748); the *Annals of Italy*, by Muratori (1672-1750); and the *Verona Illustrata*, by Scipione Maffei (1675-1755)—none of them remarkable for elegance of style. Towards the middle of the century, French writers began to have an unfavorable influence upon the Italian language and literature long before the French invasion took place; but later the *Drammi*, or operas, of Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782); the comedies of Carlo Goldoni; the works of Gasparo Gozzi (1713-1786) and Giuseppe Parini (1729-1799); and above all, the tragedies of

Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), and the poetry of Vincenzo Monti (1754-1828), stemmed the current of deterioration and opened upon another bright era in the history of the Italian mind. This era has been continued in the present century in the histories of Carlo Botta (1766-1837), and Pietro Colletta (1775-1833); in the poetry of Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827), Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1830), Giuseppe Giusti (1809-1850); in the novels and poetry of Tommaso Grossi, Alessandro Manzoni; in the philosophical and scientific works of Rosnini, Romagnosi, Gioberti, Delle Chiaie, Brocchi, and Volta; and in many other works which it would be tedious to enumerate.

Many of the dialects have also a literature of their own; the Venetian is, in this respect the most important, and next to the Sicilian, the Milanese and the Neapolitan. The Anacreontics of Meli (1740-1815), who ranks among the first lyric poets, though in the Sicilian dialect, are generally read and highly admired in every part of Italy.

The art of painting was early introduced both into Italy and Germany by Greek masters; but the divergence of national character, climate and religion produced different results in the two countries. A glowing imagination, an easy life, an innate sense of the beautiful, enthusiastic piety, the constant sight of nature in her fairest forms, and the contemplation of the masterpieces of ancient art, occasioned painting, in Italy, to unfold with great magnificence; while, in Germany, the ancient painters loved rather to dwell on the inward life and character. They were poets and philosophers, who selected color instead of words. The Italians have therefore remained inimitable in the ideal of this art, as the Greeks in statuary.

The twelfth century is generally taken as the beginning of the history of painting in Italy; but even before this time it had been the scene of the labors of Greek and Byzantine artists. The art was first practiced with zeal in Pisa. Giunta Pisano, Guido of Siena, Andr. Tafi and Buffalmacco precede Cimabue,

who is considered as the father of Italian art. This artist, born at Florence in 1240, was regarded as a prodigy by his contemporaries. He first introduced more correct proportions, and gave his figures more life and expression. His scholar Giotto excelled him in these respects, and exhibited a grace hitherto unknown. He was the friend of Dante and Petrarch, and practiced with equal success, historical painting, mosaic, sculpture, architecture and portrait and miniature painting. He first attempted foreshortening and a natural disposition of drapery, but his style, nevertheless, remained dry and stiff. He was followed by Gaddi, Stefano, Maso, and Memmi, who painted the celebrated portraits of Petrarch and Laura. But Masaccio first dispelled the darkness of the middle ages, and a brighter dawn illumined the art. The Florentine republic, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, had attained the summit of its splendor. Cosimo di Medici patronized all the arts and sciences: Brunelleschi then built the dome of the cathedral; Lorenzo Ghiberti, cast the famous doors of the Baptistery in bronze, which Michael Angelo declared were worthy to be the gates of Paradise; and Donatello was to statuary what Masaccio was to painting. Masaccio was born in the year 1402. His paintings have keeping, character and spirit. His scholars first began to paint in oil, but only upon wooden tablets or walls coated with plaster. Canvass was not used till long after. Paolo Uccelli laid the foundation for the study of perspective. Luca Signorelli who first studied anatomy, and Domenico Ghirlandaio, who combined noble forms and expression with a knowledge of perspective, and abolished the excessive use of gilding, were distinguished in their profession. The elevated mind of Leonardo da Vinci (born 1444, died 1519), who was a master in all the arts and sciences, infused so much philosophy and feeling into the art, that it quickly reached maturity. From him the Florentine school acquired that grave contemplative character, to which it originally leaned, and

which it afterwards united with the boldness and gigantic energy of Michael Angelo. Perugia was the principal seat of the Roman school. As early as the thirteenth century there was a society of painters there. Pietro Vannucci, called Perugino (born 1446, died 1524), first introduced more grace and nobler forms, whose character acquired from him something intellectual, noble, simply pious and natural. Perugino's great pupil, Raffael, soon surpassed all former masters, and banished their poverty, stiffness and dryness of style. Taste came into Venice from the East. Andrea Nannano and Vittore Carpaccio are among the greatest artists of that city. Giovanni and Gentile Bellini are the most distinguished painters of the early Venetian school. The former, was born 1424 and died 1514. The latter labored some time in Constantinople under the reign of Mohammed II. They introduced the glowing colors of the east; their style was simple and pure, without rising to the ideal. Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506) was the first to study the ancient models. Giovanni of Udine, Pellegrino and Pordenone, were the most able predecessors of the two great masters of the Venetian School, Giorgione and Titian. No capital city served as the centre of the Lombard School. Bologna was its most distinguished seat. Galasio (1220), Alighieri, Alghisi, Cosimo Tura, Ercole Grandi and especially Dosso Dossi (1479-1566), were the principal painters of Ferrara. The last, a friend of Ariosto, possesses a remarkable grandeur of style, united with a richness of coloring which may bear comparison with that of Titian. Bramante (1444-1514), who was likewise a great architect, Lippo Dalmasi, and especially Francesco Raibolino, called Francesco Francia (born 1450), were highly distinguished among the Bolognese painters. But all these were far surpassed by the incomparable Antonio Allegri da Correggio, who, in fact, first founded the character of the Lombard School, so distinguished for harmony of colors, expression, replete with feeling and genuine grace.

After Leonardo da Vinci, in the Florentine School, had settled the proportions of figures, and the rules of perspective and of light and shade, and his scholars, Luini, Salaino and Melzo, besides the admirable Baccio della Porta, who is famous under the name of Fra Bartolommeo (born 1469), and whose works are distinguished for elevated conception, warmth of devotion and glowing colors, had done much for the art, and after the gentle and feeling Andrea del Sarto (1488-1530), the intellectual Baltasar Peruzzi and the gay Razzi had made this school distinguished, arose the most extraordinary of masters, Michael Angelo Buonarroti (1474-1564). His gigantic mind grasped with equal power, statuary, architecture and painting. His fire of composition, his knowledge of anatomy, the boldness of his attitude and foreshortenings, leave him without a rival; but as a model he was detrimental to the art, because his imitators necessarily fell into exaggeration, and contempt of a simple style. In grandeur, his fresco painting, the Last Judgment, in the Sistine chapel, at Rome, is inimitable. Beauty was never so much his object as power and sublimity. Rosso de Rossi, Daniel of Volterra, Salviati, Angelo Bronzino, Alessandro Allori, and many others were his scholars and imitators. In 1580, Ludov. Cigoli, and Greg. Pagani began to awaken a new spirit. They returned to nature, and sought to create a better taste in the *chiaro oscuro*. If we turn our attention to the Roman School, we find at its head the first of artists—Raffael Sanzio da Urbino (1483-1520). His genius appears elevated, in the scriptural scenes of the frescoes of the Vatican, and lovely, spiritual and original in the designs from the life of Psyche, in the Farnesina. No less superior are his oil paintings, of which we shall only mention his Madonnas, celebrated throughout the world, and his last work, the Transfiguration of Christ.

His scholars and successors, the bold Giulio Romano (1493-1546), the more gloomy Francesco Penni il Fattore (1488-1528),

the lofty Bartolommeo Ramenghi, surnamed Bagnacavallo, and many others—were skillful masters; but they forsook the path of their exemplar, and degenerated into mannerism. Federico Baroccio (1521–1612) endeavored to counteract this tendency. In spirit, he belonged to the Lombard school, as he aimed at the grace of Correggio. He possesses an uncommon degree of grace and expression. With his scholars Francesco Vauni, Pellegrino, and the brothers Zuccheri, he infused a new life into the Roman School, though the latter produced pleasing rather than great works, and fell into mannerism. Muziano was distinguished in landscape painting, and Noguri, Pulzone and Facchetti in portrait painting. At the head of the Venetian School, we find the two excellent colorists, Giorgione Barbarelli (1477–1611) and Tiziano Vercelli (1477–1576). The portraits of the former are celebrated for their warmth and truth. The latter, Titian, was great in all the departments of art, excellent as an historical and portrait painter, and the first great landscape painter. Even in extreme old age his powers were unimpaired. Ariosto and Aretino were friends of the gay, happy Titian. He executed many works for the Spanish kings. Some of his most celebrated works are the altar-piece of San Pietro Martire, his pictures of Venus, his Bacchanal and his Children Playing, in Madrid, etc. His successors,—Sebastiano del Piombo, Palma Vecchio, Lorenzo Lotto, Paris Bordone, Pordenone,—are distinguished, especially in coloring. Schiavone, whose chiaro oscuro and richness of coloring are truly remarkable; Giacomo da Ponto, called Bassano, who imitated reality, even in common things, to deception, and who was the head of a whole family of painters; the ardent, inspired Robusti, called Il Tintoretto (1512–1594), whom Titian, through jealousy dismissed from his school; the fantastic, splendid Paul Veronese (1532–1588), who painted boldly and brilliantly with a free pencil, but neglected all propriety of costume, and the Veronese Cagliani, were ornaments of the Vene-

tian School. It likewise degenerated, and its mannerists became worse than those of the other schools. At the head of the Lombard School was the charming Correggio (1494–1534), whose works are full of feeling. His successors and scholars were Francesco Rondani, Gatti, Lelio Pesi, and especially Francesco Mazzola il Parmegianino (1503–1540). This artist possessed much ease, fire and a peculiar grace which frequently borders on mannerism. Gaudenzio Ferrari, and many others are the ornaments of the Milanese School. In landscape painting, Lavizzario was called the Titian of Milan. The famous Sofonisba Angosciola, of Cremona (1530–1610), was highly distinguished in music and painting. As an excellent portrait painter she was invited to Madrid, where she painted Don Carlos and the whole Royal family and gave instruction to Queen Elizabeth. Van Dyke declared that he learned more from the conversation of this woman, when she was blind from age, than he had from the study of the masters. Lavinia Fontana, Artemisia Gentileschi, Maria Robusti, and Elis Sisani were celebrated female artists of this time. Camillo and Giulio Procaccino were distinguished for strength of imagination and excellent coloring. Francesco Primaticcio (1490–1570), Niccolo dell' Abbate, Pellegrino Tibaldi, Passarota and Fontana were very able Bolognese artists.

Another period begins with the age of the three Carracci. These excellent artists endeavored to restore a pure style, and by the combined study of the ancient masters, of nature and science, to give a new splendor to the degraded art. Their influence was all powerful. The division into the four principal schools now ceases, and we find but two principal divisions—the followers of the Carracci, who are called eclectic and the followers of Michael Angelo Caravaggio, who are called naturalists. Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619) was the uncle of the two brothers, Agostino and Annibale. Lodovico was quiet, contemplative, soft and serious. His passionate teachers, Fontana and

Tintoretto, at first denied him any talents: he studied therefore more zealously, and acquired the deepest views as an artist. Agostino united uncommon sagacity and most extensive knowledge with a noble character. His brother Annibale, who made extraordinary progress in the art under Lodovico's direction, became jealous of Agostino. The disputes between the two brothers never ceased until the attacks of their enemies reunited them, and they founded together a great academy. After this they again quarrelled. The scholars of the Carracci are numberless. The most famous endeavored to unite the grace of Correggio with the grandeur of the Roman masters. Cesare Aretusi was distinguished for the most faithful copies of Correggio, and Guido Reni (1575-1642), especially for the ideal beauty of his heads, the loveliness of his infant figures, and the uncommon facility of his pencil; his fresco representing Aurora, in the Borghese, and his oil painting, the Ascension of Mary, in Munich, are well known. Francesco Albani (1578-1660), lived in constant rivalry with Guido. He produced many large church paintings, but was most celebrated for the indescribable charm with which he represented on a smaller scale, lovely subjects from mythology, and especially groups of cupids. The third great contemporary of those already mentioned, Domenico Zamperi, called Domenichino (1581-1641), was at first little esteemed by them, on account of his great modesty and timidity. His works evince the most thorough knowledge, and are rich in expression of character, and force and truth. His Communion of St. Jerome, his martyrdom of St. Agnes and his fresco in the Grotta Ferrata are immortal master-pieces. Giovanni Lanfranco (1580-1647) was especially distinguished for his effects of light. Bartol. Schidone is one of the best colorists of this school. The Bibienas, the Molas Al. Tierini, Pietro di Cortona, Ciro Ferri also deserve mention. At the head of the naturalists who confined themselves to the imitation of nature, stands Caravaggio. About

this time the Bambocciate were introduced. These were subjects, as the name indicates, of the most childish kind. Andrea Sacchi made great efforts to oppose this taste. His drawing was correct and grand; Raphael was his model. His most famous scholar was Carlo Maratto, whose style was noble and tasteful. The cavalier Pietro Liberi, Andrea Celesti, the female portrait painter Rosalba Carriera, the graceful Pinzetta Tiepolo and Canaletti, great for his perspective, were the most celebrated Venetian painters of this time. Carlo Cignani, of Bologna, acquired great reputation for originality. Of his scholars Marc Antonio Franceschini and Giuseppe Crespi, are the most distinguished. The Neapolitan and the Genoese schools must not be forgotten. Of the Neapolitans we name Tommaso de Stefani, Fil Tesauro, Belisario, Caracciolo, Guiseppe Ribera Spagnoletto, an artist of great power, the spirited landscape painter, Salvator Rosa, Preti, called il Calabrese, and Luca Giordano (1652-1705). The Genoese can name among their artists Semino (born 1485), Poggi Strozzi, Luca Cambiasi (born 1527), Castiglione Biscaino, Gualli and Parodi.

In the kindred arts of sculpture, architecture and engraving, the Italians equally excelled. Many of their artists exercised with perfect success all the different branches of the fine arts. Some, as Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci also fill a high place in literature. Italy too, has a greater name in music than any other land. To her belongs the origin and cultivation of the musical drama, and she can point to many of the greatest composers as her sons. In the sciences, too, many of the highest names are Italian: the discoveries and observations of Galileo, Torricelli, Galvani, Volta, and later students are familiar to the world.

Until recently, in no part of Europe was the education of the humbler classes so neglected as in Italy, taken as a whole. The instruction of the poor was wholly in the hands of the ecclesiastics, and nothing could be worse conducted. It was a wonder to find a rustic

that could read, and a mechanic in the towns that could write his own name was equally rare. The institutions for the higher kinds of education are still far behind those in the other countries of Europe.

The universities where education is completed are sufficiently numerous, and mostly of ancient date in their foundation. They are—Bologna, founded in the year 1119; Naples, in 1224; Padua, in 1228; Rome, in 1244; Perugia, in 1320; Pisa, in 1329; Siena, in 1249; Pavia, said to have been founded by Charlemagne in 774, but, at all events, remodelled in 1390; Turin, in 1412; Parma, in 1422; Florence, in 1443; Catania, in 1445; Cagliari, in 1764; and Genoa, renewed and extended in 1783; to which may be added those of Palermo, Camerino, and Macerata, and that of Modena, which was closed in 1849.

The dates of these institutions may serve to show the probable course of study originally introduced, when the works of the schoolmen and the casuists entirely engrossed the public mind. Several improvements have been ingrafted on these foundations, but they have been of little efficacy in exciting to study, or in forming a considerable proportion of enlightened scholars.

In almost every one of the cities of Italy there have been long-established literary and scientific societies, which have cherished and encouraged learning among their respective members. These were instituted in the fifteenth century, and have multiplied and increased ever since. They have contributed, since the revival of learning, to its preservation, and have been in a great degree the means of bringing the talents and industry of scholars into public notice. They are too numerous to be even named here. One of the earliest, as well as the most celebrated, is the *Accademia della Crusca* of Florence, which still exists, and has for its object the perfecting of the language. The most flourishing of these societies in the present day are the Imperial Institution of Milan, the Academy of Sciences at Turin, and

the Royal Society at Naples. The institutions for the promotion of the fine arts are numerous. They are connected with schools, in which painting, sculpture and architecture, are taught by competent masters. The most useful of these are at Florence, Rome, and Bologna.

Italy abounds in collections of books, and especially of manuscripts of great antiquity, and of high value. The libraries in general are, however, deficient in modern foreign works of literature and of science. The most distinguished of the public libraries are—in Rome, the Vatican, which contains 23,500 MSS., the Minerva 120,000 printed volumes and 4,900 MSS., and the Angelica 90,000 vols.; in Florence, the Laurenziana and the Magliabecchiana; in Naples, the Borbonica, 200,000 vols. and 4,000 MSS., and the Brancacciana, 70,000 vols., 7,000 MSS.; in Bologna, the university, 140,000 vols., 9,000 MSS.; the Comunale, 100,000 vols., and the Martini, 17,000 vols. (all music); in Milan, the Ambrosiana, 120,000 vols., 5,500 MSS., and the Brera; Venice, St. Marks, 112,000 vols., and very rich in MSS.; Padua, university; Brescia, Quiriniana, 90,000 vols.; Ferrara, 90,000 vols.; Mantua, 80,000 vols.; Parma, 90,000 vols.; Genoa, university, 50,000 vols., and Comunale, 40,000 vols.; Turin, university, 112,000 vols. and rich in MSS., and many smaller ones. There are in every part of Italy museums of great value, and most of them are arranged in the most perfect manner. All of them are with the greatest liberality thrown open to the public, and are thereby made the common property of all nations. Each palace of the men of eminent rank, and each public building, is a cabinet of art; and each city boasts of its antiques or of its modern works of art. The most distinguished of the museums are the Vaticano and the Capitolino at Rome, the Borbonico at Naples, and the Galleria at Florence. Picture galleries are to be found everywhere, and contain many of the finest specimens of art. The churches, too, are most abundantly graced, as well by

their architecture as by the exquisite pieces which exhibit the skill of the painters or the sculptors. Many of the best works of art were removed by the French invaders; but, in 1814 and 1815, most of these were restored to the states from which they had been

carried off. There are botanic gardens attached to most of the universities, and several in the vicinity of the larger cities; and there are astronomical observatories in Bologna, Padua, Milan, Florence, Naples and Palermo.

GERMANY.

THE early history of the Germans, like that of all nations who had no written records, is involved in much obscurity. The first knowledge of their transactions was that of the invasion of the country by the Gauls, commanded by Segovesus, king of the Celtæ; whilst his brother Bellovesus marched with another army into Italy; both of which divisions are said to have been directed by the flight of birds. Segovesus crossed the Rhine, and gained a settlement near the Hercynian Forest. The Germans, however, soon acted on the offensive, and expelled the Gauls, and by the assistance of the Belgæ, one of their most warlike tribes, gained possession of some territory to the west of the Rhine, where they were enabled to fix and maintain themselves so firmly as never to be driven out, and whence they extended themselves to the sea-coasts of Britain, and even drove its inhabitants into the interior. The Germans and the Gauls, thus brought into contact with each other, continued to hold vacillating intercourse, sometimes at war, at other times in alliance in opposition to the power of the conquering and disciplined Romans. The Germans, under the name of Cimbri, then invaded the territory of Rome, and spread such terror, that Marius, by a deviation from the law, was appointed consul to command an army against them. After various marches during some years, in 102 B. C., Marius, with an army of 52,000 men, attacked the barbarians on the banks of the Rhine, and, though they are said to

have mustered 300,000 foot and 15,000 horse, completely defeated them, with a loss of 150,000 killed and 60,000 prisoners. Many, preferring death to slavery, underwent military execution; and a few were scattered over Gaul, or crossed the Danube, and so escaped to their own country.

After Julius Cæsar had completed the subjugation of Gaul, and extended his conquest to the Rhine, he first became acquainted with the German name. Ariovistus, the leader of a tribe that dwelt to the south of the Danube, attempted to fix his establishment in Gaul, but was defeated by Cæsar, and, with the loss of 80,000 men, was driven across the Rhine, though two tribes of his followers remained on the west side of that river; and the fugitives who returned, augmented the numbers of the German tribe of the Marcomanni. Cæsar built a bridge over the Rhine, and twice passed that river at the head of his army, not with the view of permanent conquest, but to secure his province of Gaul against the attacks of the barbarians; and he also took many of the Germans into pay, first in the war with the Gauls, and afterwards in the civil contest with Pompey. The civil wars, which occupied first Cæsar and Pompey, and afterwards Mark Antony, and Brutus and Cassius, left the Germans opportunities to attempt incursions. The confederation of the Segambri passed the Rhine, and having repelled the attack of Agrippa, settled themselves on the western side of that river; but a few years after-

wards they were defeated by Lollius the legate of Augustus, when, 14 B. C., Drusus, the son-in-law of the emperor, constructed several fortresses along that river, to prevent the incursions of the Germans. He proceeded with success, and penetrated as far as the Elbe. He died in the year 8 B. C., and was succeeded by Tiberius, who during his command not only sustained the power which Drusus had acquired, but extended it towards the north; and, by intrigues among the natives, as much as by his force, induced many of the tribes to solicit peace, and excited others to enter into the military service of Rome. The body-guard of Augustus was composed of German volunteers, amongst whom was the distinguished noble whose name has descended to posterity, being sometimes called Hermanus, and at others Arminius, who received the privileges of a Roman citizen and the dignity of a Roman knight. He was the son of Sigmer, a prince of the Cherusci, and had been educated in Rome, and early appointed an officer in the army of Augustus, but is said never to have lost the relish for the customs of his ancestors, nor his zeal for the independence of his country; and during the course of his instruction in arts and in arms, he warmly cherished the hope of adapting these instructions to the purpose of freeing his country from the Roman yoke. He felt a confidence that all the discipline of the Roman armies would be unable in a fair field to resist the raw bravery of his unpolished countrymen.

The best legions of Rome were intrusted to the command of Quintilius Varus, with the superintendence of the territories on the right bank of the Rhine, which had been added by Drusus to the Roman dominion. He was confident in the power of his military superiority, and thought, in addition to that, to secure obedience by changing the customs and principles of the Germans, and thus converting them into useful subjects. For this purpose he took with him a great number of civil officers, lawyers, and men of letters, to introduce the new order of things. These

measures roused the jealousy of a people enamored of their freedom, and disseminated the seeds of insurrection amongst all the tribes situated between the Rhine and the Elbe. Arminius availed himself of this spirit to form alliances in opposition to Varus, amongst all the military leaders of the districts. It happened most opportunely for the purpose of Arminius, that, in the year 9 A.D., a general revolt broke out on the Roman frontiers of Dalmatia and Pannonia. It is doubtful if this was connected with the plans of Arminius, but it helped to strengthen the confederacy which had been entered into by those tribes which were in possession of the country bounded by the Rhine, the Saale, and the Elbe. This confederacy was not broken up by the treason of one of the chiefs, Segestes, the leader of the Catti, who communicated to the Roman commander the plan and the detail of the intended insurrection, which was received by Varus with the contempt which reliance upon the numbers and discipline of his troops had inspired. Arminius redoubled his assiduities to remove suspicion, if any existed, of his fidelity to the Roman cause, and succeeded, by pointing the attention of Varus to some irruptions which, at the instigation of the confederacy, had broken out on the banks of the Weser. These small but concerted disturbances were intended to inveigle the Roman commander to advance into the interior of the country; and the leaders of the German troops in the pay of Rome, who were involved in the confederacy with Arminius, by the display of unbounded zeal and obedience, agreed in urging the Roman commander not to wait for further displays of resistance, but to advance with his three legions and the auxiliaries, and to extinguish the rebellion in its focal point. In vain did Segestes repeat his warnings. Nothing could shake the confidence of Varus in Arminius, and the confederates and the Romans plunged deeper and deeper into the heart of the country, where the snares had been laid for their destruction. Near the sources of the river

Lippe, in the country of the Bructeri, after a long and wearisome march through woods and morasses, the Romans saw themselves enclosed on every side in a hollow surrounded by hills whose summits were all occupied by the natives. At this moment intelligence arrived that Arminius with the rear division, consisting of stipendiaries, which he commanded, had declared against the Romans, and had been the moving spring of the whole operations. Varus saw clearly destruction before him; for though discipline and courage might prolong the contest, it could inspire no hopes of a successful issue.

Three days of suffering and ineffectual hostilities compelled the Romans to submit. Varus chose death rather than disgrace. Three Roman eagles were taken; and a limit was thus set to the advances of the Romans towards the north, which they were never afterwards enabled to pass. The Germans disgraced their victory by useless cruelties. Some of the men of letters and artists who were taken had their hands cut off, and others were blinded. The site of this memorable event cannot be clearly ascertained by any records, but it is generally placed by the antiquarians of Germany near the sources of the rivers Lippe and Ems, not far from where now stands the small city of Detmold. The event occurred in the ninth year of our era.

When Arminius had thus restored the ancient freedom to his country, he destroyed the fortresses which the Romans had constructed on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Weser, and exerted himself to raise the military spirit of the Germans, and taught them to rely on that spirit rather than on the strongest fortifications. A civil war soon broke out amongst the natives themselves, and the party opposed to Arminius was headed by Segestes. That prince applied to the Romans for assistance, and was aided by their general Germanicus, when he was surrounded by the troops of Arminius. His deliverance was effected with but little loss on either side; but the wife of Arminius was taken prisoner by Segestes, and on being carried before the Roman general,

maintained a spirit and dignity which is highly applauded by Tacitus. The treachery of Segestes animated the exertions of Arminius, and he was offered assistance by his uncle Inguiomar, a leader of a tribe, and celebrated as a warrior. Arminius attempted also to gain to his party his brother Flavius, who like himself had been educated in Italy, but who resolutely maintained his fidelity to the Roman power. Arminius desired a meeting with Flavius, and they saw and conversed with each other across the river Weser. The expostulations and the inducements of Arminius were ineffectual; the brothers became exasperated against each other, and would have proceeded to feats of arms if they had not been separated by the stream, and at length been borne away from the scene by their respective partisans.

Germanicus the Roman commander once more attacked the army of Arminius, and gained a splendid but useless victory on the plain of Idistavium, on the banks of the Weser; but having excited the suspicious jealousy of the Emperor Tiberius, the necessary succors were withheld, and Arminius was soon enabled again to make head against the Romans, and caused them to suspend their attempts on the freedom of Germany. This temporary tranquillity, however, gave rise to an intestine war.

Marobodus, a leader of the Marcomanni, but who had been educated in the court of Augustus, was enabled by his address and his power to unite many tribes of the Suevi in a confederacy with his own nation, which collectively assumed the name of the Marcomanni. At the head of this powerful league he attacked and conquered the nation of the Boii, seated in the south of Bohemia and a part of Franconia, and founded a formidable state, which extended over the Hermundurians, the Quadi, the Longobards, and the Semnones, and could bring into the field 70,000 warriors. Augustus had given orders to Tiberius to suppress with twelve legions the power of Marobodus, but a general insurrection of the Dalmatian tribes compelled

him to conclude a peace which secured to him no benefit. The subsequent disasters of the Romans in Western Germany suspended all attacks on the Marcomanni, who continued to excite insurrections in the south of Germany.

Two great powers were thus formed, the Marcomanni and the Cherusci, the one under Marobodus and the other under Arminius. Between these, dissensions speedily arose. On one side the Longobards and the Semnones, wearied by the oppressions of Marobodus, deserted his party and united with the Cherusci; and on the other side Inguomer, the uncle of Arminius, from jealousy of his nephew, was induced to pass from his party to that of the Marcomanni. After a war between these two confederations, which was carried on with all that systematic regularity which the two commanders had learned in the Roman legions, the Cherusci remained conquerors. Tiberius, instead of giving that aid to Marobodus which he eagerly asked, left him exposed during two years to the attacks of Catualda the Goth, who compelled him to abandon his territory and seek refuge amongst the Romans; and Catualda was soon exposed to the same fate by the hostilities of the Hermundurians, who had obtained the lead among the confederates which were headed by Arminius.

The death of Arminius occurred in the year 21 A.D., at the age of thirty-seven years, during the twelve last of which he had gloriously and happily conducted the affairs of his country with the applause of his followers, to whom, after his death, he continued an object of the highest veneration. He was indeed suspected of designs to introduce royalty and to assume the kingly dignity, but it is now impossible to confirm or refute the charge which has been brought against his memory.

After the death of their leader, the Cherusci, owing to internal disputes, gradually lost the rank they had held, and at length allowed the Romans to nominate a king of their country, who assumed the name of Ital-

icus, and was the last branch of the family of Arminius. Under him they quarrelled with their allies the Longobards, and soon sunk down into an insignificant tribe, inhabiting the district to the south of the Hartz Mountains. About the same time, in the west of Germany, the Catti raised themselves to a state of some consideration, and, whilst the Romans were occupied in suppressing an insurrection of the Frisii, seized the fortresses constructed on the Rhine. They were assailed by Galba, and induced to cede the territory included between the Lahn, the Maine, and the Rhine, to the Romans, who parcelled it out among the most meritorious of their warriors. In the year 58, the Catti and the Hermunduri contended for the salt springs on the river Saale in Franconia. The numerous followers of Marobodus and of Catualda had established themselves about the same time on the Danube, between the rivers Gran and Morava, and there, under Vannius, whom they had received as a king from the Romans, founded a new kingdom, which was soon felt to be oppressive to the people. Although Vannius had found allies in the Sarmatian Jaziges, yet he could not resist the confederacy formed against him by the Hermunduri, Lygerii, and the Western Quadi, but fled from his kingdom and took refuge with the Romans, when he was succeeded by his nephew Sido, who had performed some important services for the Emperor Vespasian. In the west the Batavians, by an obstinate struggle, shook the Roman power, which was only retained by extraordinary exertions. About this period began the war which finally terminated in the downfall of Rome. The Suevi were attacked by the Lygerii, and applied for aid to Domitian, who sent them a hundred horse soldiers, the smallness of which number was deemed an affront, and induced them to form a confederacy with the Jaziges, which threatened Dacia and Pannonia. Domitian was defeated, but Trajan proved more successful; but afterwards war broke out more fiercely under Antoninus Philosophus. The barbarians disquieted the empire on two

sides without cessation. On one side small but numerous hordes of the Goths arrived in Dacia to establish themselves by force of arms; but these were removed by having a still better country pointed out to them in a southern direction. But the more terrific hostilities were those carried on by the Marcomanni, who had combined with the Hermunduri, and the Quadi. Marcus Aurelius contended with them during his whole life; and Commodus purchased a peace with them in 180 A.D. At the same time the Catti laid waste Rætia and Gaul, and the Cherusei drove the Longobards back on the Elbe, and advanced themselves under the name of Franks. About the year 220 A.D. new tribes of Germans assailed the falling empire. The Visigoths, the Gepides, and Herulians, attacked the Romans in Dacia; whilst about the same time a new race called the Alemanni, a mixed tribe, of Sclavonic origin, made their appearance in Southern Germany, in opposition to whom was constructed the celebrated *Vallum Romanorum*, the traces of which are still visible from Jaxthausen to Ohringen. The power of Rome gradually sunk, partly from the constant and increasing hostilities of the Germans and other barbarous tribes, and partly from internal dissensions. As that empire was weakened, the Franks advanced to Spain, and under Probus conquered also the Batavian peninsula. Thus the Franks and Alemanni remained the most powerful of the German nation. The former of these lost the Batavian territory to the Saxons, and the latter were humbled before the Romans in the last victory obtained by that mighty people. At the beginning of the fifth century the barbarians assailed the empire on every side. The Vandals, Suevi, and Albani became masters of Gaul and Spain. They were followed by the successful Burgundians and the Western Goths; to the Burgundians succeeded the Franks, to the Western Goths succeeded the Eastern Goths, and to them the Longobards. Then began that stream of emigration which poured from the north to the south, and, as a conquering power, be-

came the founders of the subsequent European kingdoms. A new change was given to the face of Europe by those vast emigrations of people, mostly Germans, though some came from countries further eastward than Germany, which gradually overspread and subdued the west, introduced new forms of society, and framed languages, which, with but little variation, have continued till the present time. The new states, formed out of what had previously been portions of the Roman empire, though often at war with each other, and differing in smaller matters, chiefly arising from difference of soil and climate, were united in one similar system of policy and domestic government, and had those common habits strengthened by the providential introduction of the Christian religion, to which, though varying in some points of faith, they all in process of time professed adherence. We have here space only for a slight sketch of the history of those emigrations the beneficial effects of which we now enjoy, and to which, during a period of more than a thousand years, Europe has been indebted for the great advancement in the arts and the policy of civilization which has raised it above the other portions of the habitable globe.

These emigrations, which thus revolutionized Europe, began from the Frozen Ocean, extended themselves to the Atlantic Sea, and stretched over a portion of Northern Africa. They continued from the year 375, when the Huns first broke into Europe, till 568, when the Lombards had completed their conquest of the Roman empire. The causes of these excursions of whole tribes were various, arising in some cases from excessive population, in others from the pressure of more remote tribes, and in all from the charms of the beautiful and well-cultivated provinces which the Romans had gradually added to their dominions. At a more early period single tribes in small parties had changed their domiciles, and thereby prepared the way for the greater emigrations. The constant conquests of the

too extended empire began in the middle of the third century to make it totter under its own weight. Some powerful emperors, indeed, especially Constantine and Theodosius, suspended its fall; but others, under the pressure of circumstances, and from short-sighted policy, had taken parties of the barbarians into their pay, and, as a reward for their military services, had granted them lands to establish themselves on the frontiers of the empire. In this way settlements were granted to the Franks in Belgian Gaul, and to the Alani, the Vandals and the Goths, in Dacia, Pannonia and Thrace.

Many individuals of skill and courage were appointed to offices of high power and trust, and two of them, Ruffin and Stilicho, to the command of armies. The consequence of this was, that as they improved in education, they became fully acquainted with the weakness of the Roman government, and accustomed themselves to consider it as a prey, on which in due time they might seize.

The first movement towards the emigrations was given from the farthest part of Northern Asia, where a wild and warlike tribe, probably of Mongul or Kalinuck origin, were settled on the confines of China. These, expelled from their own settlements about the end of the first century, extended themselves towards the west, and drove the Alani, a tribe from Caucasus, out of Asiatic Sarmatia, and also dislodged the Western Goths, who were settled in ancient Dacia, and in the district between the Dniester, the Danube and the Vistula. A portion of the Alani, after long wanderings, arrived on the Danube in what is now Hungary; connected themselves there with the Vandals, an original north German colony, who had been planted there about one hundred years, and, together they pressed forward into Germany, where they further strengthened themselves by a union with the Suevi, another German tribe which had settled on the Upper Danube. These three populations, thus united,

pressed forward to the Rhine, passed that river into Gaul, captured Mayence, Strasbourg and other flourishing cities, and devastated the whole country.

After these united people had in a few years spread desolation over a great part of Gaul, they pressed on towards the Pyrenees, and entered Spain. They subdued nearly the whole of that country about the year 411, divided it by lot amongst themselves, and left a very small portion of it only in the possession of the Roman garrisons. They, however, retained their former discipline and courage, and formed an alliance with some of the Western Goths, who had penetrated into Spain, and attacked the conquerors. The Alani, who had founded a kingdom in Lusitania, now Portugal, were completely overcome in 418; and the remnant of them, after their defeat, received protection from the Vandals; and hence from that time their name is no more to be found. They carried on the war with the Romans, and thereby gained the ascendancy over them, when, in 427, they formed the resolution to pass over into Africa. The kingdom founded there by Genseric, after maintaining itself a hundred and five years, was at last subdued by Belisarius, the general of the Greek emperor Justinian. The Suevi, who after the departure of the Vandals remained in Spain, extended and maintained their power till they were defeated and scattered by the Western Goths in 584. The Huns, with whom these movements had originated, established themselves in 377, in Pannonia, whence, conducted by their king Attila, they made a wasting campaign in Gaul; but their leader having met with a signal defeat in 451, they turned towards Italy, and could scarcely be induced to spare Rome itself and to quit Italy. After his death in 453, the kingdom of the Huns disappeared, its inhabitants having been scattered and lost among the tribes of the Goths and Gepides.

The most dangerous enemies of the Romans were the Goths, to whom reference has before been made. They were a tribe

of Germans originally established in East Prussia, on the shores of the Baltic, but had extended themselves through Poland, to the Black Sea, and had spread themselves over the Rmar provinces on the Danube. In the third century, Rome found it necessary, or at least convenient, to allow of their establishment in Dacia. This powerful nation, the first amongst the Germans who embraced the Christian religion, was divided into two branches. The Eastern Goths were established on the river Don and the Black Sea, and the Western Goths between the Dniester, the Danube and the Vistula. As they were assailed by the advancing Huns, and compelled to abandon their settlements about the year 375, the Romans conceded to them other settlements in the interior of their empire. The Western Goths, under their king Alaric, attacked the Romans in Italy in 403, several times assailed Rome itself, and conquered and plundered it in 410. His successor Ataulf led his followers into Gaul in 411, and from thence into Spain, where was erected the largest Gothic kingdom, which from 624, comprehended the whole of the Peninsula, with a part of France and some portions of Africa, and was only terminated in 711, by the victory of the invading Moors at the battle of Xeres.

The Eastern Goths had been settled by the Romans in the country of Mœsia, now known by the names of Bulgaria and of Servia. Odoacer, the chief of two German tribes, the Heruli and the Rugieri, who had served under the Roman standards, became the master of Rome and of all Italy. But he was subdued by Theodoric king of the Western Goths, who thus succeeded to supreme power in Italy in the year 493.

Though Theodoric was one of the greatest characters of his age, the kingdom he founded proved but of short duration. The Emperor Justinian, after his successes in Africa, attacked the power of the Goths, and by his generals, first Belisarius and afterwards Narses, once more, in 554, restored Italy to

the dominion of the Greek empire. The Gothic sovereigns then disappeared, and in a few years no trace of them remained except their name, which has been applied to a peculiar style of architecture.

A few years after the fall of the Gothic kingdom, the greater part of Italy fell under the power of the Longobards or Lombards. According to some accounts, they were a tribe from Scandinavia, but according to others, a branch of the great German family of the Suevi, who in earlier times had inhabited those parts on the Elbe which are now known as Luneburg, and who had, after various excursions, been settled in Pannonia about 527. They advanced from thence, in 568, towards Italy, and under their king Alboin made a conquest of nearly the whole peninsula; a feat which was easily effected, owing to its desolate and depopulated condition. The chief opposition they encountered was from the city of Pavia, which, after a siege of three years, was captured in 572, and made the capital of the kingdom. Lombardy flourished during two centuries, till it fell under the power of the Emperor Charlemagne in the year 774.

The history of Germany between the years 560 and 670, is wholly destitute of the materials necessary to frame a consecutive narrative. The only writer of the period was Gregory, bishop of Tours, and his attention was wholly engrossed by the events of the Frank kingdom which had sprung up in Gaul, and had begun to decline, the manners, laws and customs of which he has faithfully represented. The only part of his voluminous work which relates to Germany, is an account of an alliance formed between the Bavarians and Longobards, which offended the Franks, and proved the cause of hostile movements, which, however, were speedily and pacifically terminated in 589. From the death of Dagobert in 632, the dominions of the Frankish kings of the Merovingian race were gradually diminished. One portion after another fell into the hands of great lay or ecclesiastical feuda-

stories; but these circumstances seem to have had little effect on the German tribes. They scarcely interfered in the Frankish contests; and though not without internal controversies and contentions, these were of local and temporary importance only, and seldom produced extensive or calamitous convulsions. Preparations for defence against the Franks were carried on; some fortresses were constructed, and military discipline was maintained. But the most distinguished feature of the century, was the spread of the Christian faith. A saint from Ireland, with his assistants, labored amongst the German tribes with great diligence and success. The cross of Christ had been planted among them, and publicly acknowledged as their standard; but the remains of heathenism, with its superstitions, were cherished by the great mass of the rude people, and the sacred rites of the Druids were performed in their hallowed groves.

Columban indeed found almost everywhere Christian priests, but their knowledge was slight, many of their ceremonies were idolatrous, their faith was wavering, and, what to the Irish saint was most annoying, their dependence on the see of Rome slightly if at all acknowledged.

The success of the Irish missionaries is much lauded by the monkish writers of the ages that followed their exertions; and whatever effect they may have produced upon the manners and morals of the Germans, it must be acknowledged that they were successful in bringing that people into that close connection with the great head of the Christian church, which became, in a succession of centuries, under the guidance of Providence, one of the means of their advancement in civilization.

During the same period was laid the foundation of those small sovereign states which successively grew up in Germany under ecclesiastical and lay chiefs, who bore the titles of archbishops, bishops, abbots, princes, dukes, counts, margraves, landgraves and barons. These, in process of

time, had the indirect choice of the emperor, who assumed the title of Chief of the Holy Roman Empire, and was elected to that dignity by princes called electors, who were independent, though nominally the household officers of the reigning emperor. The Emperor Charlemagne was the real founder of the holy Roman empire, although that name was not given to it until a later period. He was of the race of the Frankish kings, the son of Pepin and the grandson of Charles Martel, and, jointly with his brother Carloman, ascended the throne of Gaul in 768. He was one of those extraordinary characters calculated to change the face of the civilized world. The history of his actions, during a long and glorious reign of forty-seven years, would relate his transactions in France, Spain, Italy and Germany, but must here be restricted to those which concern the last of those countries. The death of Carloman in 771, gave him the sole command of France, and his authority extended over Italy and a portion of Germany. He wished to obtain more power in that direction, and resolved to attack the Saxons, and made religion one of the pretexts for his attempt. The Saxons were a pagan people settled in Holstein and Westphalia, between the Weser and the Elbe, and, like all people in a barbarous state, thought themselves warranted by this independence in making incursions on their neighbors. They were frequently defeated, and made treaties of peace, which they soon broke, and thus continued until they were completely subdued in 803, when Charlemagne settled some of them in Flanders, and others in Switzerland, whilst the country was occupied by a Vandal tribe from Meeklenburg.

The long resistance of so weak a power was owing to the enlistments of the troops of Charlemagne being but for one year, and to the other wars in which he was engaged with the Lombards, the Danes and the Saracens, as well as with some of the feudatories in his patrimonial dominions. He

had long nourished the desire to become emperor of the West, and had negotiated a treaty of marriage with Irene, Empress of Constantinople, which would have led to a general union of all Christendom under one head, but which was frustrated by the death of that princess. He was, however, in the year 800, crowned in Rome, by Pope Leo III., and acknowledged as emperor of the West in all the extensive dominions he had obtained. He reigned as emperor fourteen years, and died in 814, at Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle in Germany, which had been early selected as his favorite residence.

The German empire may be dated from the treaty of Verdun in 843, by which the Frankish kingdom was divided. Lorraine was added to it in 924. Otto the Great brought the kingdom of Italy in 961, and the imperial dominions in that country in 962, into close connection with the empire of Germany, which then for the first time received the appellation of the Holy Roman Empire. But the Italian states were rather feudatories than subjects of that empire, and this slight bond was in a few years dissolved. Bohemia was a part of the empire under Otto, and continued to be so considered until a later period. For a short time the kings of Denmark owned allegiance on account of Jutland, and the king of Poland on account of Silesia, a state of things which continued till 1355. Hungary was also a part of the empire from 1045, till the reign of Henry IV. Prussia, likewise, the possession of the Teutonic order, stood in the same relation to the empire from 1230 to 1525, and Livonia, from 1205 to 1556.

The Emperor Conrad II., in 1033, united a part of the kingdom of Lower Burgundy with the empire, which thus comprehended Franche-Comté, Dauphiné, the Lyonnois, West Switzerland, Provence, and Savoy. These portions were, however, one after another separated from it; and in 1648 when Switzerland and the United Netherlands were declared independent, none of them remained to the empire but Savoy

Mompelgard, and the bishopric of Basel. The principles which regulated the intercourse of the emperor with the several princes, and of those princes with each other, were grounded, not as in other states, on charters granted by the chiefs, but on resolutions adopted at various times amongst the several states in general assemblies. The most memorable of these resolutions were, *1st.* that of internal peace in 1495; *2dly.* the Golden Bull, so called from having a seal of gold appended to it. This was agreed to under the Emperor Charles VI. in 1356, and confirmed at two subsequent diets or assemblies, which were held at Nuremberg and Metz. The chief object of it was to secure to the several states the right of independent voting in the election of an emperor. *3dly.* The treaty of Passau in 1552, or rather that concluded in consequence of it at Augsburg in 1555. This treaty established religious peace, and conferred on the several sovereigns who had embraced the Lutheran religion the free exercise of it in their dominions; and to the subjects the right to change their religion, and to leave the dominions without permission from the princes. *4thly.* The treaty of Westphalia, concluded in 1648, which extended freedom of religion to those who had embraced the reformed or Calvinistic religion, as well as the Lutherans.

Germany was divided, in 1500, under the Emperor Maximilian I. into six circles, viz., Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Saxony. These were increased in 1512, to ten, by adding to them the circles of Austria and Burgundy, and forming two circles out of that of Saxony, and two out of that of the Rhine. But Lausatia, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia and other countries, though encompassed by the empire, were, nevertheless, not included in it. Each of these circles had at its head an ecclesiastical and a lay prince, who assembled the states of the circle, communicated between the emperor and them, and called their attention to the civil or military affairs

of the body. Besides these each circle had a military chief, generally denominated the field-marshal, who commanded the forces, and had the care of providing subsistence, arms and other stores. In the assembly of the states a majority decided every question; but the decision required to be conformable to the general laws of the empire.

After the reformation of religion at the treaty of Westphalia, the circles were divided into Catholic, Protestant and mixed. The circles of Austria, Bavaria, and Burgundy belonged to the first; to the second appertained Saxony; and to the third the remainder.

The imperial dignity was retained by the family of Charlemagne till the year 888. After that time it was elective, although for a long period there was a general adherence to the family which had been once chosen. At the commencement, the emperor was elected by the whole of the princes, whether lay or ecclesiastical; but during an interregnum, which lasted from 1197 to 1272, the highest of arch-princes, called *kurfürsten*, assumed the exclusive right of electing, and by a subsequent union amongst themselves, at the election of Charles IV., in 1356, secured the power they claimed. Frankfort was the place of election to which the Archbishop of Mentz summoned the princes or their ambassadors who were allowed to vote; but none of them were to be attended by more than two hundred followers, of whom only fifty were permitted to be armed. All strangers, even sovereigns, and ambassadors of foreign potentates, were commanded to leave the city on the day of election. After the choice had been concluded, the person chosen, or his representative for him, was required to take the prescribed oaths to maintain the Golden Bull and the several capitulations. He was then led into St. Bartholomew's church, and declared emperor. The early emperors were crowned by the pope or his delegates, and several of them made toilsome marches to Rome, chiefly for that purpose. Till they received

that coronation they were only styled kings; and the popes carried their arrogance so far as to claim the right, not merely of confirming and crowning, but even of electing and deposing the emperors. In 1338, however, the electors asserted their right to elect the emperor independently of the pope, and this became a law of the empire.

It became usual, during the lifetime of an emperor to choose a successor to the imperial dignity; and the person so chosen was designated king of the Romans. This institution first arose in 1220, when Henry II., son of the Emperor Frederick II., was elected. He was bound to take oaths similar to those enjoined upon the emperor; but during his lifetime he was forbidden to mingle in the public business of the empire. In case of the death of the minority, or of a protracted absence of the emperor, the Golden Bull had provided that the Prince of Saxony should exercise vicariate power in Saxony and Westphalia, and the Prince of Alsace similar power in Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhenish circles. They could call assemblies, collect and control the finances, and administer justice; but they had no power to grant imperial dignities or feudal estates. In neither the circles of Austria nor Bavaria was any provision made for the exercise of this vicariate power.

The states of the empire, or general assembly, consisted of the clergy and laity, who held their property direct from the empire. The first comprehended the archbishops, bishops, prelates, abbots, abbesses, and the masters of the Teutonic and St. John's orders; the second included arch-princes, duke-princes, landgraves, margraves, burgraves, graffs, or counts, and the free imperial cities. After the peace of Westphalia, the states were divided into the Catholic and the Protestant portions, who on many subjects deliberated and resolved separately. Whilst the inferior princes exercised the executive and legal authority within their own states, those greater affairs which related to the empire in general, and to the

respective connection of one sovereignty with another, were brought under the notice of the general assembly, in which the emperor presided either personally or by his commissary, who was always a prince of the empire, and who was attended by an assessor. The assembly was divided into three benches or colleges, in which everything was decided by a majority of voices; but at a subsequent sitting they were united, and then the majority of the three benches determined the final resolution. Many subjects were entrusted to the examination of imperial deputations or committees. The power of making war or concluding peace belonged to the assembly, but was sometimes intrusted solely to the emperor, though only in pressing emergencies. The emperor had originally the power of nominating to the ecclesiastical dignities; but the popes gradually so intruded their authority, as to reduce the monarch's power to almost a shadow. After the peace of Westphalia, the empire was divided between the three religions. In the Catholic states, the pope and the bishops had usurped the judicial power, and administered it according to the canon law. In the Protestant parts, all the juridical power of the church was abolished, and the affairs of religion were left to the management of consistories chosen from among the subjects, in most cases on the nomination of the princes.

The power of coining money appertained originally to the emperor, but was gradually obtained by several of the chiefs of the respective states; but the fineness and the weight of the coin were directed by the authority of the emperor and the general assembly. The tolls on certain rivers and roads, the regulation of the great fairs of Frankfort, Brunswick and Leipsic, and the conveyance of letters by post, as well as providing post-horses, were the regalia of the emperor; and the latter were granted hereditarily to the Prince of Taxis, whose successors, even to the present day, have some power and profit connected with them. The degrees in the universities were conferred

in the name of the emperor; and through a prince named by him, called the Pfalzgrave, the doctors, licentiates, advocates, solicitors, notaries and other legal officers, were admitted to practice their professions in the courts of law.

The finances of Germany, viewed as one empire, were under the direction of the general assembly. The contributions were called Roman months, each of which amounted to a force of 20,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry; and the number of these months which were granted to the emperor, were adapted to the occasion that required them. These were divided among the several states, and called their contingents, they were, however, in process of time, frequently converted into payments in money, at stipulated rates. In later times each Roman month was estimated at 128,000 florins, or about £12,000 sterling. The tax was paid either at Augsburg, Frankfort, Nuremburg, or at Leipsic, and the collectors of it were called Pfenning-meister.

Many of the individual princes were under greater or less restraint in the exercise of power, from the rights of their state assemblies; and when there was a collision between them, an appeal was made to the imperial tribunals. To those courts the princes were answerable for the debts they incurred, and by them their dominions were in some cases put in a state of sequestration; but in other of the principalities there were no assemblies of the states, and consequently less limitation of powers, though in them the sovereign could be brought under the authority of the imperial chamber, and obliged to fulfil his engagements.

This sketch of the ancient constitution of the German empire is interesting from the length of time which it lasted, and from having, during ten centuries, with all its complexity and impediments, preserved, among the many independent states of which it was composed, a feeling of nationality, which is still cherished by all who are descended from the rude and ancient tribes of German origin. This constitution gave to Germany

but little other unity and less power, and rendered the greatest of European kingdoms the weakest of them all. It kept them, however, from suffering the misery of a conquered and an oppressed people, and has led them to a degree of intellectual culture, in which they have been equalled by few, and exceeded by no other nation. Perhaps the distribution of the territory in such small sovereignties was one of the most effectual means of advancing and securing that reformation of religion, which all Protestants regard as one of the greatest blessings to the whole human race.

The history of Germany in modern times is so much connected with that of the rest of Europe, especially during the wars of the last and the present centuries, that a narration of it would only be a repetition of what is to be found in this work under the heads of FRANCE, PRUSSIA and especially BRITAIN; and to them the reader is referred.

The peace of Presburg in December, 1805, first gave occasion for the dissolution of the ancient constitution of Germany. By that treaty the Dukes of Bavaria and

Wurtemberg were raised to the rank of kings, and the Prince of Baden to that of an independent sovereign. Soon afterwards (28th May, 1806,) the arch-chancellor of the empire declared to the assembled diet, that, though contrary to law, he had nominated Cardinal Fesch, the uncle of Bonaparte, as his coadjutor and successor; and on the 12th of July, the new kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and sixteen other princes, formally announced to the Emperor Francis II. their separation from the empire, and invited the other princes to join them in a new alliance. The Emperor Francis on the 6th of August, issued a declaration of his withdrawing from the head of the empire, abandoning the title of Emperor of Germany, and assuming that of Emperor of Austria.

Before we take up the different kingdoms into which Germany was divided, we will interrupt the course of our narrative to introduce a brief sketch of the rise and progress of the Reformation. Its influence and extent can be better viewed in a separate article, than when treated piecemeal in the histories of all the different states of Europe.

THE REFORMATION.

MARTIN LUTHER was born at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeld, in Thuringia, on the 10th November, 1483, on the eve of St. Martin's Day. His father was a miner, descended from a family of poor but free peasants, and possessed forges in Mansfeld, the small profits of which enabled him to send his son to the Latin school of the place. There Martin distinguished himself so much, that his father (by that time become a member of the municipal council) intended him for the study of the law. In the meantime, Martin had often to go about as one of the

poor choristers, singing and begging at the doors of charitable people at Magdeburg and at Eisenach to the colleges of which towns he was successively sent. His remarkable appearance and serious demeanor, his fine tenor voice and musical talent, procured him the attention and afterwards the support and maternal care of a pious matron, wife of Cotta, burgomaster of Eisenach, into whose house he was taken. Already in his eighteenth year, he surpassed all his fellow-students in knowledge of the Latin classics, and in power of composition and of elo-

quence. His mind took more and more a deeply religious turn; but it was not till he had been for two years studying at Eisenach that he discovered an entire Bible, having until then only known the ecclesiastical extracts from the sacred volume, and the history of Hannah and Samuel. He now determined to study Greek and Hebrew, the two original languages of the Bible. A dangerous illness brought him within the near prospect of death; but he recovered, and prosecuted his study of philosophy and law, and tried hard to gain inward peace by a pious life and the greatest strictness in all external observances. His natural cheerfulness disappeared; and after experiencing the shock of the death of one of his friends by assassination in the summer of 1505, and soon after that, being startled by a thunder-bolt striking the earth by his side, he determined to give up the world and retire into the convent of the Augustinians at Erfurt—much against the wishes and advice of his father, who, indeed, most strongly remonstrated. Luther soon experienced the uselessness of monastic life and discipline, and suffered from the coarseness of his brethren, who felt his exercises of study and meditation to be a reproach upon their own habits of gossiping and mendicancy. It was at this period that he began to study the Old Testament in Hebrew, yet continuing to fulfill scrupulously the rules of his order. "I tormented myself to death," he said at a later period, "to make my peace with God, but I was in darkness and found it not." The vicar-general of the order, Johann Von Staupitz, who had passed through the same discipline with the same result, comforted him by those remarkable words, which remained for ever engraven in Luther's heart: "There is no true repentance but that which begins with the love of righteousness and of God. Love him then who has loved thee first!"

When Luther regained his mental health, he took courage to be ordained priest in May, 1507. Next year the Elector of Sax-

ony nominated him professor of philosophy at the university of Wittenberg; and in 1509, he began to give, as a bachelor of divinity, biblical lectures. These lectures were the awakening cause of new life in the university, and soon a great number of students from all parts of Germany gathered round Luther. Even professors came to attend his lectures and hear his preaching. The year 1511, brought an apparent interruption, but in fact only a new development of Luther's character and knowledge of the world. He was sent by his order to Rome on account of some discrepancies of opinion as to its government. His first impression of the city was that of profound admiration, soon mixed with a melancholy recollection of Scipio's Homeric exclamation on the ruins of Carthage. The tone of flippant impiety at the court and among the higher clergy of Rome, under Julius II., shocked the devout German monk. He then discovered the real state of the world in the centre of the western church; and often in after life he used to say, "I would not take 100,000 florins not to have seen Rome." Always anxious to learn, he took during his stay Hebrew lessons from a celebrated rabbi, Elias Levita; but the grand effect upon him was, that now for the first time he understood Christ and St. Paul—"The just shall live by faith"—that mighty saying with which he had begun at Wittenberg his interpretation of the Bible, now sounded on his ears in the midst of Rome. He believed that external works are nothing; that the pious spirit in which any work is done or any duty fulfilled—an humble handicraft or the preaching of sermons—was the only thing of value in the eye of God. On his return to the university, the favor of Staupitz and the generosity of the elector procured him a present of fifty florins (ducats) to defray the expenses of his promotion to the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the end of 1512. The solemn oath he had to pronounce on that occasion (to most only a formulary without deep meaning) "to devote his whole life to study, and faithfully

to expound and defend the Holy Scripture," was to him the seal of his mission. He began his biblical teaching by attacking scholasticism, which at that time was called Aristotelianism. He showed that the Bible was a deeper philosophy: that, teaching the nothingness and wickedness of man as long as he is a selfish creature, it refutes and condemns all philosophical tenets which consider man separately from his relation to Deity. All his contemporaries praised as unparalleled the clearness of his Christian doctrine, the impressive eloquence of his preaching, and the mildness and sanctity of his character. Erasmus himself exclaimed, "There is not an honest divine who does not side with Luther." Christ's self-devoted life and death—Christ crucified, was the centre of his doctrine; God's eternal love to mankind, and the sure triumph of faith, were his texts. Already, in 1516, philosophical tenets deduced from these spiritual principles were publicly defended at academical disputations, over which he presided. Luther himself preached at Dresden and other places the doctrine of justifying and vivifying faith; and then accepted, for a short time, the place of vicar-general of his order in that year. Even in the convents, spiritual, moral Christianity made its way in spite of forms and observances. When the plague came to Wittenberg, he remained when all others fled: "It is my post, and I have to finish my commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians. Should brother Martin fail, yet the world will not fail."

Thus came the year of the Reformation, 1517. With more boldness than ever, the new Pope Leo had sent, in 1516, agents through the world to sell indulgences, and the man chosen for Saxony, Tetzl the Dominican, and his band, were among the most zealous preachers of this iniquity. "I would not exchange," said he in one of his harangues, "my privilege (as vender of the papal letters of absolution) against those which St. Peter has in heaven; for I have saved more souls by my indulgences than the apostle by

his sermons. Whatever crime one may have committed"—naming an outrage upon the person of the Virgin Mary—"let him pay well and he will receive pardon. Likewise the sins which you may be disposed to commit in future, may be atoned for beforehand." But he soon found that a spirit had been awakened among the serious minds of Germany to which such blasphemies were revolting. Luther preached and spoke out against this horrible abuse, which he said he did not believe to be sanctioned by the pope. As a great exhibition of relics, together with indulgences, was to take place on the day of All Saints in the church of Wittenberg, Luther appeared on the eve, 31st October, in the midst of the pilgrims who had flocked to the festival, and posted up at the church door the ninety-five theses against indulgences and the superstitions connected with them, in firm although guarded language.

The Reformation commenced in the city of Wittenberg, in Saxony, but was not long confined either to that city or to the province in which it is situated. In 1520, the Franciscan friars, who had the care of promulgating indulgences in Switzerland, were opposed by Zuinglius, a man not inferior in understanding and knowledge to Luther himself. He proceeded with the greatest vigor to overturn the whole fabric of Popery; but his opinions were declared to be erroneous by the universities of Cologne and Louvain. Notwithstanding this, the magistrates of Zurich approved of his proceedings; and the whole of that canton, together with those of Berne, Basle and Schaffhausen, embraced his opinions.

In Germany, Luther continued to make great advances, without being in the least intimidated by the ecclesiastical censures which were thundered against him from all quarters. Continually protected by the German princes, either from religious or political motives, his adversaries could not accomplish his destruction as they had done that of others. Those princes who were upon bad terms with the court of Rome took advan

tage of the success of the new doctrines, and in their own dominions easily overturned a church which had lost all respect and veneration amongst the inferior ranks. The court of Rome had disoblged some of the smaller princes in the north of Germany, whom the Pope probably thought too insignificant to be worth managing; and they, in revenge, universally established the Reformation in their own dominions. Melancthon, Carlstadt, and other men of eminence, also greatly forwarded the work of Luther; and in all probability the papal hierarchy would have soon come to an end, in the northern parts of Europe at least, had not the Emperor Charles V. given a severe check to the progress of the Reformation in Germany. In order to follow out the schemes dictated by his ambition, he thought it necessary to ingratiate himself with the Pope; and the most effectual method of doing this seemed to be by the destruction of Luther. The Pope's legates insisted that Luther ought to be condemned by the Diet of Worms as a most notorious, avowed and incorrigible heretic. This, however, appeared unjust to the members of the Diet, and he was summoned to appear personally, which he accordingly did without hesitation. There is not the least doubt that his appearance there would have been his last in this world, if the astonishing respect that was paid him, and the crowds who came daily to see him, had not deterred his judges from employing summary means against the author of such a heresy. He was, therefore, permitted to depart with a safe-conduct for a certain time; after which he remained in the state of a proscribed or intercommuned criminal, to whom it was unlawful to perform any of the ordinary offices of humanity.

During the confinement of Luther in a castle near Wartburg the Reformation advanced rapidly, almost every city in Saxony embracing the Lutheran opinions. At this time an alteration in the established forms of worship was first adventured upon at Wittenberg, by abolishing the celebration

of private masses, and giving the cup as well as the bread to the laity in the Lord's Supper. In a short time, however, the new opinions were condemned by the university of Paris, and a refutation of them was attempted by Henry VIII. of England. But Luther was not to be thus intimidated. He published his animadversions on both with as much acrimony as if he had been refuting the meanest adversary; and a controversy conducted by such illustrious antagonists attracted general attention, the Reformers daily gaining new converts both in France and Germany.

But whilst the efforts of Luther were thus everywhere crowned with success, the divisions began to prevail which have since so much agitated the Reformed churches. The first dispute occurred between Luther and Zuinglius concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the Eucharist. Luther and his followers, although they had rejected the notion of transubstantiation, were nevertheless of opinion that the body and blood of Christ were really present in the Lord's Supper in a way which they could not pretend to explain. Carlstadt, who was Luther's colleague, first suggested another view of the subject, which was afterwards confirmed and illustrated by Zuinglius, namely, that the body and blood of Christ were not really present in the Eucharist; and that the bread and wine were no more than external symbols to excite the remembrance of Christ's sufferings in the minds of those who received them. Both parties maintained their tenets with the utmost obstinacy, and, by their divisions, first gave their adversaries an argument against them, which to this day the Catholics urge with great force; alleging that the Protestants are so divided that it is impossible to know who is right or who is wrong; and arguing from these divisions, that the whole doctrine is false.

To these intestine divisions were added the horrors of a civil war, occasioned by oppression on the one hand, and by enthusiasm

on the other. In 1525, a great number of seditious fanatics arose suddenly in different parts of Germany; and having taken arms, they united their forces, and made war against the empire, laying waste the country with fire and sword, and committing everywhere the most barbarous cruelties. The greater part of this furious mob was composed of peasants and vassals, who groaned under heavy burdens, and declared that they were no longer able to bear the despotic government of their chiefs; and hence this sedition received the name of the War of the Peasants. At first this rabble declared that they had no other motives than to redress their grievances; but no sooner had Munzer the Anabaptist placed himself at their head, than the face of things was entirely changed, and the civil commotions in Saxony and Thuringia rapidly increased.

In the meantime Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Luther's great patron, died, and was succeeded by his brother John. Frederick, though he had protected and encouraged Luther, yet was at no pains to introduce the reformed religion into his dominions. But with his successor it proved otherwise; for he, being convinced that Luther's doctrine must soon be totally destroyed and suppressed unless it receive a speedy and effectual support, ordered Luther and Melancthon to draw up a body of laws relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the method of public worship, and other necessary matters, which were to be proclaimed by heralds throughout his dominions. This example was followed by all the princes and states of Germany who had renounced the papal supremacy; and a similar form of worship, discipline, and government was thus introduced into all the churches which had dissented from that of Rome. This open renunciation of the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction changed the face of affairs; and the patrons of Popery intimated, in a manner not at all ambiguous, that they intended to make war upon the Lutheran party. On the other hand, the Lutherans, apprised of these hos-

tile intentions, began to deliberate on a proper plan of defence against the attack with which they were threatened.

The Diet of the empire assembled in the year 1526, at Spire, where the emperor's ambassadors were desired to use their utmost endeavors to suppress all disputes about religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence which had been pronounced against Luther and his followers at Worms. The greater part of the German princes, however, opposed this motion with the utmost resolution, declaring that they could neither execute the sentence, nor come to any determination with regard to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter had been submitted to the decision of a council lawfully assembled; and further alleging that the decision of controversies of this nature belonged properly to a general council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a majority, and was at length consented to by the whole assembly. It was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, entreating him to assemble a general council without delay; whilst in the meantime it was also agreed that the princes of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical affairs in the manner they should think most proper, yet so as to be able to give to God and the emperor a proper account of their administration whenever it should be required of them.

These resolutions proved exceedingly favorable to the cause of reformation. Neither had the emperor for some time any leisure to give disturbance to the reformed. The war which about this time ensued between him and the pope, gave the greatest advantage to the friends of reform, and considerably augmented their number. Several princes, whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending their assistance, publicly renounced the Catholic religion, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship,

and the same system of doctrine, which had been received in Saxony. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman Pontiff, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor did they molest the private assemblies of those who had separated themselves from the communion of Rome. And in general all the Germans who, before these resolutions of the Diet of Spire, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed, wholly employed in bringing their schemes and plans to a certain degree of consistence, and in adding vigor and firmness to the cause in which they were engaged.

But this tranquillity and liberty were not of long duration. In the year 1529, a new Diet was assembled at the same place by the emperor, after he had quieted the troubles in various parts of his dominions, and concluded a peace with the pope. The power which had been granted to princes, of managing ecclesiastical affairs until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority of votes; and every change declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known. This decree was considered as iniquitous and intolerable by the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other members of the Diet, who were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation. The promise of speedily assembling a general council they looked upon as an artifice of the Church of Rome, conceiving that a free and lawful council would be the last thing to which the pope would consent.

When, therefore, they found that all their arguments and remonstrances made no impression upon Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, who presided in the Diet, Charles himself being then at Barcelona, they entered a sol-

emn protest against this decree on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and a future council. Hence arose the denomination of *Protestants*, which from this period has been given to those who separated from the communion of the Church of Rome. The princes of the empire who entered this protest were, John, Elector of Saxony; George, Elector of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Lunenburg; the Landgrave Philip of Hesse; and Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; and they were seconded by fourteen imperial towns, viz., Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Nordlingen, Lindau, Isny, Kempten, Heilbron, Wissenburg and St. Gall.

The dissenting princes, who were, besides, the protectors and heads of the Reformed churches, had no sooner entered their protest, than they sent proper persons to the emperor, who was then upon his passage from Spain to Italy, to acquaint him with their proceedings in this matter. The ministers employed in this commission executed it with the greatest intrepidity and presence of mind; but the emperor, exasperated at the audacity of those who presumed to differ from him, caused the ambassadors to be arrested. The news of this violent step made the Protestant princes conclude that their personal safety and the success of their cause depended entirely upon their own courage and union. They therefore determined to enter into a solemn confederacy; and for this purpose they held several meetings at Rothach, Nuremberg, Smalcald, and other places; but so different were their opinions and views that for a time they could determine upon nothing.

One great obstacle to the intended confederacy was the dispute which had arisen between Luther and Zuinglius concerning the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. To terminate this dispute if possible Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, in the year 1529, invited Luther and Zuinglius to a conference at Marburg, together with several other of the more eminent doctors who adhered to the

respective parties of these contending chiefs. But this measure was not attended with the salutary effects which were expected from it. The divines disputed for four days in presence of the landgrave. Luther attacked Œcolampadius, and Zuinglius was attacked by Melancthon. Zuinglius was accused of heresy, not only on account of his explanation of the nature and design of the Lord's Supper, but also in consequence of the false notions which he was supposed to have adopted concerning the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the Divine Word, original sin, and some other parts of the Christian doctrine. This illustrious Reformer, however, cleared himself from the greater part of these charges with the most triumphant evidence, and in such a manner as appeared satisfactory even to Luther himself. But their dissension concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist still remained; nor could either of the contending parties be persuaded to abandon, or even to modify, their opinions upon that matter. The only advantage, therefore, which resulted from the meeting was, that the jarring doctors formed a kind of truce, by agreeing to a mutual toleration of their sentiments, and leaving to the disposal of Providence the cure of their divisions.

In the meantime, news was received that the emperor designed to come into Germany, with a view to terminate all religious differences at the approaching Diet of Augsburg. Having foreseen some of the consequences of those disputes, and, besides, having taken the opinion of men of wisdom, sagacity and experience, he became gradually more cool in his proceedings, and more impartial in his opinions respecting the contending parties and the merits of the cause. He, therefore, in an interview with the pope at Bologna, insisted, in the most serious and urgent manner, on the necessity of a general council. His remonstrances and expostulations, however, could not move the Pontiff, who maintained with zeal the papal prerogatives; reproached the emperor with an ill-judged clemency; and alleged that it was the duty

of that prince to support the church, and to execute speedy vengeance upon the obstinate and heretical faction who had dared to call in question the authority of Rome. To this discourse the emperor paid no regard, looking upon it as a most iniquitous thing, and a measure directly opposed to the laws of the empire, to condemn unheard so many men who had always approved themselves good citizens, and in other respects deserved well of their country.

Hitherto indeed it was not easy for the emperor to form a clear idea of the matters in debate, since no regular system had as yet been composed by which it might be known with certainty what were the true causes of Luther's opposition to the Pope. The Elector of Saxony, therefore, ordered Luther and other eminent divines to commit to writing the chief articles of their religious system, and the principal points in which they differed from the Church of Rome. Luther, in compliance with this order, delivered to the elector at Torgau seventeen articles which had been agreed upon in a conference at Schwabach, in 1529; and hence these received the name of the Articles of Torgau. But though these were deemed by Luther a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the Reformers, yet it was judged proper to enlarge them, in order to give perspicuity to their arguments and strength to their cause. In this work Melancthon was employed; but in it he showed much deference to the counsels of Luther, expressing his sentiments and doctrine with the greatest elegance and perspicuity, and thus came forth the famous Confession of Augsburg.

On the 15th of June, 1530, Charles arrived at Augsburg, and the Diet was opened five days afterwards. The Protestants received a formal permission to present an account of their tenets to the Diet on the 25th of the same month; and in consequence of this, at the time appointed, Christian Bayer, chancellor of Saxony, read aloud, in the German language, before the emperor and princes assembled, the Confession of Augsburg above

mentioned. It contained twenty-eight chapters, of which twenty-one were employed in representing the religious opinions of the Protestants, and the other seven in pointing out the errors and superstitions of the Church of Rome. The princes heard it with the deepest attention. It confirmed some in the principles which they had embraced; it surprised others who had not given much consideration to the subject; and many who before this time had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of Luther, were now not only convinced of their innocence, but delighted with their purity and simplicity. The copies of this Confession, after being read, were delivered to the emperor, being signed by John, Elector of Saxony; George, Marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest, Duke of Lunenburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; and by the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen.

The supporters of the Church of Rome who were present at this Diet, employed John Faber, afterwards bishop of Vienna, together with Eck and Cochläus, to draw up a refutation of the Protestant Confession; and this having been publicly read, the emperor required the Protestant members to acquiesce in it, and put an end to the religious disputes by an unlimited submission to the opinions and doctrines contained in this answer. But this demand was far from being complied with. The Protestants, on the contrary, declared that they were by no means satisfied with the reply of their adversaries, and earnestly desired a copy of it, that they might more fully demonstrate its extreme insufficiency and weakness. But this reasonable request was refused by the emperor, who interposed his supreme authority to prevent any further proceedings in this matter, and solemnly prohibited the publication of any new writings or declarations which might contribute to protract these religious debates. This, however, did not reduce the Protestants to silence. The divines of that communion who had been present at the Diet endeavored to recollect the arguments and

objections employed by Faber, and had again recourse to the pen of Melanethon, who refuted them in an ample and satisfactory manner, in a reply which was presented to the emperor on the 22d of September, but which Charles refused to receive. This answer was afterwards enlarged by Melanethon, when he had obtained a copy of Faber's reply; and was published in the year 1531, with the other pieces that related to the doctrine of the Lutheran Church, under the title of *Apology for the Confession of Augsburg*.

Matters now began to draw towards a crisis. There were only three ways of bringing to a conclusion these religious differences: *First*, To grant the Protestants a toleration and privilege of serving God as they thought proper; *secondly*, To compel them to return to the Church of Rome by the violent methods of persecution; or, *thirdly*, That a reconciliation should be made upon fair, and candid and equitable terms, by engaging each of the parties to temper their zeal with moderation, to abate reciprocally the rigor of their pretensions, and to remit something of their respective claims. The third expedient was most generally approved of, being peculiarly agreeable to all who had at heart the welfare of the empire; nor did even the pope seem to look upon it with aversion or contempt. Various conferences, therefore, were held between persons eminent for piety and learning upon both sides; and nothing was omitted which might have the least tendency to calm the animosities and heal the divisions which reigned between the contending parties. But the differences were too great to admit of a reconciliation; and therefore the votaries of Rome had recourse to the powerful arguments of imperial edicts and the force of the secular arm. On the 19th of November, a severe decree was issued by order of the emperor, in which everything was manifestly adapted to deject the friends of religious liberty, excepting only a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble a general council about six months after the separation of the Diet. In this de-



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ence the dignity and excellence of the Catholic religion were extolled beyond measure; a new decree of severity and force was added to that which had been published at Worms against Luther and his adherents; the changes which had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the Protestant churches were severely censured; and a solemn order was addressed to the princes, cities, and states, who had thrown off the papal yoke to return to their allegiance to Rome, on pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance of the emperor, as the patron and protector of the Church.

Of this formidable decree the Elector of Saxony and the confederated princes were no sooner informed than they assembled in order to deliberate on the measures proper to be taken in such an emergency. In the years 1530 and 1531, they met, first at Smalcald, and afterwards at Frankfort, where they formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were threatened by the Edict of Augsburg, without attempting, however, anything offensive against the votaries of Rome; they invited the kings of England, France and Denmark to join this confederacy, leaving no means unemployed that might strengthen and cement so important an alliance.

This confederacy was at first opposed by Luther, from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles which it might produce; but at last, perceiving the necessity of concert, he consented, though he uncharitably, as well as imprudently, refused to comprehend in it the followers of Zuinglius amongst the Swiss, as well as the German states and cities, which had adopted the sentiments and confession of Bucer. In the invitation addressed to Henry VIII. of England, whom the confederate princes were willing to declare the head and protector of their league, the following things, amongst others, were expressly stipulated:—That the king should encourage, promote and maintain the true

doctrine of Christ as it was contained in the Confession of Augsburg, and defend the same at the next general council; that he should not agree to any council summoned by the Bishop of Rome, but protest against it, and neither submit to its decrees nor suffer them to be respected in his dominions; that he should never allow the Roman Pontiff to have any pre-eminence or jurisdiction in his dominions, and should advance 100,000 crowns for the use of the confederacy, engaging to double the sum if necessary,—all which articles the confederate princes were equally obliged to observe upon their part. To these demands the king replied that he would maintain and promote the true doctrine of Christ; but, at the same time, as the true ground of that doctrine lay only in the Holy Scriptures, he would not accept at any one's hand what should be his own faith or that of his kingdom; and therefore desired that they would send over two learned men to confer with him, in order to promote a religious union between him and the confederates. He, however, declared himself of their opinion with regard to the meeting of a free general council, and promised to join with them in all such councils for the defence of the true doctrine; but he thought the regulation of the ceremonial part of religion, being comparatively a matter of indifference, should be left to the choice of each sovereign for his own dominions. Subsequently the king gave them a second and more satisfactory answer; but after the execution of Ann Boleyn this negotiation came to nothing. On the one hand, the king grew cold when he perceived that the confederates were no longer of use to him in supporting the validity of his marriage; and, on the other, the German princes became sensible that they could never succeed with Henry unless they allowed him an absolute dictatorship in matters of religion.

Whilst everything thus tended to an open war between the opposite parties, the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Mentz offered their mediation, and endeavored to bring

about a reconciliation. The emperor himself, for various reasons, was at this time inclined to peace; for, on the one hand, he stood in need of succor against the Turks, which the Protestant princes refused to grant as long as the Edicts of Worms and Augsburg remained in force; and, on the other, the election of his brother Ferdinand to the dignity of king of the Romans, which had been carried by a majority of votes at the Diet of Cologne, in 1531, was by the same princes contested as being contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire. In consequence of all this, after many negotiations and projects of reconciliation, a treaty of peace was concluded at Nuremberg, in 1532, between the emperor and the Protestant princes, on the following conditions, viz.,—that the latter should furnish a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turks, and acknowledge Ferdinand as lawful king of the Romans; and that the emperor upon his part should abrogate and annul the Edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and allow the Lutherans the free and undisturbed exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until a rule of faith should be fixed either in the free general council which was to be assembled in the space of six months, or in a Diet of the empire.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace of Nuremberg, John, Elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederick, a prince of invincible fortitude and magnanimity, but whose reign was little better than one continued series of disappointments and calamities. The religious truce, however, gave new vigor to the Reformation. Those who had hitherto been only secret enemies of the Roman Pontiff, now publicly threw off his yoke, and various cities and provinces of Germany enlisted themselves under the religious banners of Luther. On the other hand, as the emperor had now no other hope of terminating the religious disputes except by the meeting of a general council, he repeated his request to the Pontiff that such a council should be assembled. But

Pope Clement VII., whom the history of past councils filled with the greatest uneasiness, endeavored to retard what he could not with decency refuse. At last, in the year 1533, he made a proposal by his legate to assemble a council at Mantua, Piacenza, or Bologna; but the Protestants refused their consent to the nomination of an Italian council, and insisted that a controversy which had its rise in the heart of Germany should be determined within the limits of the empire. The Pope, by his usual artifices, eluded compliance with this demand, and in 1534 he was cut off by death before any determination could be come to. His successor, Paul III., seemed to show less reluctance to the assembling of a general council, and in 1535 expressed his inclination to convoke one at Mantua; and the year following he actually sent circular letters for that purpose throughout all the states and kingdoms under his jurisdiction. This council was summoned by a bull issued on the 2d of June, 1536, to meet at Mantua in the following year. Several obstacles, however, prevented its meeting, one of the most material of which was, that Frederick, Duke of Mantua, had no inclination to receive at once so many guests, some of them very turbulent, into the place of his residence. On the other hand, the Protestants were firmly persuaded that, as the council was to be assembled in Italy, and by the authority of the Pope alone, the latter must have an undue influence in that assembly, and consequently that all things would be carried by the votaries of Rome. For this reason they assembled in the year 1537, at Smalcald, where they solemnly protested against this partial and corrupt council, and at the same time had a new summary of their doctrine drawn up by Luther, in order to present it to the assembled bishops if it should be required of them. This summary, which received the title of the Articles of Smalcald, is commonly conjoined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran Church.

After the meeting of the general council in Mantua had thus been prevented, many

schemes of accommodation were proposed both by the emperor and by the Protestants; but, by the artifices of the Church of Rome all of them came to nothing. In 1541 the emperor appointed a conference to be held at Worms on the subject of religion, between persons of piety and learning chosen from the contending parties. This conference, however, was for certain reasons removed to the Diet which was to be held at Ratisbon that year, and in which the principal subject of deliberation was a memorial presented by a person unknown, containing a project of peace. But the conference produced no other effect than a mutual agreement of the contending parties to refer their matters to a general council, or, if the meeting of such a council should be prevented, to the next German Diet.

This resolution was rendered ineffectual by a variety of incidents which widened the breach, and put off to a future day the deliberations which were designed to close it. The pope ordered his legate to declare to the Diet of Spires, assembled in 1542, that he would, according to the promise he had already made, assemble a general council, and that Trent should be the place of its meeting if the Diet had no objection to that city. Ferdinand, and the princes who adhered to the cause of the pope, gave their consent to this proposal; but it was vehemently objected to by the Protestants, both because the council was summoned by the authority of the pope only, and also because the place was within the jurisdiction of his holiness; whereas they desired a free council, which should not be biased by the dictates nor awed by the proximity of the Pontiff. But these protestations produced no effect. Paul III. persisted in his purpose, and issued his circular letters for the convocation of the council, with the approbation of the emperor. In justice to this pontiff, however, it must be acknowledged that he showed that he was not averse to certain measures of a reformatory character. He appointed four cardinals, and three other

persons eminent for their learning, to draw up a scheme for the reformation of the church in general, and of that of Rome in particular. The reformation proposed in this plan was indeed extremely superficial and partial; yet it contained some particulars which could scarcely have been expected from those who composed it. They complained of the pride and ignorance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but learned and pious men, and that care should therefore be taken to have proper masters for the instruction of youth. They condemned translations from one benefice to another, with grants of reservation, non-residence, and pluralities. They proposed that some convents should be abolished; that the liberty of the press should be restrained and limited; that the Colloquies of Erasmus should be suppressed; that no ecclesiastic should enjoy a benefice out of his own country; that no cardinal should have a bishopric; that the questors of St. Anthony and several other saints should be abolished: and, which was the best of all their proposals, that the effects and personal estates of ecclesiastics should be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the prodigious number of indigent and ragged priests who frequented St. Peter's church; and declared that it was a great scandal to see prostitutes lodged so magnificently at Rome, and riding through the streets on fine mules, whilst the cardinals and other ecclesiastics accompanied them in the most courteous manner. This plan of reformation was turned into ridicule by Luther and Sturm; and indeed it left undressed the greatest grievances of which the Protestants complained.

All this time the emperor had been laboring to persuade the Protestants to consent to the meeting of the council at Trent; but when he found them fixed in their opposition to the measure he began to listen to the sanguinary measures of the pope, and resolved to terminate the dispute by force of arms. Upon this, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, who were the chief sup-

porters of the Protestant cause, took proper measures to prevent their being surprised and overwhelmed by a superior force; but before the horrors of war commenced Luther died in peace at Eisleben, the place of his nativity, in the year 1546.

The emperor and the pope had mutually resolved on the destruction of all who should dare to oppose the Council of Trent. The meeting of this council was to serve as a signal for taking up arms; and accordingly its deliberations were scarcely commenced in 1546 when the Protestants perceived undoubted signs of the approaching storm, and of a formidable union between the emperor and the pope, which threatened to overwhelm them at once. This year, indeed, there had been a new conference at Ratisbon upon the old subject of accommodating differences in religion; but from the manner in which the debates were carried on, it appeared plain that these differences could only be decided on the field of battle. The Council of Trent, in the meantime, promulgated their decrees; whilst the reformed princes, in the Diet of Ratisbon, protested against their authority, and were on that account proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience.

The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse led their forces into Bavaria against the emperor, and cannonaded his camp near Ingolstadt. It was supposed that this would bring on an engagement, which would probably have been advantageous to the cause of the reformed; but this was prevented chiefly by the perfidy of Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who invaded the dominions of his uncle. Divisions were also fomented amongst the confederate princes by the dissimulation of the emperor, and France failed in paying the subsidy which had been promised by its monarch,—all of which so discouraged the heads of the Protestant party that their army soon dispersed, and the Elector of Saxony was obliged to direct his march homewards. But he was pursued by the emperor, who made several forced marches, with a view to

overpower the enemy before he could have time to recover his vigor. The two armies met near Mulberg on the Elbe, on the 24th of April, 1547, and, after a sanguinary action, the elector was entirely defeated and taken prisoner. Maurice, who had so basely betrayed him, was now declared Elector of Saxony; and by his entreaties Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, the other chief of the Protestants, was persuaded to throw himself on the mercy of the emperor and to implore forgiveness. To this he consented, relying on the promises of Charles for obtaining pardon and being restored to liberty; but, notwithstanding these expectations, he was unjustly detained prisoner by a scandalous violation of the most solemn convention. It is said that the emperor retracted his promise, and deluded this unhappy prince by the ambiguity of two German words. History, indeed, can scarcely furnish a parallel to the perfidious, mean-spirited, and despotic behavior of the emperor in the present case. After having received in public the humble submission of the prince on his knees, and set him at liberty in virtue of a solemn treaty, he caused him to be arrested anew without any reason, nay, without any pretence, and kept him a close prisoner for several years. When Maurice remonstrated against this new confinement, the emperor answered that he had never promised that the landgrave should not be imprisoned anew, but only that he should be exempt from perpetual imprisonment; and, to support this assertion, he produced the treaty.

The affairs of the Protestants now seemed to be desperate. In the Diet of Augsburg, which was soon afterwards called, the emperor required the Protestants to leave the decision of these religious disputes to the wisdom of the council which was to meet at Trent. The greater part of the members consented to this proposal, being convinced by the powerful argument of an imperial army, which was at hand to dispel the darkness from the eyes of such as might otherwise have been blind to the force of Charles's

reasoning. However, this general submission did not produce the effect which was expected from it. A plague which broke out, or was said to have done so, in the city, caused the greater part of the bishops to retire to Bologna, by which means the council was in effect dissolved; nor could all the entreaties and remonstrances of the emperor prevail upon the pope to re-assemble it without delay. During this interval, therefore, the emperor judged it necessary to fall upon some method of accommodating the religious differences, and maintaining peace until the council so long expected should finally be decided on. With this view he ordered Julius Pflug, bishop of Naumberg, Michael Sidonius, a creature of the pope, and John Agricola of Eisleben, to draw up a formulary which might serve as a rule of faith and worship, till the council should be assembled. But as this was only a temporary expedient, and had not the force of a permanent or perpetual institution, it thence obtained the name of the *Interim*.

This project of Charles was formed partly with a design to vent his resentment against the pope, and partly to answer other political purposes. It contained all the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome, though considerably softened by the artful terms which were employed, and which were quite different from those employed before and after this period by the Council of Trent. There was even an affected ambiguity in many of the expressions, which made them susceptible of different meanings, and applicable to the sentiments of both communions. The consequence of all this was, that the imperial formulary was reprobated by both parties. However, it was promulgated with great solemnity by the emperor at Augsburg. The Elector of Mentz, without even asking the opinion of the princes present, gave a sanction to this formulary, as if he had been commissioned to represent the whole Diet. Many remained silent through fear, and that silence was interpreted as a tacit consent. Some who had the courage to oppose it, were

reduced by force of arms; and the most deplorable scenes of bloodshed and violence were enacted throughout the whole empire. Maurice, Elector of Saxony, who had hitherto kept neutral, now assembled the whole of his nobility and clergy, in order to deliberate on this critical affair. At the head of the latter was Melancthon, whose word was respected as a law amongst the Protestants. But this man had not the courage of Luther, and was therefore on all occasions ready to make concessions, and to propose schemes of accommodation. In the present case he gave it as his opinion, that the whole of the book called *Interim* could not by any means be adopted by the Protestants; but at the same time he declared that he saw no reason why this book might not be approved, adopted, and received as an authoritative rule in things that did not relate to the essential parts of religion, and which he accounted indifferent. But this scheme, instead of cementing the differences, rendered them worse than ever; and produced a division amongst the Protestants themselves, which might have overthrown the Reformation entirely, if the emperor and the pope had seized the opportunity.

In the year 1549 Pope Paul III. died, and was succeeded by Julius III., who, at the repeated solicitation of the emperor, consented to re-assemble the Council of Trent. A Diet was again held at Augsburg under the cannon of the imperial army, and Charles laid the matter before the princes of the empire. Most of those present gave their consent to it, and amongst the rest Maurice, Elector of Saxony, who consented on the following conditions, namely, that the points of doctrine which had already been decided there should be re-examined; that this examination should be made in presence of the Protestant divines; that the Saxon Protestants should have the liberty of voting as well as of deliberating in the council; and that the pope should not pretend to preside in that assembly, either in person or by his legates. This declaration of Maurice was

read in the Diet, and his deputies insisted upon its being entered in the registers, which the Archbishop of Mentz obstinately refused. This Diet was concluded in the year 1551; and at its breaking up the emperor desired the assembled princes and states to prepare all things for the approaching council, and promised to use his utmost endeavors to procure moderation and harmony, impartiality and charity, in the transactions of that assembly.

On the breaking up of the Diet the Protestants took such steps as they thought most proper for their own safety. The Saxons employed Melancthon, and the Wurtembergers Brentius, to draw up confessions of faith to be laid before the new council. The Saxon divines, however, proceeded no farther than Nuremberg, having received secret orders from Maurice to stop there; for the elector, perceiving that Charles had formed designs against the liberties of the German princes, resolved to take the most effectual measures for at once crushing his ambition. He therefore entered with the utmost secrecy and expedition into an alliance with the king of France and several of the German princes for the security of the rights and liberties of the empire; after which, having assembled a powerful army in 1552, he marched against the emperor, who lay with a handful of troops at Innspruck, expecting no attack from any quarter. By this sudden and unforeseen accident Charles was so much dispirited that he was willing to make peace almost on any terms. The consequence was, that he concluded a treaty at Passau, which by the Protestants is considered as the basis of their religious liberties. By the first three articles of this treaty, it was agreed that Maurice and the confederates should lay down their arms, and lend their troops to Ferdinand to assist him against the Turks, and that the Landgrave of Hesse should be set at liberty. By the fourth it was agreed that the rule of faith called the *Interim* should be considered as null and void; that the contending parties should enjoy the free and

undisturbed exercise of their religion, until a Diet should be assembled to determine amicably the present disputes, which Diet was to meet in the space of six months; and that this religious liberty should continue always, in case it should be found impossible to come to an uniformity in doctrine and worship. It was also determined that all those who had suffered banishment, or any other calamity, on account of their having been concerned in the league or war of Smalcald, should be reinstated in their privileges, possessions, and employments; that the imperial chamber at Spires should be open to the Protestants as well as to the Catholics; and that there should always be a certain number of Lutherans in that high court. To this peace Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, refused to subscribe, and continued the war against the Roman Catholics, committing such ravages in the empire that a confederacy was at last formed against him. At the head of this conspiracy was Maurice, Elector of Saxony, who died of a wound received in battle in 1553.

The assembling of the Diet promised by Charles was delayed by various incidents; however, it met at Angsburg in 1555, where it was opened by Ferdinand in the name of the emperor, and terminated those deplorable calamities which had so long desolated the empire. After various debates, the following acts were passed, on the 25th of September, viz: That the Protestants who followed the Confession of Angsburg should be for the future considered as entirely free from the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves relating to their religious sentiments, discipline and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest and most consonant to the spirit of true Christianity; and that all those who should injure or persecute any

person under religious pretences, and on account of his opinions, should be declared and proceeded against as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace.

Thus was the Reformation established in many parts of the German empire, where it continues to this day; nor have the efforts of the Catholic powers at any time been able to suppress it, or even to prevent it from gaining ground. It was not, however, in Germany alone that a reformation of religion took place. About the same time almost all the kingdoms of Europe began to open their eyes to the truth. The Reformed religion was propagated in Sweden, soon after Luther's rupture with the Church of Rome, by one of his disciples, named Olaus Petri. The zealous efforts of this missionary were seconded by Gustavus Vasa, whom the Swedes had raised to the throne instead of Christiern, king of Denmark, who by his horrid barbarity lost the crown (A.D. 1523-61). This prince, however, was as prudent as he was zealous; and as the minds of the Swedes were in an unsettled state, he wisely avoided any show of vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine. Accordingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures; and for this purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad throughout the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible which had been made by Olaus Petri. Some time after this, in 1526, he appointed a conference at Upsal, between this Reformer and Peter Gallius, a zealous defender of the ancient faith, in which each of the champions was to bring forth his arguments, that it might be seen on which side the truth lay. In this dispute Olaus obtained a signal victory, which contributed much to confirm Gustavus in his persuasion of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and to promote its progress in Sweden. The following year another event gave the finishing-stroke to its propagation and success.

This was the assembly of the states at Westeraas, where Gustavus recommended the doctrine of the Reformers with such zeal that, after warm debates fomented by the clergy, it was unanimously resolved that the reformation introduced by Luther should be adopted in Sweden. This resolution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of Gustavus, who declared publicly that he would lay down the sceptro and retire from the kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved by the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops than by the laws of their monarch. The papal empire in Sweden was now overthrown, and Gustavus declared head of the church.

In Denmark the Reformation was introduced as early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by Christiern II. of having his subjects instructed in the doctrines of Luther. This monarch, notwithstanding his cruelty, for which his name has been rendered odious, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the tyranny of the Church of Rome. For this purpose, in the year 1520, he sent for Martin Reynhard, one of the disciples of Carlstadt, and appointed him professor of divinity at Copenhagen; and after the death of this man, which happened in 1521, he invited Carlstadt himself to fill that important place. Carlstadt accepted this office indeed, but in a short time returned to Germany; upon which Christiern used his utmost endeavors, but in vain, to engage Luther to visit his dominions. However, the progress of Christiern in reforming the religion of his subjects, or rather of advancing his own power above that of the church, was checked in the year 1523 by a conspiracy, in consequence of which he was deposed and banished; his uncle Frederick, Duke of Holstein and Schleswig, being appointed his successor.

Frederick conducted the Reformation with much greater prudence than his predecessor. He permitted the Protestant doctors to preach

publicly the sentiments of Luther, but did not venture to change the established government and discipline of the church. However, he contributed greatly to the progress of the Reformation by his successful attempts in favor of religious liberty, in an assembly of the states held at Odensee in 1527. Here he procured the publication of a famous edict, by which every subject of Denmark was declared free to adhere either to the tenets of the Church of Rome or to the doctrine of Luther. The papal tyranny was totally destroyed by his successor Christiern III. He began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops, and restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by various stratagems. This was followed by a plan of religious doctrine, worship and discipline, laid down by Bugenhagen, whom the king had sent for from Wittenberg for the purpose; and in 1539, an assembly of the states at Odensee gave their solemn sanction to all these transactions.

In France also the Reformation began very early to make some progress. Margaret, Queen of Navarre, and sister of Francis I., the perpetual rival of Charles V., was a great friend to the new doctrine; and it appears that, as early as the year 1523, there were in several of the provinces of France great numbers of people who had conceived the greatest aversion both to the doctrine and tyranny of the Church of Rome, amongst whom were many of the first rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. But as their number increased daily, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of the religious differences, the authority of the king intervened, and many persons eminent for their virtue and piety were put to death in the most barbarous manner. Indeed, Francis, who had either no religion at all, or, at best, no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself towards the Protestants in such a manner as

best answered his private views. Sometimes he resolved to invite Me. anthon into France, probably with a view to please his sister the Queen of Navarre, whom he loved tenderly, and who had strongly imbibed the Protestant principles. At other times he exercised the greatest cruelty towards the Reformed: and once made the absurd declaration, that if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted by the Lutheran heresy, he would have the arm cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the Catholic Church. About this time Calvin began to attract the attention of the public, but more especially that of the Queen of Navarre. His zeal exposed him to danger; and as Francis was daily committing to the flames the friends of the Reformation, he was placed more than once in the most perilous situation, from which he was only delivered by the interposition of the Queen of Navarre. He therefore retired from France to Bâle in Switzerland, where he published his *Christian Institutes*, and afterwards became celebrated in the history of Protestantism.

Those amongst the French who first renounced the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome are commonly called Lutherans by the writers of those early times. Hence it has been supposed that they had all imbibed the peculiar sentiments of Luther. But this appears not to have been the case; for the vicinity of the cities of Geneva, Lausanne and some others, which had adopted the doctrine of Calvin, produced a remarkable effect upon the French Protestant churches; inso-much that, about the middle of this century, they all entered into communion with the Church of Geneva. The French Protestants were, by way of contempt, called Huguenots by their adversaries. Their fate was very severe, being persecuted with unparalleled fury; and though several princes of the blood, and many of the first nobility, had embraced their sentiments, yet in no part of the world did the Reformers suffer

so much. At last all commotions were quelled by the fortitude and magnanimity of Henry IV., who in the year 1598 granted all his subjects full liberty of conscience by the famous Edict of Nantes, and seemed to have thoroughly established the Reformation throughout his dominions. During the minority of Louis XIV., however, this edict was revoked by Cardinal Mazarin, since which time the Protestants have often been cruelly persecuted; nor has the profession of the Reformed religion in France been at any time so safe as in most of the other countries of Europe.

In other parts of Europe the opposition to the Church of Rome was but faint and ambiguous before the Diet of Augsburg. Prior to that period, however, it appears, from undoubted testimony, that the doctrine of Luther had made a considerable, though probably a secret progress throughout Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Britain, Poland and the Netherlands; and had in all these countries gained many friends, of whom several repaired to Wittenberg, in order to enlarge their knowledge by means of Luther's conversation. Some of these countries threw off entirely the yoke of Rome, and in others a great number of families embraced the principles of the Reformed religion. It is certain indeed, and some Roman Catholics themselves acknowledged it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines and authority would at once have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support the tottering edifice. In the Netherlands particularly the most grievous persecutions took place, so that by the Emperor Charles V. upwards of a hundred thousand were destroyed, whilst still greater cruelties were exercised upon the people by his son Philip II. The revolt of the United Provinces, however, and motives of real policy, at last put a stop to these furious proceedings; and although in many provinces of the Netherlands the establishment of the Catholic religion was still continued, the Protestants

have been long free from the danger of persecution on account of their principles.

The Reformation made considerable progress in Spain and Italy soon after the rupture between Luther and the Roman Pontiff. In all the provinces of Italy, but more especially in the territories of Venice, Tuscany and Naples, the superstition of Rome lost ground, and great numbers of people of all ranks expressed an aversion to the papal yoke. In the year 1546, this occasioned violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of Naples; which, however, were at last quelled by the united forces of Charles V. and his viceroy Don Pedro de Toledo. In several places the pope put a stop to the progress of the Reformation, by letting loose the inquisitors, who spread dreadful marks of their barbarity throughout the greater part of Italy. These formidable ministers of persecution put so many to death, and perpetrated such horrible acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the Reformed sought their safety by a voluntary exile, whilst others returned to the religion of Rome, at least in external appearance. But the Inquisition, which frightened into the profession of Popery several Protestants in other parts of Italy, could never make its way into the kingdom of Naples, nor could either the authority or the entreaties of the pope engage the Neapolitans to admit even visiting inquisitors.

In Spain, several persons embraced the Protestant religion, not only from the controversies of Luther, but even from those divines whom Charles V. had brought with him into Germany in order to refute the doctrines of the Reformer. For these doctors had imbibed the pretended heresy instead of refuting it, and propagated it more or less on their return home. But the Inquisition, which could obtain no footing in Naples, reigned triumphant in Spain, and by the most dreadful methods frightened the people back into popery, and suppressed the desire of exchanging their superstition for a more rational plan of religion. It was in

deed presumed that Charles himself died a Protestant; and it seems to be certain that when the approach of death had dissipated those schemes of ambition and grandeur which had so long blinded him, his sentiments became much more rational and agreeable to Christianity than they had ever been before. All the ecclesiastics who had attended him, as soon as he expired, were sent to the Inquisition, and committed to the flames, or put to death by some other method equally terrible. Such was the fate of Augustin

Casal, the emperor's preacher; of Constantine Pontius, his confessor; of Egidius, whom he had named to the bishoprick of Tortosa; of Bartolomeo de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been confessor to Philip and Mary of England; with many others of less note.

The Reformation exerted such an important influence on the history of Great Britain that its progress in England and Scotland must be treated at greater length in the articles on these countries.

PRUSSIA.

THE Prussian monarchy, has been formed by the addition of divers portions and provinces of Germany to the country originally called Prussia. The latter country, although it gave its name to the monarchy, and although upon it the royal dignity was conferred, has, however, not served as the nucleus around which the state crystallized into form, this honor being allotted to the marquisate (in later times the electorate) of Brandenburg. With the history of Brandenburg, therefore, particularly since the accession to its rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty, our task will mainly lie, as we attempt to draw a short outline of the rise and progress of the Prussian monarchy.

At the beginning of the Christian era we find the territory afterwards called Brandenburg inhabited by German tribes, which, in the succeeding centuries, were carried along westward and southward by that tide of migration that led to Teutonic settlements in all parts of the Roman empire. Their place were soon filled by Slavonic races, gradually advancing as far as the River Elbe, where they remained unmolested until the kingdom of Germany was established by the successors of Charlemagne in the treaty of Verdun, A. D. 843. A kind of military colony, called *Marches* was now everywhere founded for the defence of the frontiers. Thus, in 930 we find the North March established by command of the emperor, at present the northwest corner of Brandenburg; and soon after, the East March, which cor-

responds to the present Nether Lusatia. Meanwhile Otto I., Emperor of Germany, had founded the Bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg; and desultory warfare, aided by the labors of an active priesthood, began to extend the boundary of German jurisdiction in those parts. This forward movement found a powerful representative in Markgraf Albrecht the Bear, formerly Duke of Saxony. By his valiant exploits in 1157 against Zazko, a chieftain of the Slavonic tribe called Wends, and by the firm civil and military organization he gave to the greatly-augmented territories under his rule, he became the real founder of the marquisate of Brandenburg. His family, the Ascanians, followed in his footsteps, gradually, in the course of a century and a half, Germanizing the conquered districts by the introduction of German immigrants; establishing new towns, or endowing old ones with considerable privileges; extending their territory by conquests and intermarriages to parts of Pomerania in the north, and to parts of Saxony, Lusatia, and Silesia in the south-east. On the decease of the last of this dynasty, A. D. 1320, anarchy threatened to wipe away forever the happy germs of civilization in these parts. Feuds among the lords and barons, and devastating inroads of neighboring princes covered the land for nearly a century with bloodshed and rapine. The Emperor Louis of Bavaria had, on the demise of the last Ascanian, bestowed the Marquisate on his son Louis, not then of age. This Markgraf Louis

added the new dignity of Elector of the Holy Roman Empire to that of *Archicamerarius Imperii*, which his Ascanian predecessors had already held. But this great accession of rank to the German princes did not invest him or his immediate successors with that firm grasp over the unruly nobles, and that protective power against encroaching neighbors which were necessary in so exposed a situation as that of the electorate of Brandenburg. The third of these Bavarian rulers was forced by financial difficulties to cede his territories to the Emperor Charles IV., whose main object seems to have been to turn the Kur-march into an hereditary property of his own family of Luxemburg. First, his eldest son Wenceslas of Bohemia, and afterwards a younger son, Sigismund, then only eleven years old, were created electors of Brandenburg, much to the detriment of this miserable country. Sigismund, as precocious in borrowing money as he was in obtaining dignities, twice gave over his fief of Brandenburg as a mortgage for his debts. The first of these cessions was to his cousin Jodocus of Moravia. This prince was more successful in the extortion of money from his impoverished subjects in Brandenburg than in the chastisement of a nobility now entirely masters of a country which they robbed and devastated at random. Fortunately for it, Sigismund was still deeper in debt, when, on the decease of Jodocus in 1411, he found himself emperor of Germany, and Brandenburg again at his disposal. Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burggraf or imperial commissioner at Nurnberg, had lent the Emperor Sigismund 400,000 gold florins, and was ready to waive this demand in return for a gift which at that time would have possessed but little attractions to many,—viz., the electorate of Brandenburg. In the year 1415, Frederick having held the lands in pawn during four years, was raised to the dignity of elector, and received the solemn investiture at the Diet of Constance in 1417, with great pomp and ceremony. Providence had graciously ordained that with him this should

be no idle and unmeaning pageant, but the commencement of an era of good government, of steadfast progress, and of sober attention to the labors of the state, which, handed down in his highly-gifted family, has gradually and almost insensibly raised that small and poor electorate of Brandenburg into a kingdom of the first order among the European powers, and of very great promise for the progress of the civilization of the world.

A few words will suffice to introduce the reader to the previous history of the Hohenzollerns. Their name is derived from the castle of Zollern or Hohenzollern in Swabia, and their lineage is traced upwards to a Count Thassilo, who lived in the days of Charlemagne. In the year 1200, the *cadet de famille*, one Conrad, received the appointment of Burggraf of Nurnberg. From him the elector and royal dynasty of Hohenzollern have descended in an unbroken line, whilst the older branch of the family, being descendants of Conrad's eldest brother Frederick, remained princes of a small territory contiguous to their ancestral castle of Hohenzollern; until in 1851, they gave over their sovereignty to the King of Prussia, and they now reside in the Prussian dominion as princes of the blood. The father of the Queen of Portugal, is one of these princes of Hohenzollern. The Burggrafs of Nurnberg had, before obtaining Brandenburg, become lords of Ansbach and Baireuth, two small territories in Franconia.

From the very beginning of his rule in 1412, Frederick had been assiduously intent upon saving the country from the effects of anarchy. "The towns, harried and plundered to skin and bone, were glad to see him, and did homage to him with all their heart. But the baronage or squirearchy of the country were of another mind. These in the late anarchies had set up for a kind of kings in their own right; they had their feuds, made war, made peace, levied tolls and transit dues; lived much at their discretion in these solitary countries." On their refusing hom

age, "Frederick was very patient with them, hoped to prevail by gentle methods, but could make no progress in that way. Force was applied; in spite of drawbridges and thick walls, the feudal castles fell before what little artillery Frederick could muster against them, and with their destruction, order and obedience to the laws entered the long-distracted country. He understood the noble art of governing men; had in him the justice, clearness, valor and patience needed for that. Except in the Hussite wars for Sigismund and the German empire, in which no man could prosper, he may be defined as constantly prosperous. To Brandenburg he was, very literally, the blessing of blessings; redemption out of death into life." Making every allowance for the shortcomings of several individuals in the long list of Hohenzollerns who followed Frederick on the throne of Brandenburg, there has been something in all that reminds the attentive student of the character of this founder of their dynasty; regular and unflinching progress in all essentials of policy without undue attention to externals—moderation in expense and luxury—manly perseverance in their rights—advancement of the country in the arts of peace as well as of war—protection of their people against the insolent bearing and oppression of the nobles.

Frederick I. bequeathed Brandenburg, with the electorship, to his second son Frederick II., who obtained the title of "Iron-tooth" by his military prowess. New acquisitions of territory, by conquest, purchase or intermarriage, mark his rule (1440 to 1470), as well as that of his two successors Albrecht Achilles and John I.; the former of whom becomes important by his famous family-ordinance, in which it was enacted, that for the future the marches should remain undivided in the hands of the elector; also that the Franconian principalities should never go to more than two heirs. Thus a real state was formed, and a centre of gravitation provided, to which in the then chaotic state of the empire many a floating mass must needs agglu-

minate itself in the course of time. Albrecht Achilles' family-ordinance was afterwards confirmed and sanctioned afresh by the Elector Joachim Frederick's house-treaty of Gera. Order and progress in cultivation were on the increase throughout the country, colonists flowing into it from other parts of Germany; so that the beginning of the sixteenth century saw the last of the feudal castles fall under the powerful arm of the Elector Joachim I. (1499 to 1535). The first university in the electorate of Brandenburg was founded A.D. 1506, at Frankfort on the Oder, and a supreme and independent tribunal organized at Berlin. It is strange, indeed, that this wise and intelligent prince should have carefully avoided every contact with the Reformation, which was spreading far and wide among his people, giving a new and higher tone to their tenor of life, and which was destined to become the corner-stone of his state. The noble task of introducing a more evangelical form of Christianity into the Brandenburg possessions was reserved to his son, the valiant fighter Joachim II. (1535 to 1571), called "Hector" from the Turkish campaigns in which he had been imperial-generalissimo. It was in the year 1539, that Joachim II. solemnly partook of the Holy Communion according to the Lutheran rite. The three bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelberg and Lebus were incorporated into the electorate, and their immense revenues applied to the endowment of schools and charitable institutions. One of his political transactions, though little spoken of at the time, was destined to become the germ of one of the greatest wars the world ever saw, viz., a hereditary union (*Erüberbrüderung*) with Duke Frederick of Liegnitz, signed in 1537, by which, in a certain event, the Silesian principalities of Liegnitz, Brieg and Wohlau, were to become the inheritance of the Hohenzollern family. Our readers will see that we are pointing to the origin of those Silesian difficulties two centuries later, and their effect on the Seven Years' War; which, in the same degree as they redounded to the

military glory of their hero, have been up to the present day represented as having sprung from an arbitrary violation of every law, human and divine. Another important step was made by this elector, when he obtained, in 1569, the co-infeudment of the country called Prussia, which had lately changed its semi-monastic character into that of a secular duchy under the feudal seigneurship of Poland, and under the immediate rule of its first duke, who was a prince of the Hohenzollern family. We shall see that, before long, the sudden decay of the ducal family of Prussia led to the complete union of the two countries under the rule of a Brandenburg elector. John George, elector from 1571 to 1598, deserves our notice, because he opened a ready hand of welcome to a numerous class of Dutchmen driven out of Holland by religious intolerance, and assisted them in settling within his dominions; an example which several of his successors have on occasion followed, much to the advantage of the country,—giving protection to refugees, respectable, hardworking and accomplished in various branches of industry. His was a reign of thrift and order, by which he succeeded, with the help of considerable grants from his *Stände* (*états*, or provincial parliaments), in removing the consequences of his father's financial mal-administrations. Considerable acquisitions accrued to his grandson John Sigismund (1608 to 1619), who not only laid the foundation, in the far west, of the now important state possessions on the banks of the Rhine, by obtaining certain portions of the so-called Cleve inheritance; but also (in 1618), united the dukedom of Prussia to his family.

Of this Baltic country, whose destinies henceforward remained interwoven with those of Brandenburg, it behoves us now to say a few words, in order to explain how a German commonwealth had sprung up in these distant regions of the north-east among a Lithuanian population.

The aboriginal Prussians, of a race belonging to the Lithuanian family, were the in-

habitants, from time immemorial, of the territory along the coast between the Vistula and the Niemen. Many had been the attempts to introduce Christianity among this heathenish people on the part of the Polish clergy and the Polish kings; but the Prussians believing, for reasons of their own, that these missionary enterprises were but a cover to political annexation, rallied to withstand them, and finally, much irritated by military demonstrations, entered Poland in great numbers. Their inroads became so alarming, that the kings of Poland resolved upon calling to their aid the Teutonic order of the Knights of St. George, who would, it was thought, in the absence of Moors and Saracens, be found ready to open a crusade upon that heathenish population. The request was promptly acceded to by Hermann von Salza, the then Deutschmeister, or general of the order, who, however, before setting out, obtained from the emperor a declaration by which all the Baltic lands hereafter to be conquered by his Teutonic knights should become a possession of the order. A long, steady and well-planned war of conquest ensued (1230 to 1283), in which, with a far smaller amount of needless cruelty than was usual in those days of extermination, the whole country of the Prussians was subjected to the order's rule. Castles and towns were built wherever security demanded or commercial advantages seemed to invite. So great a value was attached by the Teutonic knights to this possession, that in 1309 they removed the head-quarters of their order from Venice to their new palace of Marienburg, which is to this day a witness of their refined taste and their regal magnificence. In all matters the order seemed to be prosperous, and to deserve its progress. Not only did its influence and its conquests soon extend beyond the limits of Prussia, but agriculture, commerce and the fine arts flourished within their dominions; schools were founded and law equitably administered. At the time of their greatest prosperity, about the year 1400, the Teutonic knights

owned 55 walled cities (several of them important centres of commerce), 48 castles, 19,000 villages and received a nett revenue of 800,000 Rhenish guilders (L.65,000), a vast sum in those days. Luxury, however, and insolent bearing had speedily followed wealth and security, and a single defeat in the great battle of Tannenberg, A.D. 1410, lost against the united forces of the King of Poland and the Lithuanian people, sufficed, if not to drive them out of their possessions, yet to break their independent power. As soon as the great individual valor and skill of their master had procured them an honorable peace they fell out among themselves, one party calling in the Poles to their assistance, and reduced their means to such an extent by internecine warfare that, in the year 1466, the western portion of Prussia was entirely delivered over to the King of Poland, and the order must needs be satisfied to retain its hold on the eastern portion as vassals to the king. In this extremity, the knightly commonwealth of the Teutonic order, in order to obtain protection from without, began the system of electing to the office of masters younger sons or cousins of powerful German dynasties. One of these masters, elected A.D. 1511, was Markgraf Albrecht of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, whose additional recommendation lay in his being the nephew of the King of Poland. Albrecht, however, met with no lenient treatment at the hands of his uncle, but was on the first opportunity attacked by an overwhelming army of the Poles. A truce was no sooner concluded in 1521, than Albrecht hastened to Germany to invoke his countrymen's assistance. He was everywhere disappointed. But the power of the Reformation was so forcibly impressed upon his mind that on his return he declared his adherence to its tenets, with the consent of several of his bishops, and under the acclamations of the nobles and the people. After his liege lord's sanction had been obtained in the peace of Krakau, Albrecht, as a consequence upon the dissolution of his religious order, was proclaimed hereditary

duke in the secularized country of Prussia in the year 1525. Convinced of the necessity of establishing the Reformation on the firm basis of sound religious and national education, he opened many schools throughout the country, and founded the university of Königsberg, which continues to this day to stand in the vanguard of mental culture towards the East. But Albrecht's dynasty was not destined to last. His son and successor became hopelessly lunatic. A regency had to be appointed, which, after having been in the hands of other relatives, was conducted from the year 1608, by the elector, John Sigismund of Brandenburg, until in 1618, the dukedom falling vacant by the melancholic duke's death, he took possession of Eastern Prussia, the western part still remaining a province of Poland.

We have thus returned to the fortunate Elector John Sigismund, whose matrimonial alliance with his cousin of Prussia, and the coinfestment bestowed upon his father, combined in procuring his family a permanent possession (although, for a long time to come, under the feudal *suzeraineté* of Poland) in this farthest north-east corner of civilized Europe. But at this point the hereditary good fortune seemed to desert the family of Hohenzollern. Instead of uniting the north and south-west of Germany, which was almost entirely Protestant, into a league under its leadership, and thus probably saving the Germans from a terrible war, Brandenburg receded from the foremost rank in defence of religious liberty, and suffered deservedly from the wrath and contempt of both contending powers. That fearful struggle, "from the effects of which Germany seems only now to be recovering herself"—the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), broke out during the latter years of Elector John Sigismund. His successor, George William (1624-1640), the first utterly incompetent ruler in his family, allowed a violent Papist (believed to have been in the pay of Austria), Count Schwarzenberg, to direct his councils. Neutrality seemed the only desire of this despicable

prince's heart. Remaining everybody's friend in a time of unequalled fury, he saw his country trampled under foot by all princes and all armies. Forced by Gustavus Adolphus to declare himself in his favor, he very shortly broke his partizanship. Brandenburg, already impoverished and exhausted by the imperial and Bavarian troops, was now regularly fed upon by a numerous Swedish armament for a number of years. Famine and pestilence cut off the population by thousands; so that, at the time of George William's death in 1640, a traveller would see not only a large number of towns and villages utterly ruined, their trade and commerce annihilated, and even agriculture at a stand-still, but, in the literal meaning of the term, uninhabited tracts, miles after miles of land, without a living soul upon them. To Frederick William, who succeeded in this year to the dominion of Brandenburg at the early age of twenty, the gratitude of his people and the consent of his contemporaries, have ascribed the surname of the "Great Elector." Endowed with a powerful and comprehensive mind, and confident in the moral resources of his people, who soon took courage under his rule, he speedily assumed so imposing a position that the Swedes evacuated the country of their Protestant ally, whilst he cleared by armed force his Rhenish possessions. The elector's voice made itself heard again in the cause of religious toleration during the conferences which were opened at Munster and at Osnabruck in the following years. When the peace was at last concluded, Frederick William could congratulate himself on having regained possession of almost all the territories which had escaped the weak grasp of his father. Almost the only exception to his success was the refusal of the emperor to entertain his claims on the above-mentioned Silesian principalities, which had fallen vacant in 1675, during the reign of George William, and were withheld by that potentate.

To heal the wounds of so protracted and inglorious a devastation, and to secure his

straggling possessors from encroachment, was no easy task. It did not escape the elector's observation that the German empire, to whose interests his family had loyally been devoted, could not, in its rotten constitution, long retain much vitality, or any protective power whatsoever. He therefore resolved to give to his state as independent a position in Germany as he could. For this state he saw dangers menacing on all sides,—from the West, in the grasping tendencies of France, then fast approaching the Rhine; from the North, in the yet unbroken war-spirit of the Swedes; and from the East, in the feudal *suzeraineté* which Poland held over his duchy of Prussia. Proceeding step by step, he formed a very efficient though small army, which soon made the name of Brandenburgers to sound as well in the ears of military men as any name in Europe. These troops, assisted by an ever adroit and temporizing policy, procured him, during the sanguinary war which Charles Gustavus waged against Poland, the full and unrestricted sovereignty over his portion of Prussia. In A.D. 1660, before the German empire or any of his German compeers had come to his assistance, he sallied forth to recover the Rhenish possessions of his family (Cleves, etc.), which an invading army of Louis XIV. had wantonly occupied, without even a declaration of hostilities, during a war between France and Holland. So skillful was his strategy that the French, in order to deliver themselves from this most strenuous antagonist, offered subsidies to the King of Sweden for an immediate attack upon Brandenburg, left apparently defenceless by the elector's Rhenish campaign. From Pomerania, of which a portion had been consigned to them in the peace of 1648, they broke in upon Brandenburg, and committed such ravages that their name is proverbially held up in terror to the present day. Whilst they thought him still drilling his troops in the south of Germany, he suddenly attacked them, first at Rathenow, and then, following up his success, a few days

later gained a decisive victory near Fehrbellin, on the 28th of June, 1675, over a force twice his own number, under the best warriors of that day. The elector left them no time to renew their forces by fresh recruits; and in a brilliant campaign conquered Swedish Pomerania, including the island of Rügen. He reduced even the fortress of Stralsund, which the famous Wallenstein had not many years before vainly attacked with his mighty host. It availed the Swedish commanders but little to create a diversion by a descent upon the duchy of Prussia. Frederick William was soon on their track, and his troops, crossing an arm of the sea on sledges in the depth of winter, drove the enemy from a position in which they had deemed themselves unassailable. Meanwhile, however, the emperor had concluded peace with their common enemies; and thus Frederick William, left entirely alone, was obliged to sign the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, by which almost every legitimate fruit of his labors was lost. Before he placed his signature to this deed, he gave vent to his bitter feelings against the emperor by exclaiming: "*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*," and desired his chaplain to preach his thanksgiving-day sermon on the 9th verse of Psalm cxvi.—"It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes." Almost the last act of Frederick William's political life has a special bearing upon British history. Negotiations were carried on by him with William of Orange (afterwards King William III.), which led to a promise of active co-operation—"in the interest of the Protestant party in England, and of the liberties of that country," as in the words of one of the elector's despatches. It was stipulated also that Marshal Schomberg should be allowed to quit the Brandenburg army, of which he was at that time commander-in-chief, whenever his services might be required by William.

The Great Elector's civil government became as famous in his day as his military

exploits. We must deeply regret that, instead of fostering the remains of parliamentary life that existed in every part of his dominions, he sacrificed them unrelentingly to his one supreme object of state-unity. The *Stände*, or provincial parliaments, consisting everywhere of the representatives of the nobility, of the burghers and of the peasantry, were deprived, both in Brandenburg and in Prussia, of their inalienable right of voting the supplies. Their resistance was so rudely coerced that (if we pass in silence some futile attempts on their part in the following reigns to regain their lost prestige) we may date the beginning of absolutism in Brandenburg and Prussia from his days,—an absolutism that remained unbroken, or nearly so, until its hold was relaxed in the middle of the present century, when we may hope to see a stronger union of the sovereign and his people, cemented by the free participation of the latter in the rights as well as the duties of citizenship. Frederick William abandoned the old system of military levies and conscriptions in his own states, thus reserving for the use of his country all hands available for cultivation and for trade. His unremitting attention to the different branches of his army, and his wise economy, enabled him, with comparatively small pressure on the finances of his country, to raise the military establishment to the number of 40,000 as effective soldiers as any in Europe. The distribution of taxes was effected more equitably. His own farms were managed with an eye to improvement of every kind. He received with open-handed hospitality a great number of French Protestants driven from their homes by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and found himself richly rewarded by the industrious habits and the skill of these new inhabitants. Every active employment, in agriculture, in trade and commerce, in arts and sciences, met with encouragement. He ventured upon the foundation of colonies on the coast of Africa, for the defence of which he kept up a small fleet of

armed vessels. He was a staunch adherent of the Protestant faith, of which his wife, the pious Louisa Henrietta, was a bright ornament, and he promoted school-education and literature in every way.

We have seen that the uppermost principle in Frederick William's political life was to raise his state into a position as independent as possible of the Hapsburg-Luxemburg family, who, filling as they did the imperial throne of Germany, seemed nevertheless deaf to all but purely dynastic interests. It was with this same view that Frederick, his son and successor, labored to raise his extra-Germanic possession, the duchy of Prussia, into a kingdom. After endless negotiations, and the application of munificent bribes at the court of Vienna, the emperor at last, desirous of securing Frederick's well-drilled battalions, assented to his demand. In the year 1701, on the 18th of January, this new European monarchy was ushered in by Frederick's placing the royal crown on his head at the principal church of Königsberg, the capital of Prussia. Not averse to regal pomp and the splendor of courts, Frederick I. on that day established the new order of the Black Eagle, which holds the first rank among the decorations of the state, and is bestowed but sparingly. The promise given to the emperor, of assistance in the forthcoming war, was faithfully kept. Frederick drove the French from their positions of Kaiserswerth and Rheinberg, on the Nether Rhine, and strenuously assisted the Duke of Marlborough in the reduction of other places. His youthful and brilliant captain, Prince Leopold of Dessau (celebrated in much later years as "the Old Dessauer"), led the Brandenburg-Prussian soldiers into Bavaria, where a terrible army had assembled under the French general Villars. Here it fell to their honorable lot to fight under the eyes of Marlborough and of Eugène of Savoy, and to take their due share in the labors and the glory of the great day of Blenheim. It is reported that, when in the very centre of the position the ranks of

the allied army had been three times broken, the Prince of Dessau led his grenadiers onward single-handed, and decided the day. The same intrepidity was evinced, and the same success obtained, by the Prussians in the Italian campaign when Leopold Dessau, under the command of the great Eugène, was the first to storm and to carry the ramparts of Turin in the battle of the 7th of September, 1706. They did acceptable service also in the battles of Ramillies (in the same year), of Oudenarde (1706), and of Malplaquet (1708).

Frederick I. left his kingdom in 1713, not inconsiderably augmented by heritages and peaceable acquisitions, to his son Frederick William I., by his second wife Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, sister of the English king George I., and the friend and correspondent of many of the first savants of her day. Yet neither the father's taste for the pomp and ceremony of royalty, nor the philosophic elegance of Sophia Charlotte seems to have been inherited by this sturdy prince, who was given to his country to prepare it, during twenty-seven years of unremitting labor (1713 to 1740), for the rough handling it was to go through under the succeeding reign. His name has been handed down to history as that of a mean niggard, of a ridiculous drill-sergeant, and of a cruel, half-mad barbarian. It would be impossible to deny either his parsimony, or his military propensities, or his severity and occasional bursts of impetuous rage. But we are inclined to look more leniently upon parsimonious habits in a king when they are extended to his own requirements as well as those of others, or upon outbreaks of ill-suppressed anger when this anger is the effect of a desire for the *salus rei publicæ*. We would forgive the Prussian grenadiers their faultless regularity, and even the monstrous size of a regiment of giants, when we know that their commander never abused this terrible armament for deeds of aggression and conquest. Punctuality, frugality and order became through him the rule and heir-loom

of his country; the expenditure of an army of 72,000 men pressed not a whit heavier upon its resources than half as much had done under his father's less careful government; and a well-filled and well-guarded treasury secured the means of prompt action in a country of undeveloped resources, and in an age when the improved principles of national economy were unknown. The population of the country made rapid progress, and was increased by a carefully-encouraged immigration, chiefly of Protestants, who had been thrust out of their own countries by the bigotry of their masters. The king's own pleasures lay almost exclusively in field-sports, in parades and in the company of his drinking and smoking associates; and his contempt of books and book-learning went so far that, during many years, the annual expenditure of the royal library did not exceed one guinea for a charwoman's occasional scrubbing of the staircase. Yet he gave proper attention to the schools of the poor, and extended the parochial system by liberal endowments. He gave a wholesome stimulus to the prompt administration of justice. Trials for witchcraft were forever abolished by him. Frederick William I. was ever unwilling to resort to arms. He obtained Gueldres in exchange for the principality of Orange, and held Stettin by a peaceable arrangement with Sweden, until Charles XII., on his return from Turkey, forced him to a trial of arms by the repudiation of this arrangement. Charles XII. in this conflict narrowly escaped being taken prisoner in the fortress of Stralsund, and the King of Prussia remained in undisputed possession of Stettin and the mouth of the Oder. In 1735, he assisted Austria with 10,000 picked men in the war of succession in Poland, but withdrew his valuable assistance when he discovered that his confiding nature had been all along played upon by the court of Vienna, and that Austrian intrigue was at work on every point to oppose the interests of his country. This was the last time Frederick William drew the

sword. The internal improvements of his dominions henceforward remained his sole object until his death, in 1740, when he left his kingdom, increased by nearly 5000 square miles of territory, and no less than 900,000 inhabitants, to Frederick, the eldest of his remaining sons. Frederick had never been his favorite. From the years of his boyhood, the heir-apparent seemed to possess none of those qualities which Frederick William respected, to the exclusion of almost all others,—viz., absolute obedience to the head of the family; attention to the prosaic part only of kingly business; scrupulous punctuality in military matters, rather than tactic and strategic ingenuity; strict and undeviating adherence to every dogma of the Calvinistic or "Reformed" Church; and, finally, violent contempt of all unmanly graces of social life, of literature and the fine arts, of foreign principles and manners.

After the first attempts of imparting these principles had failed, it would seem that the king formed the resolution, for what he considered the preservation of Prussia from utter ruin, of cutting off the succession of the prince-royal, either by his voluntary abdication or by actual violence. Of the latter method, the world has been filled with accounts little creditable to the character of the stern and unbending father; to the former desire, when it dawned upon the prince's mind as a fixed purpose of his royal master, Frederick opposed this characteristic answer: "The king evidently wants me to abdicate; I will renounce my right of succession on condition that my father declares I am not his rightful son." The effect of this terrible and cruel apprenticeship on the crown-prince's mind is clearly and tragically perceptible, in the gradual change from a soft, most charming, most affectionate and open disposition, to that character which his friend Voltaire describes as "hard and polished as marble;" that coldness which wounded the enthusiastic tenderness of his beloved sister Wilhelmina; that expression of stern melancholy which settled on his

brows and marred every enjoyment, even that of his latter triumphs; that measured and rarely genuine submissiveness with which he met his father's advances when a reconciliation had taken place. He never lost his true attachment to poetry and the fine arts; or, what is more, his attachment to tried friends, among whom the two Scotchmen, the Lord Marshal Keith and his brother James, held a prominent place to their respective deaths. But his existence remained cheerless,—illuminated with but few rays of light,—devoted to a continued struggle with the difficulties of a government, the responsibility of which he took entirely upon his own shoulders, or of foreign wars which he had commenced in the full flush of youth and wealth, and which must have worn out any but his mind and body, when the continent of Europe combined to chastise his rashness. Beloved in his early youth, feared in his manhood, admired in his old age, he has now recovered in the hearts of his people that intense affection which his youth had inspired; and whilst Europe calls him "the Great," he lives among the Prussians as their "Old Fritz," or as Frederick der Einzige (the Unique). None of the succeeding sovereigns of Prussia have ventured upon taking, at the time of their accession, the name of Frederick III.

Born the 24th of January, 1712, Frederick was very soon subjected to a strict *regime*, every detail of which had been minutely prescribed in the autograph instructions of the king himself. Contrary to the royal expectations, the boy took to flute-playing, French wigs and French books, instead of drilling, the grenadier's pigtail and the catechism. Before long, the headstrong will and rather flighty disposition of the crown-prince, encouraged by unwise associates, by the indulgence of his mother and by the affectionate caresses of his sister, led to violent altercations with the king, who, likewise urged on by evil councillors, believed that he saw the entire fabric of his state undermined and crumbling into dust

by this apparent conspiracy among his own family. Driven to despair by threats and insults, and by the galling sense of constant espionage around him, Frederick resolved to flee from the presence of his father. Several schemes were formed and rejected, when at last, the occasion of a journey to Southern Germany with the king appearing favorable, every preparation was made for a flight to France and thence to England, where he hoped to find an asylum with his mother's brother, King George I. But his guardians kept too close a watch; and the unfortunate youth's chains were riveted all the faster for his rash attempt at desertion. The king declared his resolution that the young captain must be tried by court-martial, and suffer the penalty of death like any other deserter. In vain did many of the sovereigns of Europe interfere with the modern Brutus in behalf of the crown-prince; among them the Emperor of Germany, whose paid agents in Berlin had contributed but too much towards the embitterment of this animosity. It would appear that the court of Vienna thought of preventing, by means of this family disunion (which they actually did), the intended marriage of Frederick with a daughter of George II., which would certainly have been the result of a reconciliation. A close confinement at the fortress of Custrin was the only alleviation to which the king would at last consent. On quitting this, the royal prince was ordered to remain at the town of Custrin, and to give his whole mind to the details of state finances and civil government in general. The young man's stubborn mind was curbed, and although with no good grace did he apply himself to these uncongenial labors, yet he frequently reverted in after years with gratitude towards his rude taskmaster, as having laid the foundation of his skill as a governor of the country. In this state of utter prostration and subjection, he was commanded in 1733, to marry a princess of Brunswick, whom he had never seen, and never (it is believed) could have liked. As he would have com-

pied with any command, sullenly but submissively, he married the handsome but insipid princess, in whose praise it must be said, that she bore her husband's polite neglect uncomplainingly, and without bitterness of heart. At a distance from the court, although outwardly reconciled and scrupulously attentive to his duties as district-governor and as colonel of a regiment, the prince resided at Rheinsberg during the remainder of the king's life, surrounded by friends of his own choice, and devoted to literature. To this he contributed, among others, a curious treatise called *The Anti-Macchiavel*, in which violent protests are raised against the dishonest principles of the great Florentine master of statescraft.

On his accession to the throne, 31st of May, 1740, he retained for the most part the wise and salutary enactments of his father, but freeing them from many of their asperities, and instilling new life into them. His prodigious activity made itself felt very soon in every department of his administration. The Potsdam regiment of giants was disbanded, and the fighting strength of his army increased. Frederick abolished the rack, simplified the procedures in courts of law, admitted every petitioner to his presence, and declared in his own pithy manner that, in his own dominions, everybody should attend to his own soul as he pleased, by which perfect religious liberty to all religious denominations was established in Prussia, before any other country.

The death of Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, in 1740, without male issue, opened the flood-gates of political intrigue and ambitious designs. Instigated by France, the Bavarian elector laid unjust claims to Austria proper, leaving to the emperor's only child, the beautiful and virtuous Maria Theresa, nothing but the kingdom of Hungary. The Saxon elector's equally doubtful claims were on Moravia. Frederick II. of Prussia considered the event a favorable opportunity for seizing by force what had been unjustly withheld by Austria from his predecessors

since the Thirty Years' War,—the Silesian principalities of Liegnitz, Wohlau and Brieg. Those predecessors had never desisted in their efforts to obtain them, Devolving by right of inheritance to the Hohenzollern family in 1675, they had been retained, as we have seen, by the then emperor for the augmentation of his own family property. Frederick I., like the great elector, had protested against this, declaring in a state paper: "As for keeping my word, I must, I will and I shall do it; the task of enforcing my claims on Silesia I leave to my successors, whom, under these circumstances of injustice, I cannot and will not in any way bind." And Frederick William I. had, on a recent occasion, expressed the hope, "that there stood the man," pointing to his son, "who would revenge the indignities that his house was suffering." Frederick II.'s demands were no sooner despatched to Vienna, than he marched across the frontier of Silesia with 30,000 picked men. Queen Maria Theresa very naturally rejected the demand thus impertinently proffered. But her long-neglected though numerous army proved deficient in every respect. Frederick had the rare good fortune of being permitted to combine his strategic book-learning with a knowledge of the realities of war in a uniform continuance of success, for which he was at first indebted mainly to the perfect organization of his soldiers, and to the leadership of the Prince of Dessau, whom we saw fighting in the battles of Marlborough, and of Field-Marshal Count Schwerin. The latter was a Pomeranian nobleman of high descent, whose great military ability and moral worth Frederick ever appreciated to their full value. Two great battles—of Mollwitz, A.D. 1741, and of Chotusitz, in the following year—mark this his first campaign, which terminated in the peace of Breslau. Nearly the whole of Silesia was delivered into his hands. The numerous Protestants of Silesia hailed their deliverance (as did likewise many years after the Jesuit Order, to whom the king gave

free access to his dominions, when the indignation of Roman Catholic courts and nations had driven them forth into banishment). Two years after the peace of Breslau, in 1744, Frederick occupied the important country of Ostfriesland, on the German Ocean (at this day incorporated with Hanover), which had fallen to his inheritance by the demise of the last of its princes. But meanwhile the strenuous exertions of the unfortunate Maria Theresa to raise up a Christian European coalition, did not allow him to remain inactive. Frederick had declared in favor of Charles, elector of Bavaria, as a candidate for the vacant imperial throne, in opposition to Maria Theresa's amiable husband, Francis of Lotharingia. Accordingly, the former was elected emperor, under the name of Charles VII., by the German Reichstag, or Diet, and Frederick, on the strength of an alliance with him and with the King of France and others, opened the second campaign in Silesia in the month of August, 1744. Not so uniformly successful as in the former campaign, he yet showed the superiority of his army and of his own ripened military genius by three brilliant victories. At the close of these two first campaigns, which are known in military history as the Silesian wars, Frederick had lost almost every grenadier of his father's training, and spent every thaler that had been collected in his father's treasury. Charles VII. was dead; his rival of Lotharingia (the ancestor of the present Emperor of Austria) had been proclaimed German emperor; and Frederick, now acknowledged him in the treaty of Dresden, December, 1745, which again confirmed him in the possession of Silesia. Whatever difficulties the course of events might bring, they would henceforward have to be met by the resources of his own mind alone. Although he may never have anticipated to the full the terrible dangers that were destined soon to environ him on all sides, he strained every nerve to make good the years of peace and tranquillity allotted to him. The revenues of the country were in-

creased by financial reforms, which, though far indeed from being faultless in the light of improved science, yet were calculated to press but lightly on the productive powers of his country. Every encouragement and every device was resorted to in order to develop these productive powers. Whilst instilling new vigor into every branch of his multifarious administration, and also attending with all the zest of early manhood to the enjoyment of literature and of the society of his personal friends, he did not forget to collect, equip and exercise an effective army of no less than 160,000 men, in the hope, perhaps, of thus preventing his enemy from further attempts to recover her lost province. But a will as energetic as his own lived in the much-tried empress. A formidable coalition between Austria, Russia and Saxony, which was soon joined by France and Sweden, crowned her untiring exertions. A partition of the Prussian monarchy was the object of this alliance, which promised France an approach to the Rhine, and Russia the possession of Prussia proper, and was to reduce Frederick to the rank of Marquis of Brandenburg. To these secret negotiations Frederick was able to oppose but one alliance, which was destined to become not only most important for him, but also most auspicious as a precursor of repeated, and, as it would seem, lasting bonds of amity, namely, with Great Britain. In January, 1756, a treaty was signed by both parties for the avowed purpose of "repelling foreign invasions on German soil." Fortunately for Frederick, the treachery of a clerk in the foreign office at Dresden, soon disclosed to him the secret transactions of the coalition. He knew from good sources of information that Saxony, in pursuance of the articles of treaty, was filling a camp at Pirna with troops. Unwilling to give his enemies the advantages of further preparations, he left his capital in the autumn of 1756,—not to return for full seven perilous years,—and suddenly appeared before Dresden at the head of 70,000 men. To the astonished world he gave ful

explanations by publishing *in extenso* the documents in his possession. As for Saxony, it soon became evident that he was resolved, as far as in him lay, to make her fertile plains his centre of operations, and to save his own country as much as possible from the miseries of war. In this plan, carried out with incredible tenacity throughout all the vicissitudes of the war, lies the secret of a fact that would otherwise baffle explanation, namely, that at the close of a protracted warfare, in which Prussia was the chief actor and the sole prize, this country was found to have suffered less in its resources than others of the contending parties. Very few of the battles were fought on Prussian ground: like lions at bay, he and his gallant allies, ever alert on the frontiers, caused the hostile armies to halt in their onward marches that converged towards Berlin from the south, west, east and north. The aid of Great Britain, both in money and in men, was at first hesitatingly and insufficiently bestowed, but after the battle of Rossbach, in November, 1757, large subsidies and an efficient force were willingly granted, and with such unbounded confidence, that the king was requested to give to the latter a general of his own choice. This alliance was abandoned by the English Court soon after the accession of George III. in 1761, and Frederick was left to cope single-handed with difficulties which were just then of the most crushing nature.

We purpose to pass the romantic vicissitudes of this war in rapid survey, pointing to its features rather than to its strategic details. We have already mentioned Frederick's sudden march on the capital of Saxony. Dresden was occupied without resistance; the Saxon troops that had collected in the camp of Pirna were inclosed and forced to surrender *en masse*; and, pushing on to attack one of the two Austrian armies before their union, he was led into the most perilous and sanguinary battle of Prague, May 6, 1757, which, but for the heroic devotion of Marshal Schwerin, must have been

lost. "The day is ours!" exclaimed the king; "but 10,000 of our men are no more, and Schwerin, alas! whom I reckon another 10,000." But his position in Bohemia was lost by the terrible defeat of Kollin; his British and Hanoverian allies were likewise overpowered by the French; to make the list of disasters complete, a victorious advance led the Russian generals to Königsberg, where the province of Prussia was by them, not long after, simply declared to be henceforward an integral portion of the Russian empire. Frederick, who had left his retreating troops in Silesia, joined another detachment of his army which was vainly endeavoring to stop the mighty advance of the French in Saxony. No sooner, however, had the French general, Prince de Soubise, completed (as he thought) the blockade of his enemy by the river Saale on the 5th of November, 1757, than Frederick's cavalry and infantry, suddenly descending in an attack of unprecedented hardiness, soon covered the extensive plain of Rossbach with the flying remnants of an army that had been three times as numerous as his own. Not until the wars of the French Revolution had re-established the prestige lost on this famous day, did the memory of its shame cease to rankle in the French army. To Frederick the victory of Rossbach gained a far greater accession of fame and power throughout Great Britain and Germany, than ever so many successful exploits against the Austrians could have accomplished; he was regarded in Great Britain as the hero of Protestant independence, and by Germans as their champion against the great invaders of the West. The same year (1757), saw Frederick victorious against the Austrians, commanded by their best general, the cautious and calculating Daun, in the battle of Leuthen, which, fought as it was under every disadvantage of number (in the proportion of one to three), of quality of men and of place, has ever been considered as among the strongest proofs of a rare strategic genius in the commander, and of the firm enthusiasm of the Prussians fighting

under his banners. Both were signally exemplified again in the following (third) year of the campaign (1758), in which Frederick chastised the Russians near the village of Zorndorf for their insolent pillage and spoliation of the country. But soon other and higher qualities than military insight and enthusiasm had to be brought into action by king and people; and it is in these sombre days of adversity which lasted (although not unbroken by brilliant achievements) until 1762, that Frederick I. rises before us in full relief of heroism. Frederick was a great man by his entire and absolute devotedness to his country alone. For him the government of Prussia ever appeared as a duty,—the existence and destinies of Prussia as a sacred trust. In this subjection of his individual will and whole existence under a higher and ideal sense of duty, this “chief servant of the state,” not in words only, but in reality, stands far above the class of adventurers in the history of the world who sought their own rather than their country’s good, and to whom even the throne was a seat of power and of wealth rather than of duty.

The series of disasters between Frederick’s victories of Leuthen and Zorndorf and the year 1762, was, as we said before, not without successful interludes, such as the day of Minden, in 1759, by which Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick (the commander whom Frederick’s choice had placed at the head of the Hanoverian auxiliaries) drove the French army to seek shelter beyond the Rhine; or the days of Liegnitz and of Torgau, in the same year, under the personal command of the king. But the peril now assumed huge dimensions, and that web was drawn closer and closer which was to stifle the inconvenient, *parvenu* state of Prussia. The Austrian troops were at this time admirably commanded by Generals Daun and Laudon, and fought with genuine attachment to the cause of their empress. In France, an able and active minister, Count Choiseul, had succeeded a rule of favoritism

in the king’s councils, and though public opinion in France expressed itself more strongly every day in favor of Frederick, the numbers and efficiency of the armies sent to annihilate him, were greatly augmented. In Russia a strong determination prevailed at the court of the Empress Elizabeth to erase the memory of Zorndorf, and to leave Prussia proper, and possibly more, as a lasting heirloom to the czars of Russia. Spain, towards the close of the period we are speaking of, and even the Pope himself, joined the ranks of his adversaries. To this host, ever growing, as was feared, in energy and numbers, Frederick had to oppose an army consisting more and more of raw recruits, and an empty exchequer, which levies and contributions in the enemy’s land lost all power of filling. Lastly, as if to try his powers of endurance to the utmost, his sole ally, Great Britain, under the Earl of Bute’s administration, left him to his own resources in the hour of his greatest need, A.D. 1761, and withdrew from the war altogether. Frederick’s iron will was not to be crushed with adversity; fighting and retreating, or collecting occasionally his army behind unapproachable lines of defence, which his genius in fortification understood how to raise up in forty-eight hours; losing armies, and replacing them; never a moment without cares, but rarely oppressed by them;—thus the invincible hero struggled along through upwards of three years of disappointment and defeat. He reposed a hearty confidence in his generals (his brother, Prince Henry, the Prince of Dessau, Seydlitz, Ziethen), but appeared among them to take the lead in the great and decisive actions. We name the series of lost battles from 1758 to 1761, to show the destructive character of some of them. On the 14th of October, of the former year, a grand night-attack on his camp at Hochkirch, executed with admirable precision by the Austrians, under General Daun, deprived the king of many thousand soldiers, and “of all his guns and ammunition.” The next year (1759), saw the most terrible of

slaughters in the two days' battles of Kunersdorf, against a combined army of Russians under Soltikoff, and of Austrians under Laudon, which cost him more than half of his effective army, and again "nearly all his guns;" and must have cost him his capital, had not the jealousy of his antagonists prevented the execution of Maria Theresa's orders. First one and then another of his generals were forced to surrender to overwhelming forces; and thus the greater part of Saxony, and all his positions in Silesia, had to be abandoned. The day of Liegnitz saved a few of the latter, and that of Torgau many of the former. Nevertheless, his situation improved but little. Daun in the heart of Saxony, and Laudon in the heart of Silesia; the Swedes masters in Pomerania and the Russians in Königsberg; 150,000 French on the right bank of the Rhine; the whole of Europe (without exception) united against him, or sullenly neutral; such was the position of affairs on the 5th of January, 1761, when the accession of Peter III. to the throne of the czars suddenly transformed a formidable adversary into a useful ally. Unfortunately for Frederick, the life of his eccentric admirer was soon cut short by high-born assassins. But Peter's widow and successor, Catharine, although her first acts were hostile to the king, soon relented in her antagonism, and this from a motive which deserves mention—namely, that letters were found in her murdered husband's portfolio in which King Frederick had seriously and repeatedly urged Peter to change his conduct towards the amiable empress his wife. The friendship, and afterwards the neutrality of Russia, coupled with the withdrawal of Sweden from the coalition, rendered Frederick's action unfettered in the north. His generals, victorious everywhere against the non-Austrian troops of the empire, caused one after the other of the German princes to raise loud solicitations for peace at the court of Vienna, and finally to abandon the cause of Austria. France, looked with disgust upon the continuance of a war which brought ever

fresh humiliation, at the hands of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, upon her once so glorious banners. Half broken-hearted with despair, Maria Theresa had vainly hoped that her field-marshal would recover their laurels, lost again and again at Burkersdorf and at Schweidnitz (1762). The cry of Europe became too loud; her own finances were ruined beyond repair—her resources drained to the last; Maria Theresa consented first to an armistice, and then, with long and wailing protestations, to the acknowledgment of Frederick as lord of Silesia in the peace of Hubertsburg, February 21, 1763. It is a characteristic and encouraging sign of the age in which we live, that when in 1856 a proposal was laid before the late King of Prussia, Frederick William IV., for a series of commemorations to be celebrated on each succeeding anniversary of the victorious and glorious events in the Seven Years' War, his majesty wrote the following words on the margin of the paper: "With my consent, none of these anniversaries shall be celebrated in Prussia, save and except the 21st of February, 1763."

Prussia had now attained a place among the great powers of Europe. Frederick's labors of peace during the rest of his life, from 1763 to 1786, were unremitting. He applied himself, with the applause, and with the willing support of his people, to the removal of every vestige of the war. His private expenses were moderate: "an absolute king," he said, "is the poorest man in the state; for whilst his subjects can spend their own as they please, he alone must feel in every trifling expenditure that so many thalers are withdrawn from application to matters of public utility." A code of laws, the present Landrecht of Prussia, was prepared (although not published in his days) by his chancellor Count Kärmer. To assist in the improvement of agriculture in his dominions, the king, much interested by Arthur Young's writings, sent over young men to study British husbandry. He attracted, by the bestowal of bounties and privileges, the immigration of many thousands

of colonists who seemed likely to introduce improved methods of farming. He filled deserted villages, and built up such as had been destroyed; he opened his well-filled military granaries, founded societies for facilitating loans on deposits and on land, granted temporary freedom from taxation where most needed, and gave occupation to idle or weak hands, by encouraging the manufacture of home-grown silk. Large tracts of bog and morass were reclaimed at great expense; and the country was covered with a net-work of canals. His financial measures were manifold and ingenious, although frequently of so complicated a nature, and (according to our present views) so unsound, that many of them, instead of lightening the burden of the people, acted most oppressively. His *regie* or system of indirect taxation, copied from the French, and entrusted to a host of French place-hunters; his prohibitive duties and his monopolies, were so many infractions of national well-being, although they filled the coffers of the state in an unprecedented degree. By them, in conjunction with this rigid economy, he was enabled to keep up an effective army of 225,000 men, and to leave to his successor a treasury filled with nearly £11,000,000 sterling. Many other prejudices of his age, besides the financial ones, did he retain to the last; not all of them as harmless as his dislike to good roads, "by which *he* did not mean to facilitate an enemy's advance in his country," or as silly as his aversion for all offices of state, or in the army, to men of other than noble birth. The one among his prejudices which has acquired most notoriety, is the subserviency of his mind and manners to French tastes, in language and literature, in many of the chief transactions of the state, and in the obstinacy with which he opposed his reasoning to most of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Filled in his early days with dislike to the dogmatic and undedifying religious instruction of his father's chaplains, and then bound up in close literary friendship with Voltaire, he, although a Protestant, assimilated his own

views to those of the Frenchman, for whose irreverential sarcasms an excuse might be found in the horrible superstitions and refined mystifications of the Jesuits, then reigning paramount at the court of France. Frederick, it is true, was ready to acknowledge and to honor the serious convictions of others. History tells us that his truly pious comrade in arms, General Ziethen, never had to complain of railleries on his part. It is reported also that one morning, when the king heard a Pomeranian brigade marching towards its appointed post in the battle array, under the solemn sounds of one of those noble ancient hymns ("Gott des Himmels und der Erden"), all devoutly joining in the strain, his eyes filled with tears, and, turning to one of his generals, he said—"Ah, these troops must be invincible!" Yet, into the ferment and turmoil of his soul none of the soothing comforts of religion were ever seen to enter.

A few words on the prominent events of these years of peace (1763-1786), will rapidly lead us to the reign of the next king. Frederick II. joined Russia and Austria in the first partition of Poland, A.D. 1772,—a miserable expedient, in which the Emperor Joseph's as well as his own main purpose seems to have been, to prevent Russia from taking the whole instead of the lion's share of territories so dangerously contiguous to their own capitals. By this partition the king obtained Western Prussia, which the Teutonic order had lost, as we have seen, to Poland in 1466, and some fertile, already semi-German districts on the river Netz. In all, the increase of territory under Frederick's reign, by conquest, inheritance, or otherwise, amounted to 29,313 square miles; the population of the monarchy at his death numbering five and a half million souls. The last act of his political life was the formation of a German league of princes (Deutscher Furstenbund), intended to prevent the renewal of attempts such as Joseph II. had twice made during the last years; namely, of incorporating Bavaria or other German States with the vast possessions of the Hapsburg family.

Frederick William II. disappointed the hopes that had been entertained of him in his uncle's lifetime and on his accession. The long habit of absolute command, and the absence of tender and soothing influence upon a solitary life, had rendered Frederick peevish, capricious and tyrannical in his latter years, and the exactions of his French excise and custom-house officers embittered large classes of the community. The new king's accession was, therefore, looked upon with much favor, a feeling which greatly increased when the French excisemen were ordered out of the country, the *regi e* superseded, and other burdens removed. Soon, however, the apathy of Frederick William, his grossly licentious habits, his carelessness of money, his intolerance in religious matters, and, more than all, the serious blunders of his foreign policy, weakened his influence at home and abroad. His army under Duke Ernest of Brunswick, succeeded with ease in re-establishing the ascendancy of the House of Orange in the Dutch Republic against the wishes of that people. Another armed intervention, purposing to prevent Russian and Austrian aggressions against Turkey, had no other result but the exhaustion of his treasury. Urged on by Russian influence, the king promised Austria his support (during a meeting with the emperor at Pillnitz, A.D. 1790), towards the restitution of royal power in France. He accordingly invaded that country with a powerful army in 1792, much against the inclinations of his own people. This invasion hastened the downfall of monarchy in France and the destruction of the royal family. Besides, all military advantages of the campaign were soon lost by an ignominious retreat after the resultless cannonade of Valmy. The shame of Prussia became still more appalling when, after two years of alternate victory and defeat, she admitted the very same republicans of France, against whom that war had solely been directed, to friendly negotiations, and secretly promised them the cession of all lands on the left bank

of the Rhine, stipulating for herself and the rest of North Germany absolute neutrality during the forthcoming wars. This was accomplished in the disgraceful treaty of Basle, A.D. 1795. In the Polish difficulties of his reign, Frederick William's policy, though more successful than on the Rhine, was equally unscrupulous and dishonorable. Poland, at first and during several years his ally, was abandoned by him to Russian encroachment, and then subjected to a second (1793), and a third, final, partition (1795), Prussia's share in these successive plunders consisting of nearly 38,808 square miles of land.

Frederick William III. succeeded his father A.D. 1797, at a time when religious intolerance and the restrictions exercised against the liberty of the press had spread the seeds of disaffection throughout the country. The moral rectitude, the simplicity and purity of manners, the earnestness of purpose in the youthful king and the uncommon loveliness of his queen, the Princess Louisa of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, soon restored to the throne the full attachment of the people. His father's hateful edict against dissent, and others instituting a censorship of all printed publications were speedily rescinded, and the government entrusted to men of tried virtue. Every exertion was made to pay off a debt of £3,300,000 which Frederick William II. had bequeathed instead of a well-filled treasury. The king turned to the best account the neutrality which the treaty of Basle imposed upon his states, by attention to peaceful improvements. In the year 1801, the secret stipulations of that treaty were carried into effect in the peace of Luneville; France definitively obtained the king's possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and Prussia was "indemnified" in 1803, at the hands of the German empire, and at its expense, by a considerable accession of territory, which increased the bulk of her dominions by 4116 square miles of admirably-situated land. But this neutrality did not long protect Prussia from ag-

gression. Our readers will remember the Franconian principalities of Ansbach and Baireuth, which were described above as belonging to a branch of the Hohenzollern family, cousins of the electoral and royal line. These principalities had become a royal possession in 1791. Through that territory Bonaparte ordered a portion of his now imperial army to pass on their march towards the Austrian frontiers, A.D. 1804. In vain did Frederick William III. remonstrate against this violation of neutrality. He now reluctantly gave ear to the counsels of the war-party at court, which included among its numbers some of the best men of his day,—Barons Stein and Hardenberg, etc., supported by the chivalrous Prince Louis Ferdinand and by the queen herself. The emperors of Russia and Austria prevailed by their entreaties in 1804. Prussia secretly joined the coalition, but was prevented from active co-operation by the conclusion of peace which immediately followed the irreparable defeat at Austerlitz, December 2, 1805. Napoleon induced the king's plenipotentiary, Baron Haugwitz, to accept Hanover in exchange for Ansbach, Baireuth, Cleves and Neufchatel; which last-named principality, situated on the frontiers of Switzerland, had become a Prussian heirloom in 1707.

So great was the terror of Napoleon's name that this scheme was ratified and carried into effect by Frederick William III. Swollen in size to 135,545 square miles, or nearly fourteen times as large as the first Hohenzollern Kurfurst had ruled over, Prussia miscalculated her natural power. If Frederick William had decided upon war too late in 1804, his resolution was certainly a precipitate one in 1806. Negotiations having been broken off by Prussia, Napoleon hastened to attack her forces before further alliances could swell their number. The very first encounter, near Saalfeld, October 10, 1806, crushed the Prussian vanguard, headed by Prince Louis Ferdinand, who gallantly fell in this action. Four days afterwards,

the fate of all the country between the Rhine and the Elbe was decided by the disastrous battle of Jena. The self-sufficiency of Prussian troops, drilled under Frederick II., but not commanded by his genius, received a severe lesson. No line of retreat having been marked out by the commander-in-chief, several detachments of the army were taken prisoners, and the whole country lay open to invasion, and was soon undefended even by fortresses, which overpowered by terror rather than by force, opened their gates to the enemy. The king withdrew far into Prussia proper. His ally, Alexander I. of Russia, attempted in vain to stop the onward march of Napoleon by the sanguinary battles of Eylau (7th and 8th of February, 1807) and of Friedland (14th of June). A personal meeting of the three sovereigns was arranged at the town of Tilsit, near the easternmost boundary of Prussia, which led to the conclusion of a most disastrous peace (9th of July, 1807). Frederick William lost all his possessions on the left bank of the Elbe (more than half of his kingdom), and was candidly assured that if he did not lose all instead, it was done out of deference to the Emperor Alexander's "wishes." Even this small remnant of territory was farther deprived of the duchy of Warsaw (afterward given to the King of Saxony), and of Dantzic, which was declared a republic; it was further made to raise war contributions to the enormous amount of £22,500,000, was to pay for French garrisons in some of its fortresses, and to assist the emperor in all coming wars. And yet the prediction of the Prussian General Blucher, expressed on the morrow of the defeat at Jena, in his own uncouth language, that "matters would look up again soon, and that now more enlightened principles would put their foot into the stirrup," was fulfilled in a manner very creditable to king and country. A complete remoulding of the state commenced, proving the fallacy of the wide-spread opinion, that reforms must not be attempted in times of war and distress. Frederick Wil

liam, who, with his queen, made every sacrifice of royal state, and even common comforts, gave his confidence to Baron Stein, the best German statesman of the day, a man of high and noble birth and independent wealth, an upright, sagacious, and powerful reformer. The offices of state were simplified, the remains of fendal vassalage abolished, the sale and purchase of land set entirely free, many burdens raised that lay exclusively on the lower classes, the trades liberated from mediæval shackles, and the towns left to manage their own affairs without government interference. Stein was preparing a re-construction also of the ancient parliaments on a new basis of unity and equality, when the rage and threats of Napoleon forced him to resign his post in 1808, since when he became one of the prime movers of resistance against the emperor,—first in Austria, then at St. Petersburg, and later again triumphantly in Germany. His work of internal reform was meanwhile carried on in his sense and with energy by Baron Hardenberg, the king's state chancellor. Laws were promulgated for the more equitable distribution of taxes and the abolition of privileges. Most of the civil disabilities of the Jews were abolished. In spite of the exhausted state of his finances, the king founded and endowed a university at Berlin. There was a new hope and cheerful energy called forth by these reforms in Prussia and throughout Germany. Young men of all classes quietly joined the few regiments which the treaty of Tilsit permitted Prussia to keep on foot, and as quietly left them after having undergone the necessary training and drilling; thus deluding the vigilance of French spies. Commissions in the army were given, without consideration of birth or lineage, to all duly qualified men of education. It was during these years of deepest humiliation that the plan of general armament was formed by Scharnhorst and others which came to light in 1813, and which has rendered Prussia one of the most powerful military countries, for defensive

purposes, in the world. By this military institution, all young men from eighteen to twenty-six years old are expected to enter the ranks of the army during three years, such only being privileged to serve one year instead of three as give proof of a superior education, and are able to equip themselves. Between the ages of twenty-six and thirty-two the privates, sergeants and officers thus trained are liable to be called out from their civil occupations in case of need. This is the First *Aufgebot*, or levy of the landwehr. The second, consisting of men between thirty-two and thirty-nine, is subject to the same regulations, but only called upon in case of great danger. Finally, a third *Aufgebot*, called *Landsturm*, comprises all men above that age, who are expected to fight only for the immediate defence of house and home during an invasion. It was known throughout the country in those years that the king would break the bondage as soon as circumstances admitted. He visited St. Petersburg to prepare a defensive and offensive alliance in 1808, and took cognizance, though not ostensibly, of the secret "league of virtue" (*Tugendbund*) in which most patriotic Germans joined for the expulsion of the French.

Still, however, he refrained from hostilities against Napoleon. Repeatedly victorious against the court of Vienna in the campaign of Wagram (1809), and married to a "daughter of the Cæsars," Maria Louisa of Austria, standing, as it were, on the summit of his earthly glory, the emperor was now thought to rest his thoughts on the firm establishment of a hereditary empire in favor of his son, the King of Rome. Instead of this, he meditated an attack upon Russia, and, inverting the direction of Attila's great migration of warriors thirteen centuries before, he swept the whole of trembling Europe with a host of half a million of men, to which even Austria and Prussia were constrained by treaties to add their quota. When the disasters of an early and terrible winter overtook his retreat from Moscow, and it was long before Europe was fully informed

of the utter destruction of his army, the Prussian General York, who held a command on the French army's left wing in Kurland, was the first to see with his own eyes. Left without instructions from Berlin, he concluded an armistice with the pursuing Russians on the 30th of December, 1812, near the frontier town of Tauroggen, and speedily applied himself to the organization of a landwehr in Prussia proper, assisted by Baron Stein and Count Dolna. On the 3d of February, 1813, King Frederick William, who had a short time before left Berlin, published an energetic decree calling his people to arms. In an incredibly short time the enthusiasm of the people not only filled the ranks of his army, but also contributed largely to improve the exhausted condition of his finances. An alliance was concluded with Great Britain and Russia, and a declaration of war issued on the 27th of March. Napoleon had lost no time in collecting an army far superior in numbers to the allied Prussians and Russians at that time in the field. His first encounters, at Grossgorschen and Bautzen, with the raw battalions of his enemy were crowned with success, although his generals could well discern "*le commencement de la fin.*" Even after Austria had joined her troops to those of Russia and Prussia, the first great battle of Dresden, August 26, 1813, again ended in a defeat of the allies. But meanwhile the Prussians had found time to increase and improve their armaments in a manner which deserves the admiration of all ages. Napoleon had the misfortune to hear of four considerable defeats sustained by his generals within eighteen days,—by Marshals Ney and Oudinot on their march towards Berlin, at Grossbeeren and at Dennewitz; by Marshal Macdonald on the banks of the river Katzbach in Silesia; and by General Vandamme at Culm in Bohemia. And now the crisis was fast approaching. On both sides all available forces were collected into a huge mass of combatants in the plain round Leipsic. On a number of adjoining, but separate bat-

tle-fields, the French army of 180,000, directed by Napoleon's iron will, fought with great intrepidity against nearly 300,000 enemies intent upon his overthrow, on the 14th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th of October. How great was the slaughter of those days may be measured from the fact, that the Prussian list of casualties alone, showed a number of 14,000 killed. Napoleon at last was utterly defeated, and his army dispersed. Blucher, in advance of the other allies, followed its flight, and crossed the Rhine near Caub on New-Year's Day, 1814. When the diplomatic and military manœuvres of Napoleon threw confusion into the headquarters of the allied army, Blucher again resolved all difficulties by a daring march direct upon Paris. There, after a last bloody struggle on the heights of Montmartre, the cause of the hereditary governments of Europe was crowned with a temporary success by the occupation of the capital, and the deposition of the emperor.

At the Congress of Vienna, which assembled soon after, Prussia met with great opposition when she demanded for herself the whole kingdom of Saxony, on the ground of its having proved the most obnoxious to the cause of liberation. This demand, together with the divergence of opinion on the restitution of Poland, and almost every other point that required settlement, frequently endangered the temper of the Congress to such a degree, that Napoleon, founding his hopes on a general disunion, ventured upon a return to France. This immediately restored harmony and concord; Bonaparte, again the military chief of France, but formally outlawed by the dynastic rulers of Europe, was to be crushed without delay. The first in the field, favored by geographical proximity, and still more by military readiness—were Great Britain and Prussia. Against the Duke of Wellington, therefore, and Field-Marshal Blucher, the army of Napoleon was forthwith set in motion, and an immediate attack upon each of them resolved upon in order to prevent their union. The

first onset of the emperor threw back the Prussians at Ligny, June 16th. Confident that Blücher's defeated army must retreat in the direction of Namur, and intent upon pursuing his advantage, Napoleon prepared a concentrated attack upon the British and allied troops, whom he found in a strong position near Waterloo, but not apparently strong enough for continued resistance. The British army, favored by circumstances, held out against the repeated assault of the French troops, till the timely arrival of the Prussians, under Blücher, saved the day. The Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher entered Paris together. In the ensuing negotiations for peace, the Prussian plenipotentiary demanded that the two purely German countries which intrigue and violence had wrested from the empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, should now be reunited with the Germanic Confederation. This attempt at recovering for Germany its really "natural" boundaries remained unsuccessful; France was obliged to surrender those only among her acquisitions which she had made since 1790.

The remaining years of Frederick William III.'s reign were passed in comparative tranquillity. The king was to the end an attentive governor of his country, much respected and beloved, but not independent enough from the influence of Russia and Austria to persevere in the progress of liberal institutions that had effected such a salutary change in 1807, and the following years. His promise of a parliamentary constitution, repeatedly given in the days of adversity, was not fulfilled in those of prosperity. He thought it unsafe to go beyond the re-organization of the provincial parliaments, or *Stände*, which he effected by an edict of the year 1823, re-assembling, with a slight modification, the old *Stände* over again, as described above—a representation of the nobles, the burghers and the peasants, each separately charged to occupy themselves with provincial matters only, and those of the most restricted nature. Although the disaffection

caused by this tergiversation never led to serious collisions with his people, yet the educated classes in the country had an ever-growing sense of injustice committed and rights withheld, and conceived a hearty dislike of the close political intimacy between their court and the despotic rulers of Austria and Russia. Throughout his life the king remained a staunch adherent of the principles of the "Holy Alliance," a treaty concluded at Paris in 1815, between the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia, which, if divested of its religious wording (honestly meant, we are convinced, at least by Frederick William) had no other object but to uphold at any cost, and by every means, the "divine right" and the absolute power of princes throughout Europe. These principles gave a peculiar bias to his behavior in all European congresses, and somewhat alienated him on several important occasions from the policy of Great Britain. He was blind to the Russian encroachments on the rights of unfettered commerce, which had been guaranteed by treaty to the provinces of Prussia conterminous with Russia. Nor did he awake to a sense of his powerful neighbor's treacherous intentions even when it became known that the Emperor Nicholas had secretly promised to the court of Paris in 1829, the acquisition of all Prussian possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. In spite of these shortcomings in the king's internal and foreign policy, Prussia continued progressing during this relaxation from war. King Frederick William occupied himself much with a settlement of the Protestant Church, to which his family and majority of his people belonged, and attempted also the still more difficult task of regulating the relations of his state with the Roman Pontiff as head of the Roman Catholics. In both directions he was but partially successful. The division of German Protestants into Lutherans on one side, and Calvinists (or *Reformirte*) on the other, though it had lost many of its asperities, was still an impediment to good feeling, or to the creation of a

national church. Frederick William, after earnest deliberation, pronounced his desire that each of these Protestant communities, whilst retaining its distinctive dogmas, might nevertheless admit the other into Christian fellowship, and, in order to give the example of brotherhood, he partook of the sacrament at a Lutheran Church, although himself a Calvinist (or *Reformirter*), on the 31st of October, 1817, the third anniversary of the Reformation. Like him, the Protestants in several cities of Germany united in worship on that day. Henceforward the name "Evangelic Church" was used officially, instead of the distinctive appellations formerly in use. This union of the several Protestant churches was founded by the king in a real spirit of Christian charity, and with distinct provisos that no individual or congregation should in any way be compelled to adhesion. Unfortunately, when many strict Lutheran congregations objected to the union and to the *Agende* (or Book of Common Prayer), published by command of the king in his capacity of *summus episcopus*, acts of force were applied and the liberty of conscience infringed. For these gross acts of injustice the greater share of blame falls on the persons entrusted with the execution of the royal will; much, however, remains to be attributed to the king's own impatience of opposition or dissent. Far graver complications met his attempts at an adjustment of his relations with Rome. A concordat having been agreed to between Prussia and the pope in 1821, by which the former acknowledged a regular Roman Catholic hierarchy, consisting of two archbishops and six bishops, and undertook to pay a fixed sum annually towards the endowment of that church, everything seemed to progress smoothly by mutual forbearance. But after a time difficulties arose. In 1837, the Archbishop of Cologne, Baron Droste-Vischering, declared that he would henceforth allow no marriages between Roman Catholics and others to be consecrated by priests of his diocese, except under the distinct promise, that all children

should be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion. He was in vain reminded of the promise he had himself given in writing previous to his accession to the archiepiscopal see, faithfully to obey the laws of the country and the arrangements entered into by his predecessor. He obstinately refused compliance. At length the Prussian government, losing all patience, directed his forcible removal from his see as a state-prisoner, on the ground "that he had broken his word, violated the laws of the kingdom and excited the minds of the people under the influence of two revolutionary factions." This transaction led to endless discussions, which might have been terminated more satisfactorily had the government resolved at once upon placing the archbishop on his trial on the above grounds in a public court of law.

On the accession of Frederick William IV. to his father's throne, the long-suppressed desire of the people for a direct parliamentary participation in public matters was loudly and loyally expressed. The hopes throughout the country were great, as the crown-prince had been known to entertain views opposed to the all-powerful influence of Russia. A brilliant power of speech, mildness of disposition and the manifold kindness to such as had lately suffered from persecution or neglect, all combined to produce expectations of reform far beyond what the new sovereign had ever intended. Given to mediæval studies, and at the same time an admirer of English institutions, he was, it is true, averse to the severe regularity of Prussian bureaucracy and red-tapeism and would have liked to see a brilliant assemblage of peers and knights around his throne, as in olden days; but he proved to be over-sensitive to the slightest infringement of royal prerogative, and abhorred the idea of parliamentary bodies that would have or show a will contrary to his. The consequence was a disappointment and mistrust on the part of the people, and on his a gradual relinquishment of the leniency and liberalism of

his first years, a tedious, inactive and undecided course of policy.

The first part of Frederick William IV.'s reign (1840 to 1848), was one of rapid development in all arts of peace, in manufacture, in trade, commerce and navigation. A comprehensive system of turnpike-roads (for the most part made and kept up by the state), on which his father had bestowed much attention, was brought to completion. Railway companies and other associations for most branches of industry spread over the whole country, and commenced to change its aspect. Prosperity seemed to keep pace with the labor of man. Yet, nevertheless, the spirit of sullen discontent was brooding over the country when the news arrived in February, 1848, of a complete *bouleversement* in the neighboring state of France. Its effect throughout Germany was, in the first moments, simple and patriotic. Cries of "*A la frontière*" had been frequently heard in the streets of Paris; and the first spontaneous burst of sentiment therefore, created by a vivid recollection of long years of invasion and oppression, was expressed in the cries of "Defence against the common enemy," "Close alliance of all German states," "Recovery of the unity of Germany, lost since 1806." This agitation, though most violent in the smaller states, broke forth actively, and at first beneficially, in Prussia. But soon, and almost together with it, a very different pulsation appeared to pervade the people. In France the masses had obtained their will, and were apparently all-powerful. The same then was attempted by the masses in Germany. Every class of laborers and workmen combined for a settlement of their real or imagined grievances. At that time, had the governments possessed the full confidence of the middle classes, all who had anything to lose would have rallied round the thrones to ward off the common dangers of society; but that confidence was gone. The middle classes demanded reforms, on the whole, it may be said, of a moderate nature. With scarcely any resistance, these

were accorded in the smaller states. Men of liberal opinions were called to offices; but the danger proceeding from the lower classes was on the increase. There appeared but one hope of protecting society, that the King of Prussia would declare his assent to the same reforms, and promise to use his best efforts towards a more efficient defensive union of Germany. Delegates from all the minor governments, including the Bavarian, proceeded to Berlin in the beginning of March, to implore the King of Prussia, who had as yet experienced comparatively small pressure at the hands of his subjects. The king's scruples were at last overcome after the arrival of the astounding news of Prince Metternich's fall at Vienna (15th March). A royal proclamation, eloquently expressing all that had been demanded, was prepared, signed and published, on the morning of the 18th, to the great joy of the people of Berlin, who assembled before the palace to express their satisfaction. Then suddenly two shots, fired nobody knows by whom, produced a commotion. French and Polish *barricadiers*, who were everywhere in great numbers in those days, raised a hue and cry after arms throughout the city, and in a short time all the elements of confusion of a populous town were in readiness, two hundred thoroughfares stopped by barricades, and the masses in conflict with the king's troops. A street fight ensued. The combat lasted through the night, and ended towards morning, when nearly all the barricades were evacuated by the insurgents. In this juncture of affairs an unexplained, and in fact inexplicable, command to the troops was issued from the palace early in the morning, ordering them to march out of the capital. The effect was such as might have been supposed. The insurgents came forth victorious, parading through the streets the bodies of those who had fallen; galling insults were heaped upon the king and queen; complete anarchy was triumphant. All hopes of protection from this quarter were now abandoned. Revolution had full sway, and ran its course during

a time; not a bloody one on the whole, yet so subversive, that the higher and a great part of the middle classes abstained from its doings altogether. Its effects have not been salutary. It brought to light a hidden animosity of all classes against each other. In Prussia, as in most other German states, it led in the end to restrictive measures, which, in their turn, overshot the mark, and have rendered the easy comfortable rule of past years almost an object of regret to the people at large.

King Frederick William IV. had called the leaders of the former liberal party to his councils. They willingly came and did their best. The old parliament was for the last time convoked in April, to give its sanction to general elections for a new one, which was to frame a constitution in conjunction with the king's government. The result of the ultra-democratic elections was discreditable to so educated a country as Prussia. After committing every kind of extravagance, and baffling the attempts of divers sets of ministers, this so-called constituent assembly was dissolved in October, 1848, by a new cabinet, which, had the worthy General Brandenburg (an illegitimate son of King Frederick William II.), and a man of not so stainless a reputation, Baron Manteuffel, among its leading members. The king, in dissolving the assembly, published a constitution of the monarchy and issued writs for the election of another parliament, with a view to its revision and final settlement. Everything had changed meanwhile. A directly opposite class of members now filled the benches — noblemen and *employees* — quite as eager to protect their interests, and, if possible, to restore the old condition of things, as the former members had been to diminish their power in the state. Thus Prussia was thrown from the hands of silly democrats into those of an aristocratic clique and of partizans of the divine right of kings, so well known in the history of the English Restoration. Under the general dread of revolution and anarchy which pervaded the pos-

sessing classes, and with a king more and more averse to liberal measures, this party of nobles and zealots became the most powerful in the country.

We had occasion to mention the defensive and unitary movement throughout Germany on the first outbreak of the third French revolution in 1848. Under the influence of an unruly democracy, this movement, when all danger of French invasion had passed over, took the shape of a fixed plan for proclaiming a German republic, after an overthrow of in all thirty-three German sovereign thrones. The opposite extreme to this was a desire (entertained by very few at that time) that matters should remain as they had been since 1815, viz., thirty-three monarchies and four free cities, independent in their action and bound together by a federal tie — a constitution which had shown, as must be confessed, little or no vitality except for the suppression of liberty in the different states. A third party, which gradually numbered among its members nearly all men of moderate views, and some even among the German sovereigns, proposed to re-establish the German empire without removing the landmarks of any of the single states; leaving every sovereign and every city intact in all except the common affairs of Germany, namely, war, diplomacy, customs. These common affairs were to be directed by the new emperor with an imperial ministry responsible to a national parliament. The main difficulty of this patriotic scheme, that in fact which would alone have necessitated its failure, was the existence of two such states as Austria and Prussia within the German Confederation. Of Austria it was said that her interests were entirely of a European, not of a German character. The kingdom of Prussia, on the contrary, had no non-German population (with the exception of about a million Poles) or interests, and accordingly that party looked to Prussia as containing the most appropriate dynasty for the future German empire. The leaders of the German constituent assembly, which proceeded

from general elections, and met at Frankfurt-am-Main on the 15th of May, 1848, were mostly of this opinion, and so were the leading men of most governments of Germany at the time, including also (although, strange to say not prominently) the Prussian cabinet. By the time they had finished their long-winded debates on secondary matters, most sovereigns in Germany had sufficiently recovered from their terror to dismiss their councillors, and to oppose the inconvenient scheme of unity. At length, on the 28th of March, 1849, the party thought their labors crowned, by carrying the election of the King of Prussia to the headship of the new German empire. The king's answer to the deputation sent to offer him this new dignity was to the effect, "That he could not accept it without the free consent of all German sovereigns that it lay with these sovereigns to consider whether the proposed constitution was conducive to the welfare of each individually, and of all collectively, and whether it would enable him to direct the destinies of Germany with a firm hand." In the evening Schiller's play of "The Robbers" was acted in the royal theatre, to which the members of the deputation were *ex-officio* invited. Little edified either with his majesty's refusal or with those theatrical insinuations, the deputation returned to Frankfurt. On their report, resolutions of "standing by" the new constitution were passed in the assembly. But the fatal motto of those days, the "trop tard?" again showed its truth. The Prussian members, as well as the Austrians, were revoked by royal command, and the remainder, a kind of "rump parliament," having withdrawn to Stuttgart, were soon finally dispersed. Instead of simply leaving the matter alone, King Frederick William IV. committed the incredible folly of attempting a more united organization of part at least of Germany, "with the free consent of its sovereigns!" The failure of these attempts, at a time when princely prerogative was again in the ascendant, and all feeling of immediate danger had passed

away, was inevitable. Backed by the middle states of Germany (Bavaria, Hanover, Würtemberg and Saxony), Austria advanced to oppose these Prussian half-measures, which were but despondingly supported by the nation at large, and a complete humiliation of Prussia was the result.

In foreign politics the king's disposition was directed through life to the maintenance of peace. He visited England at the invitation of Queen Victoria to stand sponsor to the Prince of Wales in 1842, and ever professed a great admiration for British institutions. He made an exception to his peaceful policy, in 1848, when he attacked a Danish army by order of the German Confederation, to protect the duchy of Holstein, which is one of the states of that confederation. On account of these proceedings, the king was suspected of ambitious motives, and of a desire to annex that duchy, and its closely-united neighbor Schleswig, to his own dominions. Of this he was innocent. The truth seems to be, that a deep-rooted animosity of the German population, both in Holstein and Schleswig, led them to an untimely attempt at separation from the Danish monarchy, instead of waiting for an opportunity which time must have brought, the extinction of the male line of rulers in Denmark, and, contingent upon this, the accession (by the Salic law) of a separate dynasty in the duchies. The war embittered the sentiments on both sides to an irremediable extent, without any redress of grievances, and brought upon Prussia and the Germanic Confederation the profound humiliation of having created hopes, sent armies and generals (in 1848 and 1849), and then (1850) pusillanimously abandoned those whom they had declared to be in the right and had undertaken to protect. Another short but bloody war was forced upon King Frederick William by an insurrection among his Polish subjects, the explosion of which had been adroitly prevented by the government in 1847, but which broke out and assumed rather formidable dimensions in the

disastrous spring of 1848. It was suppressed, but not before a series of sanguinary combats had proved to the Polish insurgents how unavailing scythes are against rifle-balls and shrapnells. A considerable Prussian army marched into South Germany in the summer of 1849, at the request of the Grand Duke of Baden, whom a wide-spread mutiny among his own troops had forced to abandon his country to a clique of republicans and their besotted followers. Baden and the Rhenish possessions of Bavaria (also in the power of insurgents) were occupied after a short resistance; and similar outbreaks in Würtemberg and Bavaria proper prevented by this timely aid. In the oriental war (1853 to 1855), Prussia abstained from military co-operation; and was admitted to the Congress of Paris only when its work was finished and all but ready for signature. The territory of Prussia underwent no important changes during this king's reign, excepting that the provinces of Prussia proper and Posen (the latter so far as its population is German) were formally introduced into the Germanic Confederation in 1848, and as formally replaced on their old footing in 1850.

In the autumn of 1856 the king was visited by several strokes of apoplexy, which impaired his power of speech, and in part also his reasoning capacities. The sympathy with this melancholy downfall of a highly-gifted and amiable sovereign was general among all classes of the people. But their indignation was soon kindled by the artful intrigues of the court party, who caused the unfortunate monarch nominally to retain the government, merely desiring his eldest brother William (who had borne the title of "Prince of Prussia" ever since the late king's death, as heir-apparent to the throne) to conduct the affairs of state "in accordance with his (the king's) known intentions." The meaning of this was absolute power concentrated in the hands of the then cabinet, under the presidency of Baron Manteuffel, whom to dismiss would have been, on the prince's part, to overstep his instructions.

Fortunately for Prussia, no European event of grave import occurred in this first year of the king's malady; and the country, although without a ruler, and oppressed by the host of ministerial police, passed through this agonizing twelvemonth, outwardly at least, unharmed. On the expiration of that term in October, 1858, the king, in accordance with a paragraph of the constitution which makes provisions in case of a king being "lastingly incapacitated," signed an order conveying to his brother the full and unrestricted powers of regency, and left Potsdam soon after to pass the winter in a southern climate.

Frederick William IV. died on the 2d of January, 1861, and the regent took the throne under the title of William I. The new king began as a firm supporter of conservatism. Before two years had passed, he came into conflict with the parliament on the subject of a reduction in the taxes. A majority of the parliament wished to reduce the army, the king would not consent, and the parliament withheld the appropriations. The king determined to levy the tax without their authority, and dissolved the chambers.

In the year 1863, the Schleswig-Holstein question again assumed a definite and practical form, and led to a hostile occupation of Holstein by the troops of Prussia and Austria. Frederick VII., king of Denmark, died on the 15th of November, and in conformity with the treaty of London, 1852, which will be found in the history of Denmark, Prince Christian ascended the throne as King Christian IX., but the next day there appeared a proclamation of Frederick, duke of Augustenburg, insisting on his right to be recognized duke of Schleswig-Holstein. The father of this duke had subscribed an act in 1852, by which he expressly atrogated for himself and his family all dynastic claims on the duchies, and he had received in compensation a large sum of money. In reply, King Christian issued a proclamation to the people of Holstein, declaring that he would put down insurrectionary movements with arm.

ed force. The question was discussed in the Frankfurt Diet of the Germanic Confederation, and it was debated whether there should be an execution, that is administration of the government, in the duchies of Holstein and Lauenberg without reference to the disputed right of succession, or whether the Diet should enter into hostile occupation of them, and hold them until it had itself decided to whom they rightfully belonged. Austria and Prussia declared in favor of the first view, and the Committee of the Diet, of which the Bavarian Minister was the reporter, in favor of the last. In the result, the Austro-Prussian demand was carried by a very small majority, for the lesser German States voted for occupation, which was to give the Diet the right of determining the succession.

Federal Commissioners were appointed by the Diet to see that the execution was carried out, and the Danish government was summoned to withdraw its troops from the duchies within seven days. The Saxon troops were put in march for Hamburg, in order to be the first to enter Holstein, and Austria and Prussia not only supplied soldiers to take part in the invasion, but held in readiness a large body of reserves in case resistance should be made by the Danes and hostilities begin.

The Federal Commissioners entered Altona about the same time as the Saxon troops, and proceeded to administer the government. They were received with the greatest enthusiasm by the people, with whom the Danish rule was beyond all doubt intensely unpopular. Demonstrations in favor of Prince Frederick of Augustenberg took place everywhere, and he himself made his appearance at Kiel, where he was welcomed by deputations, and greeted as the rightful duke. In the meantime the Danish government had withdrawn the proclamation of the 30th of March, which had been the only pretext for the Federal interference. Efforts were also made by the British government to induce the king to repeal the constitution of November, by which the Germans

alleged that Schleswig had, contrary to good faith, been incorporated with Denmark proper. Lord Wodehouse was sent from England on a special mission to Copenhagen, but his errand proved abortive. The feeling in Denmark against such a concession as was demanded was too strong, and the ministry, rather than propose such a measure to the Rigsraad, resigned office. Another ministry was formed by Bishop Monad, but no efforts were made to alter the Constitution, and the nation was allowed to drift into a war, whose issue could not be other than disastrous. Denmark, indeed, could have no possible hope of successfully opposing the united strength of Germany, and she relied for assistance upon the western powers. Lord Palmerston had declared in Parliament, that in the event of war, Denmark would not find herself alone, and France also was concerned in supporting the treaty of London, to which she and England were parties. When hostilities began, however, Denmark was without an ally.

On the 1st of February the Prussian forces under Field Marshal von Wrangel marched out of the town of Kiel and crossed the Schleswig frontier, occupying Gottorp, while the Danish troops retired at their approach. General de Meza commanding the Danish army was summoned by General von Wrangel to evacuate the town of Schleswig; to which he answered simply that he had orders to defend it.

On the 2d of February a severe conflict took place on the Schlei, near Missunde. The object of the Prussians was to force a passage across the river at this place, thus cutting off the Danes from the sea, and turning their flank, while the Austrians attacked them on the right and centre. A body of Prussian troops was conveyed in fishing boats during a snow-storm, while it was still dark, across the Schlei, near Kappeln, on the morning of the 6th of February. Another body crossed by a pontoon bridge, and the two uniting were about to advance to take the Dannewerke, the great

Danish fortification on the north side of the Eider, in the rear, when it was discovered that the Danes had evacuated the lines during the preceding night without striking a blow, abandoning the whole of the heavy artillery with which the forts were armed. Unable to make head against the superior forces of the Germans, they had begun to retreat northward, Schleswig was evacuated, and the Austrians, rapidly advancing, occupied Flensburg after only a slight resistance. The Prussians left Flensburg on their left, and pushed on towards Düppel, a strongly fortified position, opposite to the island of Alsen, upon which the Danes had fallen back.

The popular feeling at Copenhagen was violent against the abandonment of the Dannewerke, and General de Meza was recalled and deprived of his post of Commander-in-chief, which was conferred upon General de Lüttichan. The Danish army, however, was not to blame, for with its inadequate force it was impossible to hold the Dannewerke after the Prussians had crossed the Schlei.

The Danish army, with the exception of the cavalry, which had retired farther north, was now concentrated at Fredericia, a fortress on the confines of Schleswig and Jutland, at Düppel opposite to Alsen, and in the little island of Alsen itself. The siege of Düppel was left entirely to the Prussians, who employed against it all the resources of modern artillery, in which arm Prussia particularly excels. The Danes held out bravely at Düppel until the middle of April, but line after line of their defences was gradually taken, and on the 18th of that month the last remaining bastions were stormed, and the Prussians became masters of the place. The main body of the Danish army, or rather garrison, retired into Jutland, leaving Alsen, however, in the occupation of Danish troops, and the Prussians made no attempt to cross the narrow strait which divides it from the main land. Fredericia, which was to have been besieged by the Austrians, was still untouched and as it was strongly fortified, it

was supposed that a last vigorous stand would have been made there by the Danes. But they quietly abandoned it almost immediately after the capture of Düppel, and the troops that had held it crossed over into the island of Füssen. The Prussian troops entered Jutland after the fall of Düppel, and their conduct there was most arbitrary and oppressive. They imposed forced contributions upon the province entirely out of proportion to the number of the population. Eiborg, a town of less than 5000 inhabitants, was ordered to deliver immediately 19,600 lbs. of bread, 30,000 lbs. of oats, 380 lbs. of roasted coffee, 2,700 lbs. of rice, 380 bottles of wine, 1200 bottles of brandy, 3000 cigars, 1300 lbs. of tobacco, 25,000 lbs. of hay, and 11,000 lbs. of straw, and a similar amount for each succeeding day.

In the month of May a gleam of success shone upon the Danish flag in a naval fight off the island of Heligoland, between two Danish frigates and a corvette, and an Austrian squadron of two frigates and three gunboats. The fight was gallantly maintained on both sides for about an hour and a half, when the Austrian flag-ship took fire, and burnt so rapidly that she could not continue the engagement. A signal, therefore, was given to retreat, and the Austrian vessels retired within the shelter of Heligoland, while the victorious Danes sailed towards the north.

In the meantime active exertions were made by the English government to put a stop to the farther prosecution of the war by a Conference of the Great Powers, at which might be settled the terms of a durable peace. After some difficulty about the basis of deliberations, the Federal Diet agreed to send a representative, and the conference met in London on the 25th of April. The first care of Great Britain was to procure a suspension of hostilities, and a truce was agreed upon to continue till the 12th of June, which period was afterwards prolonged till the 26th. Various proposals were brought forward by both parties, none of which were

of a nature to be acceptable to the other powers taking part in the Congress, and the negotiations were broken off, and hostilities resumed at the end of June.

On the 29th of that month the Prussians crossed over to Alsen, soon after midnight, in considerable force, and landed without much opposition. The Danish troops in the island soon afterward came up, but after a sharp engagement they were compelled to retreat with a loss in killed and wounded of between 2500 and 3000 men. An iron-clad Danish man-of-war, named the *Rolf-Krake*, lying in Augustenburg Bay, attempted to prevent the crossing of the enemy, but she was met by such a concentrated fire from the Prussian batteries, that she was compelled to retire and seek shelter behind an intervening promontory.

The capture of Alsen and abandonment of Fredericia decided the issue of the struggle; and Denmark, isolated as she was in the unequal war, found herself compelled to yield and consent to peace. Negotiations accordingly took place at Vienna, between the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia and Denmark, for the purpose of settling the preliminaries between those powers; and at last, on the 1st of August, they were signed by the respective parties, and were in substance as follows:

1. The king of Denmark renounces all his rights over Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenberg in favor of the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria.
2. The cession of the duchy of Schleswig includes all the islands belonging to that duchy. To simplify the boundary question, the king of Denmark cedes that portion of Jutland situated to the south of the southern frontier line of the district of Ribe, and receives in return an equivalent portion of Schleswig.
3. The debts contracted upon special accounts, whether of the kingdom of Denmark, or of the duchies separately, will remain at the charge of each of these countries. With some exceptions the debts contracted by the Danish monarchy shall be divided between the kingdom and

the ceded duchies, in proportion to their population.

A treaty of peace, in accordance with these provisions, was signed on the 1st of October, at Vienna. It need hardly be said that such a treaty, so advantageous to Prussia, was displeasing to the other powers of Europe. Lord John Russell, in reply to a note from Herr von Bismarck, took occasion to express himself very strongly against the course of the German Confederation. A protest of this kind, however, came with the worst grace from England, who with the power to interfere, had looked on quietly at the dismemberment of the Danish monarchy, without offering her any assistance during the war, except by diplomatic negotiations, which, unless backed up by force, are of little avail. The result was no more gratifying to the other German powers, who had spent their money on the expedition, and received none of the benefits. At the bidding of Prussia, Hanover and Saxony had to withdraw their commissioners from the duchies. The power of the German Bund was now rapidly drawing to a close, the Prussian ministry did not hesitate to express its contempt for their remonstrances, and it became evident that the control of Central Europe lay entirely between Austria and Prussia. At the Gastein Convention, where Austria and Prussia openly divided the spoils of the Schleswig-Holstein war, Prussia took Schleswig, and Holstein was given to Austria. Prussia also received possession of Lauenberg, for which she gave the sum of 2,500,000 Danish dollars to the Austrian government. The port of Reil was to be made a *dépôt* for a combined German navy.

The rivalry between the two great powers of Austria and Prussia was not long in leading to more momentous results. Each of them aspired to be the leader of Germany, and found herself checked and thwarted by the other. Prussia soon found a pretext for interference. Italy had made no secret of her wish to come to hostilities with Austria, and was engaged in active warlike prepara-

tion for a contest that she was resolved to precipitate. This justified Austria in increasing her armaments, at which, however, Prussia chose to take offense, assuming that it was intended as a menace against herself. The ambition of Count Bismarck, who now controlled the Prussian government was the real motive which now guided the course of Prussia. The Prussian government sent a circular to all the minor German States on the 24th of March, 1866, requiring them to decide which part they would take, whether that of Austria or Prussia, in the event of a war. Some of them replied by referring to the Federal Act, by which war between the members of the Bund was prohibited, but the Federal Constitution had been already overruled, and in the end out of the thirty-three States all the northern ones made common cause with Prussia, while seventeen of the others left the confederation.

In March, Italy entered into a secret alliance with Prussia, by which in return for her co-operation in the war, she was promised the mainland of Venetia. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, a long correspondence took place between the governments of Austria and Prussia, in which each sought to lay the blame of making threatening preparations upon the other, and each called upon the other to disarm. The other great powers of Europe endeavored to avert the war by inviting the hostile nations to a Conference, but as neither party would abandon the position it had assumed, the attempt was given up. In April the Prussian government had made a peremptory demand upon the Saxon government to explain the increase of the Saxon army, and now in June, as a preliminary to the invasion of Prussia, a Prussian army was sent to occupy Saxony. The rest of the Prussian force was divided into two parts, one of which, under the Crown Prince, operated in Silesia, and the third, under General Herwarth, called the Army of the Elbe, was held in readiness to march upon the right flank of the first army. The plan of the Prussian campaign was ar-

ranged by General Moltke, in Berlin, and its success was mainly due to his able combinations, but the Prussians were also in a great degree indebted to their needle-gun, which almost paralyzed the Austrians by the terrible rapidity of its fire.

On the 23d of June, the first Prussian army crossed the Bohemian frontier. After a few cavalry skirmishes, it reached the town of Reichenberg, and on the 26th of June an artillery engagement took place between its advanced lines and an Austrian battery, which resulted in the Austrians falling back to Münchengratz. Here a severe struggle took place on the 28th, and the Austrians, supported by the Saxons, after an obstinate resistance, were driven back in the direction of Gitschin, and were followed by the Prussians, who took up their position on the high ground in front of the town. In the meantime the second Prussian army, under the Crown Prince, had to march through the long and narrow passes of the Sudetan mountains leading from Silesia into Bohemia. After making various movements to deceive the Austrians, who were led to expect the invaders to appear near Neisse, by way of Weidenau, the mass of the army suddenly turned to the right, and passed the border at Reinerz and Landshut without resistance, and entered Bohemia at Trautenau. Soon after reaching the defile of Nachod the advance of the Prussians was stopped by a strong force of Austrians, with a division of heavy cavalry, and at first they were obliged to retreat. But at the critical moment the Crown Prince came up, and a hotly-contested battle was fought. The Austrians were beaten, and lost upwards of 4000 men.

On the same day a sanguinary action was fought between the first corps d'armée of the Crown Prince and the Austrian field-marshal Gablenz, at Trautenau, in which the Austrians were again defeated. The fighting continued till the 29th, when the victorious Prussians had pushed forward as far as Skalitz, and had taken possession of the town. The loss of Skalitz was attributed



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by the Austrians to the rashness of the Archduke Leopold, who disobeyed the orders of his Commander-in-chief, General Benedek, in attacking the Prussians without the support of another corps d'armée. On the 1st of July, the Crown Prince issued a general order from Prausnitz, recapitulating the glorious event of this short campaign.

In the meantime a third Prussian army under General Herwarth crossed the frontier of Saxony and Bohemia, on the right flank of Prince Frederick Charles, and came into collision with the enemy on the 27th of June, at a place called Hunerwasser, west of Turnau. The weak opposing force was driven back, and next day a junction was effected with Prince Charles.

We have mentioned that after the battle of Münchengrätz, Prince Frederick Charles had pushed back the Austrian and Saxon troops towards Gitschin, where they took up a strong position in front of the town. Next day General Benedek ordered Count Clam Gallas to hold Gitschin, while he himself took up a position at Dubenitz, in order to meet the army of the Crown Prince as it debouched from the passage of the Elbe. Count Clam Gallas attacked the Prussians, it is said, contrary to orders; he was driven from his position, and the victorious Prussians pursued the Austrians through the town of Gitschin. They were followed next day by the Prussian cavalry as far as the line of the little river Bistritz. The loss of Gitschin exposed the left flank of General Benedek at Dubenec, and he therefore ordered his forces to fall back in the direction of Königgrätz. General Benedek was now in a position of extreme danger, and he seems to have fully realized the peril of his situation, and to have distrusted the morale of his troops, for he telegraphed to Vienna, before the battle that ensued, the gloomy dispatch, "Sire, you must make peace."

On the 2d of July, the day before the eventful battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, as it is more generally called, the Austrian army was drawn up on a range of low hills

between Smiritz and Nechanitz, and extended over a length of nine miles, the centre occupying a hill on which was the village of Klum, distinguished by a clump of trees: this was the key of the position. The disposition of the Prussian army was as follows: The first army, under Prince Frederick Charles, formed the centre; the Elbe army, under General Herwarth, the right; and the second army, under the Crown Prince, the left wing. In front of the first army marched the 7th division through Gortz, Czerkwitz and Sadowa, to effect a junction with the right wing of the Crown Prince. The 8th division marched upon Milowitz, being destined to advance upon Königgrätz. The second army corps was to operate against Donalitz south of Sadowa. The third army corps formed the reserve of the centre. The Elbe army pushed forward from Smidar towards Nechanitz. The army of the Crown Prince was directed to march from Königinnhoff in a straight line upon Königgrätz.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 3rd of July, the Prussian cavalry and horse-artillery began to advance down the sloping ground towards the little river Bistritz, and the Austrian guns opened upon them from a battery near the village of Sadowa, where the main road crosses the Bistritz. The Prussian artillery of the 7th division bombarded the village of Benatek on the Austrian right, and in the centre of both lines a tremendous cannonade was kept up, in which neither party appeared to have the advantage. The military correspondent of the *London Times*, who was present with the Prussians, says: "While this cannonade had been going on, some of the infantry had been moved down towards the river, where they took shelter from the fire under a convenient undulation of ground. The 8th division came down on the left-hand side of the causeway, and under the cover of the rising of the ground, formed its columns for the attack on the village of Sadowa; while the 3rd and 4th divisions, on the right-hand side of the road, prepared to storm

Dohilnitz and Mokrowens. But a little before their preparations were complete, the village of Benatek, on the Austrians' right, caught fire, and the 7th division made a dash to secure it; but the Austrians were not driven out by the flames, and here, for the first time in the battle, there was hand-to-hand fighting. The 27th regiment led the attack, and rushed into the orchards of the village; the burning houses separated the combatants; they poured volley after volley at each other through the flames; but the Prussians found means to get round the burning houses, and taking the defenders in reverse, forced them to retire with the loss of many prisoners.

"It was ten o'clock when Prince Charles ordered the attack on Sadowa, Dohilnitz and Mokrowens. The column advanced covered by skirmishers, and reached the river bank without much loss; but from there they had to fight every inch of the way. The Austrian infantry held the bridges and villages in force, and fired fast upon them as they approached. The Prussians could advance but slowly along the narrow ways and against the defences of the houses, and the volleys sweeping through the ranks seemed to tear the soldiers down. The Prussians fired much more quickly than their opponents, but they could not see to take their aim; the dense cloud of smoke shrouded the villages. Sheltered by this, the Austrian Jägers fired blindly, where they could tell by hearing that the attacking columns were, and the shots told tremendously on the Prussians in their close formations; but the latter improved their positions, although slowly, and by dint of sheer courage and perseverance, for they lost men at every yard of their advance, and in some places almost paved the way with wounded. Then, to help the infantry, the Prussian artillery turned its fire, regardless of the enemy's batteries, on the villages, and made tremendous havoc among the houses.

"In and around the villages the fighting continued for nearly an hour; then the Aus-

trian infantry, who had been there, driven out by a rush of the Prussians, retired, but only a little way up the slope, into a line with their batteries. The wood above Sadowa was strongly held, and that between Sadowa and Benatek, teeming with riflemen, stood to bar the way of the 7th division. But General Fransky, who commands this division, was not to be easily stopped, and he sent his infantry at the wood, and hurled his artillery on the Austrian batteries. The 7th division began firing into the trees, but found they could not make any impression, for the defenders were concealed, and musketry fire was useless against them. Then Fransky let them go, and they dashed in with the bayonet. The Austrians would not retire, but waited for the struggle; and in the wood above Benatek was fought out one of the fiercest combats that the war has seen. The 29th Prussian regiment went in nearly 3000 strong, with ninety officers, and came out on the farther side with only two officers and between 300 and 400 men standing; all the rest were killed or wounded. The wood was carried; the Austrian line was now driven in on both flanks, and its commander formed a new line of battle a little higher up the hill, round Lipa, still holding the wood which lies above Sadowa.

General Herwarth, who commanded the Prussian army of the Elbe on the extreme left of the Austrians, had, in the meantime, been engaged with the Saxon troops at Nechanitz, a village about seven miles lower down the Bistritz than Sadowa. The Saxons fought well, and were, with difficulty, slowly driven back towards Lipa, where the main of the Austrian army was concentrated. The Austrians, after being driven out of the wood above Sadowa, formed their batteries outside the trees, and played with murderous effect upon the Prussians entangled in the wood."

It was now about one o'clock. The whole line of the Prussians could gain no more ground, and was obliged to fight hard to maintain the position it had won. At

one time it seemed as if it would be lost, for guns had been dismounted by the Austrian fire, and the needle-gun had no chance in the wooded ground. Herwarth, too, seemed checked on the right. The first army was certainly stopped in its advance, if not actually driven back. It was a critical moment, and the Prussian generals looked uneasily for tidings of the Crown Prince, who, they knew, was to advance upon the Austrian right. The position of the battle was like that at Waterloo, when Wellington, all but defeated, prayed for the arrival of Blücher. "The Austrian centre was in front of the villages of Klum and Lipa. The village of Klum had been for some time in flames, and desperate efforts had been made by the Prussian centre to carry it, when the Austrians suddenly found themselves exposed to a cross fire on their right. This was from the advance of the Crown Prince. The gunners fall at their guns, and the horses are disabled; the firing increases, and the Prussians press on over the plateau. Two Austrian columns are led against the village, but they cannot stand the fire; and, after three attempts to carry it, retreat, leaving the hill-side covered with the fallen. It is a terrible moment. The Prussians see their advantage; they here enter into the very centre of the position. In vain the Austrian staff-officers fly to the reserves, and hasten to call back some of the artillery from the front. The dark-blue regiments multiply on all sides, and from their edges roll perpetually sparkling musketry. Their guns hurry up, and from the slope take both the Austrians on the extreme right and the reserves in flank. They spread away to the woods near the Prague road and fire into the rear of the Austrian gunners. . . . The lines of dark blue, which came in sight from the right, seemed from the vales below as if the earth yielded them. They filled the whole background, of which Klum was the centre. They pressed down on the left of the Prague road. In square, in column, deployed, or wheeling hither and thither—everywhere

pouring in showers of deadly precision—penetrating the whole line of the Austrians. Still they could not force their stubborn enemy to fly. Chesta and Visa were now burning, so that from right to left the flames of the villages, and the flashes of guns and musketry, contended with the sun, that pierced the clouds, for the honor of illuminating the seas of steel and the fields of carnage. It was three o'clock. The efforts of the Austrians to occupy Klum and free their centre had failed; their right was driven down in a helpless mass towards Königgrätz, quivering and palpitating as shot and shell tore through it. "*Alles ist verloren!*" All is lost! Artillery still thundered; the Austrian cavalry still hung like white thunder-clouds on the flanks, and threatened the front of the Prussians, keeping them in square and solid columns. But already the trains were steaming away from Königgrätz, placing the Elbe and Alder between them and the enemy."

Almost immediately after this crushing defeat, General Von Gablenz was sent from the Austrian lines to the Prussian headquarters to propose an armistice; but he met with a peremptory refusal, and the whole of the Prussian forces continued to advance, the army of Prince Frederick Charles taking the road to Brünn, the capital of Moravia, the army of the Crown Prince that to Olmütz, and the army of the Elbe the direction of Iglau. General Benedek, on the side of the Austrians, was superseded by the Archduke Albert.

The progress of the war was now suddenly stopped. The Emperor of Austria, seeing himself overmatched by the Prussians in the north, while an immense portion of his army was engaged in Italy, determined to surrender Venetia to France, and thus liberate the troops which were then holding it, and bring them up against the advancing Prussians. The French emperor accepted the gift, and immediately telegraphed to the King of Prussia, offering his mediation and proposing an armistice. An armistice was agreed

upon, to last for five days from the 22d of July. Unfortunately, on this very day, owing to some misapprehension, another engagement took place at Blumenau, in which the Austrians came out at a disadvantage; in fact, they would have suffered a very severe defeat, if the battle had not been opportunely stopped by a flag of truce. This was the last battle in the war. A treaty of peace between Austria and Prussia was signed on the 23d of August, at Prague, after the preliminaries had been settled at Nikolsburg. The most important of the articles were, in substance, that the Emperor of Austria acquiesced in the union of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom with the kingdom of Italy, to which it had been ceded by the Emperor Napoleon. The Emperor of Austria recognizes the dissolution of the late German Bund, and consents to a new formation of Germany, in which Austria shall have no part. He promises to recognize the closer Federal relations which the King of Prussia is about to establish north of the Main, and agrees that the German states south of this line shall form a union, which is to maintain an international independent existence. The Emperor of Austria cedes to Prussia all his rights to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, with the understanding that the people of the northern district of Schleswig, if, by free vote, they express a wish to be united to Denmark, shall be permitted to join that kingdom. The King of Prussia declares himself willing to allow the kingdom of Saxony to remain within its present limits, and the Emperor of Austria agrees to recognize the changes about to be made in North Germany. Austria pays the sum of 40,000,000 Prussian dollars; however, owing to deductions from the claims on Schleswig-Holstein, etc., only 20,000 will remain to be paid. All treaties made before the war, except those invalidated by the dissolution of the Bund, are revived in full force.

In following the course of the Austro-Prussian campaign, we have passed over the military movements of the other German

states, the majority of which took part with Austria. At the opening of the war the Hanoverian army was on a peace footing, but great exertions were made to strengthen it, and it was ordered to concentrate itself at Gottingen. On the 27th of June, they encountered the Prussians near Merxleben, and succeeded in repelling them, but they were too weak to follow up their victory. Next day the Prussians, in far superior numbers, surrounded the Hanoverians near Langensalza, and compelled them to capitulate. They surrendered with the honors of war, on condition of not serving against Prussia during the rest of the campaign. The Bavarian army was defeated in two of its divisions by the Prussians, near Fulda and Meiningen. The Prussians entered the Bavarian territory and were again successful at Bruckenaue and Kissingen. They then occupied Darmstadt and Frankfurt, and commenced the siege of the strong Federal fortress of Mayence. Farther operations were stopped by the end of the war.

The new organization of Germany was immediately begun. In August, Count Bismarck brought forward a bill for the incorporation of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Nassau and Frankfurt, with the Prussian dominions. The bill was passed with the amendment that the Prussian Constitution should become law in those countries. The protection of these states was set forth as the justification of this arbitrary measure. Their people were obliged to become citizens of a great German state, or to be at the mercy of foreign powers.

The long struggle between the king and parliament was closed at a later period, by a bill of indemnity, legalizing the taxes which had been collected by the king without the consent of the chambers.

At the invitation of Prussia, the North German states, with two exceptions, concluded an alliance with her on the basis of the German Constitution, with the obligation of military support. They all had the right of sending members to the North German Parliament. Every citizen who

had completed his twenty-fifth year was to be an elector.

No change or movement of interest has

occurred in Prussia since the nation was established at the close of the German war, by the arrangements we have just described.

SAXONY.

THE nucleus of the present kingdom of Saxony was formed by the erection in 926, by Henry the Fowler, or the margrave of Meissen, comprising the country between the Elbe, the Saale and the Erzgebirge as a bulwark against the Slavonian tribes beyond. In 1130, the office of margrave became hereditary in the family of Wettin, who added to the territory of Meissen their own possessions in Thuringia, Saxony, Suabia, &c.

Meanwhile the Duchy of Saxony, afterwards raised to an electorate, passed into the Aseanian family, the last elector of which, Albert III., died in 1422. As he left no issue, numerous claimants appeared for his land and dignity; but the Emperor Sigismund conferred them, in 1423, on Frederick the Quarrelsome, Margrave of Meissen, on account of the services he had rendered to the empire in the war against the Hussites.

The territory of the house of Wettin had by this time extended far beyond its original limits, and stretched from the Werra to the Oder, and from the Erzgebirge to the Harz Mountains. The accession of Frederick to Saxony gave him little additional territory, but conferred much importance, by raising him to the second place among the temporal electors. Thus the name of the purest in blood of all the German tribes, passed over to a different people; and that of Saxony came to designate what had been formerly known as the margravate of Meissen. The country had been very much improved by the discovery of its great mineral wealth, which led to the clearing of the immense forests; but in the beginning of the fifteenth

century great devastations were caused by the incursions of the Hussite troops from Bohemia. Under the wise and energetic rule of Frederick the Quarrelsome, the University of Leipzig, an offshoot from that of Prague, was founded in 1409. Frederick was succeeded in 1428, by his son of the same name, surnamed the Gentle, who died in 1464, leaving two sons, Ernest and Albert, from whom the Ernestine and Albertine families of Saxony are descended. For some time they reigned conjointly; but in 1485, proceeded to a division of the country. Ernest, the elder of the two, obtained, along with the electorate and the territory attached to that office, the greater part of Thuringia, the Voigtland and the district of Coburg; and Albert, the ancient Meissen, and the rest of Thuringia.

The successors of Ernest in the electorate did good service to the cause of truth and freedom in supporting the rise of the Reformation. Frederick III. (1486-1525), founded the University of Wittenberg, and afforded his patronage to Luther, who was made professor there. John the Constant (1525-32) stood at the head of the protesting princes at the Diet of Spires in 1529; and John Frederick the Magnanimous (1532-47), took the lead against Charles V. in the Schmalkaldic war; and was defeated and taken prisoner in the battle of Mülberg in 1547. For this act of rebellion he was deprived by the emperor of his electoral dignity and lands; and these were conferred on his cousin Maurice, duke of Saxony.

While the Ernestine branch of the family were thus contending in favor of liberty and

protestantism, Albert and his immediate successor, who possessed the present kingdom of Saxony, were exerting their power on the opposite side. The former, in 1488, led an army to the Netherlands, and delivered from captivity Maximilian, king of the Romans, for which service he was appointed, in 1495, hereditary vicegerent in Friesland, and general of the imperial army. He died, however, in 1500, in a vain attempt to subdue the Frisians; and his son George, who succeeded to the duchy, and in 1504, obtained Friesland from his brother Henry, being equally unsuccessful in his efforts, gave up his province in 1515 to the Archduke of Austria for 20,000 gulden, about (£200,000). George strongly opposed the progress of the Reformation, and attempted to exclude, by will, any Protestant prince from the succession; but, dying in 1539, leaving his will unsigned, he was succeeded by his brother Henry, a Lutheran, who introduced the reformed religion into the country. His son Maurice, who became duke in 1541, and elector in 1548, though he adhered to Charles V. in the Schmalkaldic war, afterwards opposed and put an end to the despotic designs of that emperor; and by the treaty of Passau, in 1551, obtained for the Protestants the free exercise of their religion. Maurice's brother and successor, August (1553-86), assisted in bringing about the religious peace of Augsburg in 1555, by which the Protestants obtained equal rights with the Roman Catholics, and also did much for the improvement of the laws and constitution of Saxony. Various additional districts were added to the electorate in this reign.

The reigns of Christian I. (1586-91), and Christian II. (1591-1611), were distinguished only for religious disputes; but that of John George I., the brother and successor of the latter, includes the whole period of the Thirty Years' War, in which he played no very illustrious part. He refused the Bohemian crown, which was offered to him, and not only advised the elector of the Palatinate to do the same, but refused to afford him

any assistance. He remained on the emperor's side till the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus; and after his death made terms with the emperor at Prague, in 1635, by which he obtained part of the see of Magdeburg, and the two Lusatian margravates. His eldest son, John George II., succeeded in 1656; while the younger sons, August, Christian and Maurice founded the lines of Wossenfels, Merseburg and Zeitz, which became extinct in 1746, 1738 and 1718, respectively. John George III. (1680-91), the son and successor of the last elector, distinguished himself by the assistance he gave to the emperor against the Turks in Hungary, and against France on the Rhine.

After the short reign of John George IV., Frederick August I., surnamed the Strong, succeeded in 1694; and, in order to obtain the elective crown of Poland, went over, in 1697, to the Roman Catholic Church. By this increase of power and territory, however, he involved himself in a war with the greatest soldier of the age, Charles XII. of Sweden, in which Saxony was invaded by the Swede, and suffered the loss of an immense amount of money and blood. Frederick August II., who succeeded his father in 1733, was also elected King of Poland. During this reign, as in the preceding, the wars and extravagance of the court reduced Saxony to the lowest degree of misery. In the war of the Austrian succession, Frederick August took part with France and Prussia against Austria; but in the Seven Years' War he placed himself on the imperial side. In the latter contest Saxony was devastated alike by friend and foe, and was the scene of many of the victories of Frederick the Great.

The wretched state of the country began to be ameliorated in the long reign of Frederick August III., who obtained the electorate in 1763, at the age of thirteen, and ruled at first under the guardianship of his uncle Xaver. A system of strict economy, justice and mildness was introduced; the people were relieved from many burdensome imposts; the use of torture was abolished;

and much was done for the material improvement of the country. A rising of the peasantry, which took place in 1790, was put down without loss of blood, and the grievances complained of were removed. In the wars which followed the French Revolution, Saxony took part with Prussia at first; but after the power of that kingdom was overthrown by the decisive battle of Jena in 1806, Frederick August made peace with Napoleon, and was made, with the title of king, a member of the Rhenish confederacy. By the peace of Tilsit in the following year he obtained several accessions of territory, and the sovereignty over the newly erected grand-duchy of Warsaw. During this time of his prosperity the monarch acted a very upright and honorable part, in not taking advantage of his power to enrich himself at the expense of the surrounding small states, as he might easily have done. But a great reverse of fortune befell him after the fall of Napoleon. Saxony was treated as a conquered country; the king was kept in confinement for some time; and a partition of the kingdom was effected by the Congress of Vienna, whereby, besides the loss of the duchy of Warsaw, an area of 7911 square miles, with a population of 845,218, was ceded to Prussia, to make up to that kingdom for its part of Poland, which Russia obtained.

Notwithstanding this spoliation of more than half its territory, Saxony afterwards rose to a more flourishing and prosperous condition than ever. Frederick August I. (as king) died in 1827, having deservedly obtained the surname of the Just; and was succeeded by his brother Anthony, who carried on the various measures of reform which his predecessor had begun in the later years of his reign. Still the people suffered under many grievances, and had as yet very little

share in the legislative power. The outbreaks which took place in 1830 in Dresden and Leipzig, did not indeed cause any serious disturbance; but they led to the introduction of a new constitution in the following year. On the death of the king in 1836, his nephew, Frederick August II., who had been regent since 1830, ascended the throne.

The constitutional system now established did not succeed altogether in the best possible way. A powerful party was formed in opposition to the government; and in the year 1843 violent contests began, in which the opposition gradually gained the upper hand. The chief points in dispute were the freedom of the press and the publicity of judicial proceedings. The government followed the fatal policy of delaying to yield as long as possible, so that the concessions which would in 1843 have been received with universal joy, were granted in 1846 without any effect. An attack was made in Leipzig in 1845 upon Prince John, the heir-apparent; and having been put down by the military, led to a still more violent opposition on the part of the popular party. The ministry, however, still held their ground during the stormy session of 1845-6; but were at last compelled to resign in March, 1848, when a liberal cabinet was formed. Various changes were introduced in the following year, especially with regard to the mode of electing the legislature, but these were not of long continuance; and the diet of 1852, elected after the old manner, restored the constitution almost entirely as it was before 1848. In 1854, the king was killed by an accident while travelling in the Tyrol, and was succeeded by his brother John.

The part which Saxony took in the German War of 1865, has been described under PRUSSIA.

HANOVER.

THE obscurity in which antiquity has involved the early history of nations, can only be in a slight degree cleared up by tracing the origin of the families that maintained the continued rule over them. The ruling family of Hanover has been traced, by the combined efforts and researches of Muratori and Leibnitz, to an Italian origin, in the dark ages—that is, to the princely house of Este; and by Gibbon, from that house up to the descendants of Charlemagne. A Marquis of Este, in the eleventh century, married Cuniza or Cunegonda, an heiress of princely family in Bavaria, whose son received the name of Guelph, derived from his maternal ancestors, and inherited their dominions, including the dukedom of Bavaria. The grandson of this Guelph, named Henry the Black, and his son named Henry the Proud, acquired by marriage new and extensive dominions on the banks of the Elbe and Weser; and Henry the Lion, the most powerful prince of his age, was the first of the race who assumed the title of Duke of Brunswick. Under this Henry, who distinguished himself as a great warrior, an uncle wrested from him the southern portion of his territory in Bavaria and Suabia, and left him, at the conclusion of most bitter hostility, in the possession of the northern portion of it. He made the city of Brunswick the capital of his dominions, and, being in possession of the rich silver mines of the Hartz, was enabled to extend his power over the tribes of Northern Germany, inhabiting Holstein, Mecklenburg and nearly the whole coast of the Baltic Sea.

Henry the Lion was twice married. By his first wife he left no family; and, although by his second wife, who was Maud, the daughter of Henry II. of England, he had several sons, none of them left any issue except William, and under Otho. the only son

of William, took place the partition of the house—Brunswick and Lüneburg being divided into two dukedoms. The latter branch received the Hanoverian portion as a fief from William Sigefred, bishop of Hildesheim. After the death of Otho, and of his two sons Otho and William, who successively followed, the male line became extinct in 1369. Otho, elector of Saxony, who had married a daughter of William, was, by the influence of the emperor of Germany, Charles IV., invested with the government. He died without issue, having by his testament bequeathed the dukedom to his uncle Wenceslaus, elector of Saxony—a bequest which was contested by Torquatus Magnus, duke of Saxony, but at length was terminated in a compromise, by which Bernard, the eldest son of Torquatus, obtained the dominion, and reigned until 1434. After several successions, the power became vested in Ernest of Zell, who first introduced the Lutheran religion into his states, and died in the year 1546. The succession since has been—William, who died in 1592; Ernest, in 1611; Christian, in 1633; August, in 1636; Friedrich, 1648; Ernest Augustus, bishop of Osnaburg, who was made an elector of the German empire in 1692, and died in 1698; George Louis, who, after the death of his uncle George William, inherited the dukedom of Zell in 1705, and succeeded to the crown of Great Britain by the title of George I. in 1714. He died in 1727, since which period the succession continued the same as in that kingdom, until the death of William IV. in the year 1837, when, by the salique law, the crown descended to the Duke of Cumberland.

The accession of the electors of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain, though it led ultimately to a great extension of territory, did, on the other hand, subject the electorate

to sufferings and oppression during the wars between Great Britain and France. At the commencement of the Seven Years' War, a French army invaded it; and the forces under the Duke of Cumberland, being unequal to its defence, were compelled, by the convention of Kloster-Severn, to abandon the country to the invaders. By the peace of 1763, it was again restored to its ancient sovereign. At the renewal of hostilities after the treaty of Amiens, Hanover was once more seized upon by the French, and by them delivered over to the King of Prussia, who ruled it till after his defeat at Jena. It was then incorporated as part of the kingdom of Westphalia, erected in favor of Je-

rome Bonaparte. This rule was terminated by the battle of Leipsic, by which Hanover, with the rest of Germany, was delivered from French domination, and returned to its ancient sovereigns, with the addition of the provinces of Hildesheim, Osnaburg, East Friesland, Goslar, and some other territories. On the other hand, Hanover gave up the ancient duchy of Lauenburg, which was transferred to Denmark, and some portions or bailiwicks—a part to Prussia, and a part to the Duke of Oldenburg.

In 1866 Hanover was annexed to Prussia, in consequence of the changes made in Germany upon the termination of the Austro-Prussian war.

BAVARIA.

AFTER the death of Charlemagne, Bavaria was governed by one of his grandsons, whose successors bore the title of Margrave, or Lord of the Marches. In the year 920, the ruling margrave was raised to the rank of duke, which continued the title of his successors for no less than seven centuries. During this long period Bavaria was connected with Germany, nationally by language, and politically as a frontier province, but in civilization was almost as backward as Austria, and greatly behind Saxony, Franconia and the banks of the Rhine. At last, in 1620, a formidable insurrection taking place in Bohemia against Austria, the reigning Duke of Bavaria sided with the latter, and having rendered great service to her cause, received an important accession of territory, and was appointed one of the nine electors of the empire. His successors continued faithful members of the Germanic body and allies of Austria until the ambitious projects of Louis XIV. of France led, in the year 1702, to a close connection between that monarch and the elector; the object of which was to threaten and even

attack Austria, so as to prevent her from co-operating officially with England and Holland in their great contest with France. This hostile attitude of Bavaria, joined to the insurrectionary movements in Hungary, bore so hard on the emperor as to induce the Duke of Marlborough, in the spring of 1704, to march his army above 300 miles from the banks of the Maese to those of the Danube and Iser. Bavaria was now invaded, and the elector put under the ban of the empire; but he remained firm to his alliance with Louis, and a French army under Marshal Tallard advanced from the Rhine to his relief. It was over this army, joined to a strong Bavarian force, that Marlborough and Prince Eugene obtained the signal victory of Blenheim, on the 13th of August, 1704. The result was decisive of the fate of the electorate; the French fled to the Rhine; the elector fled with them, and Bavaria was governed by commissioners appointed by the emperor. This state of things lasted ten years; the elector and his remaining military force serving in the French armies, until the peace of Utrecht, or more properly that

of Baden, in 1714, re-instated him in his dominions.

The son and successor of this elector, untaught by the disasters of his father, was induced to renew his connection with France; and, in 1740, on the death of the Emperor of Germany, he ventured to come forward as a candidate for the imperial crown. In this he succeeded so far as to be named to that high dignity by a majority of the electors, and to overrun a considerable part of the Austrian territory; but his triumph was of short duration, for the armies of Maria Theresa, aided by English subsidies, came forward in superior numbers, and not only repulsed the Bavarians, but obtained, in 1744, possession of the electorate. The elector died soon after, and his son recovered his dominions only by renouncing the ambitious pretensions of his father.

Bavaria now remained tranquil above thirty years, until 1778, when, by the death of the remaining elector, the younger line of the house of Wittelsbach, the line which had long ruled in Bavaria, became extinct. The next heir was the Elector Palatine, the representative of the elder line of the family of Wittelsbach; but Austria unexpectedly laid claim to the succession, and took military possession of part of the country. This called into the field, on the side of Bavaria, Frederick II. of Prussia, then advanced in years. The armies on each side were formidable and well commanded; they made many threatening marches and counter-marches, but happily no bloodshed took place; and at last Austria desisted from her pretensions, on obtaining from Bavaria the cession of the frontier district called the *Innviertel*, or Quarter of the Inn.

Bavaria again remained at peace for many years, until the great contest between Germany and France began in 1793, when she was obliged to furnish her contingent as a member of the empire. During three years her territory was untouched, the operations being carried on in the Netherlands and on the Rhine; but, in the summer of 1796, a

powerful French army under Moreau advancing and occupying her capital, the consequence was a separate treaty with France, and the withdrawal of her contingent from the army of the empire. The next war between France and Austria, begun in 1799, was comparatively short; but ending disastrously for the latter, the influence of France in the empire was greatly strengthened, so that, in 1805, when the Austrians, subsidized by England, once more took up arms, Bavaria was the firm ally of France, and for the first time found advantage in the connection. In the short space of three months, the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz enabled Bonaparte to prescribe the conditions of peace, and to confer on his electoral ally the title of king, along with very considerable additions of territory.

These substantial acquisitions rendered Bavaria the willing assistant of France in the invasion of Prussia in the subsequent autumn. The battle of Jena took place, and a further increase of territory to Bavaria followed at the peace of Tilsit. The consequence was, that in 1809, when the absence in Spain of a great part of the French military force encouraged Austria again to try the hazard of war, the Bavarian troops were wholly at the disposal of Bonaparte, and formed a main part of the great army with which he defeated the Austrians at Eckmühl and Wagram. The peace that ensued gave a further aggrandizement to Bavaria; but a few years more showed how dearly it was purchased, when many thousands of her best troops perished in the disastrous retreat from Russia. In the following year (1813), the allied sovereigns advanced into Saxony, and gave assurance to the King of Bavaria that, in the event of his co-operating vigorously with them against France, he should be maintained in all his late acquisitions. The king received these assurances with satisfaction, but could not in prudence join the allies for some months; at the end of which the retreat of the French from Dresden, and the probability of their falling back to the

Rhine, induced him to make an open declaration of hostility against his former allies, and to march an army to Hanau, on the Mainé, the line of their expected retreat. At Hanau, accordingly, in the latter days of October, several obstinate conflicts took place between the Bavarians and the French; and although the latter forced their way, it was with considerable loss. From that time forward Bavaria took a decided part against

Bonaparte, and was confirmed in her extended territory by the definitive treaties of 1814 and 1815. She ceded to Austria her ancient possession of the Tyrol, but received equivalents in Franconia and the vicinity of the Rhine.

In the German War of 1865, Bavaria took part with Austria, and her troops were defeated in several engagements by the Prussians.

We have now closed our account of the political history of the several divisions of the great German Confederacy. Austria is no longer a member of the Bund, and although she has always been governed by a German dynasty, the greater part of her subjects are Slavonian races, speaking foreign languages, so that she has little claim to be considered a German State. Here, therefore, before going on to the eastern nations of Europe we will conclude our notice of Germany with a slight sketch of her literature and institutions and the system of education to which their perfection is largely due, prefacing this with an account of the great discovery which forms the basis of all modern progress—the invention of printing.

Three cities contend for the honor of the discovery of typographical printing—Strasburg and Mentz. The people of Harlem maintain that their citizen, Lawrence Janson, under the name of Coster, as early as 1430, invented the art of cutting on wooden tables. But he did not stop here; and there are many of Coster's impressions, made with movable types of wood, and afterwards of lead and tin. If the invention of printing is thus due to the Dutch, (some Dutch writers indeed have disclaimed it,) the invention of the art in Mentz still ought to be considered as independent of that in Harlem; for the account that Coster was robbed of his types by his assistant John, who fled through Amsterdam and Cologne to Mentz, and there print-

ed several works in 1442, is without foundation. The people of Strasburg ascribe this invention to Guttenberg, in Strasburg. The people of Mentz, on the contrary maintain that Guttenberg invented typographical printing, not in Strasburg, but in Mentz. The truth is that Guttenberg conceived the first idea of his invention, and made a few experiments at Strasburg, but first brought it to perfection, with the aid of Peter Schoeffer, in Mentz. It is proved that Guttenberg, as early as 1436, when he was still at Strasburg, had his printing instruments, and the same year made some trials with a printing press. But dissatisfied with the slow process of printing from engraved wooden blocks, he began to consider whether he might not print with single letters, and use the same letters more than once. This led him to the invention of movable letters, which he must have used earlier than 1442, for in this year separate letters were in use. In 1445, Guttenberg returned to his native city Mentz; and with 1449 begins the period of the completion of the art of printing. Guttenberg in the course of this year connected himself with a rich citizen of Mentz, named John Fust, who carried on the business of printing in company with Peter Schoeffer of Gronsheim. Fust, soon after, entered into a copartnership with this Schoeffer, an inventive genius, who now became the true perfecter of the art of printing. Guttenberg, indeed, had invented movable letters and made them first of wood

then of lead, and last of tin. But the art of printing continued to be very difficult and expensive till the metallic letters cast by John Fust, or Peter Schoeffer, and other improvements were invented. The oldest work, of any considerable size, printed in Mentz, with cast letters, by Guttenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer, finished about 1455, is Guttenberg's Latin Bible, called also the Forty-two line Bible, because in every full column it has forty-two lines. Fust, having separated from Guttenberg, in 1456, and by means of a loan of 2,020 florins having obtained his printing press for his own use, undertook in connection with Peter Schoeffer greater typographical works, in which the art was carried to higher perfection. Fust was particularly engaged in the printing of the Latin and German Bible, by the copying of which the monks had hitherto gained considerable sums. As they could not understand this astonishing multiplication of copies, and therefore ascribed it to some inspiration of Satan, he became involved in a violent quarrel with them. He went to Paris with his Bibles for the purpose of selling them there. His being obliged to leave the city in haste on account of the persecutions of the German monks, probably gave rise to the well known tradition that the devil had carried him off. After 1462 many workmen went from Mentz, and established presses in Germany and in foreign countries, first in Italy, then in France, the king of which country, at that time, was the first that interested himself in the new art.

In respect of mental cultivation the German nation stands in a high rank; and according to Professor Berghaus it may be said without vanity, that Germany stands on the highest step of the ladder of civilization. In no country of Europe, he continues, are education and true enlightenment so generally spread over all classes of society, from the richest to the poorest; as in his fatherland. This result has been brought about only in recent times, and it is ascribed to the unceasing exertions of the state governments to free

their people from the darkness of ignorance and superstition.

For the purposes of education there are, especially in Protestant Germany, numerous schools or institutions for elementary instruction in all the towns, for both the higher and the working classes. For the higher civic professions and employments there are professional and commercial schools, seminaries for the training of schoolmasters, gymnasiums and lyceums for the higher branches of education, and for the highest of all there are twenty-three universities, to which may be added the German University of Königsberg, in East Prussia, making in all twenty-four. The institutions preparatory for the universities are the gymnasia, in which the educational course consists chiefly of classical studies, that is to say, Greek and Latin, with French, mathematics and a considerable portion of the natural sciences. The basis of their constitution lies in remote times, and there have been but few and slight alterations in their plans of study since the beginning of the present century. Owing, however, to the smallness of the emoluments, and the consequent low estimation in which the office of teacher is held, there is not a sufficient number of qualified competitors to supply the vacancies that occur. The government has been obliged in consequence to raise their emoluments, and thereby obviate this increasing evil. A more recent class of institutions are the *real-schulen* (or high town schools), in which Latin is the only ancient language taught, the other branches being modern languages, especially French and English, mathematics and natural philosophy. These schools have for a long time enjoyed much approval as preparatory institutions for many departments of civil life. Industrial schools are of still more recent origin. They have been established by government in the larger towns of every province; the one half of the expense of maintaining them being defrayed by the government, and the other half by the municipality. Their purpose is purely industrial; drawing, mechanics, math-

ematics, physics and chemistry, are the subjects taught; languages are excluded.

In the matter of education Prussia is the ruler and guide, and whatever is established or pursued in that kingdom comes sooner or later into operation in other states. Since the beginning of the present century education has occupied the attention and received a new impulse at the hands of the other governments; but it is only since 1848, that the school organization of Prussia has been transplanted into the Austrian territory, where, however, it still continues to experience the opposition of the nobles and clergy. The ignorance which formerly prevailed among the lower classes has almost entirely vanished in Northern Germany at least, and there is no class in which scholarly culture and scientific attainments may not be expected. The constant care, however, and determination of the government to make all partakers of a certain amount of education has made it seem necessary to constrain all parents by fines or other punishments to send their children to school. Peculiar attention is at present being paid to educational institutions, and the governments are seeking to reform them so as to prevent the recurrence or continuance of those evils that are believed to have flowed from them, and to have occasioned, in a great degree, if not entirely, the popular outburst in 1848.

Mental cultivation and the general diffusion of knowledge are largely promoted by means of numerous public libraries established in the capitals, the university towns and other places. The most celebrated public libraries are those of Vienna, Berlin, Göttingen, Munich, Dresden, Hamburg, Wolfenbüttel, Stuttgart, Frankfort-on-the-Maine and Weimar. Besides the public ones there are throughout Germany many private libraries of extraordinary richness in literary treasures of all kinds. There are also numerous societies and unions, among which the most distinguished are the academies of sciences at Berlin and Munich, and the society of sciences at Göttingen, which are state institu-

tions. With scientific collections of all kinds every place is richly provided, either at the public expense or by the favor of private persons. The observatories of Altona, Berlin, Breslau, Göttingen, Mannheim, Munich, Prague, Seeberg near Gotha, Vienna and Königsberg in Prussia, are distinguished for the promotion of astronomy and other branches of physical science. The taste for astronomy is very great in Germany, as is evidenced by the existence of many private observatories, among which those of Olbers at Bremen, and of Beer near Berlin, are the most celebrated. In this department Germany can boast of the names of Copernicus, Kepler, Herschel, Olbers, Bessel and many others.

The fine arts likewise are carefully fostered. There are academies at Berlin, Dusseldorf, Munich and Vienna, whose object it is to spread a taste for painting, sculpture, architecture and music, and to improve the techniques of art. The taste for art has struck deep root among all the educated Germans, particularly in the north, and is directed and represented by three schools, those of Berlin, Dusseldorf and Munich, which have produced some of the finest proofs of German genius. Besides the academies, there are numerous art-museums and collections of pictures and antiquities, particularly in Berlin, Cassel, Dresden, Munich and Vienna. In sculpture German genius has of late years greatly excelled, as in the works of Dannecker, Schwanthaler and Kiss; and architecture has received the greatest encouragement in the erection of both public and private buildings of great magnificence, of which the late king of Bavaria showed the most munificent example in the embellishment of his capital Munich, and the erection of the German Valhalla, near Ratisbon, though the attempt to adapt the Grecian temple style, without regard to climate and other circumstances, to modern buildings, intended for very different purposes, has failed as completely there as it has everywhere else.

The activity of the German mind on the wide fields of art and science has, through

the effect of general intercourse and exchange of ideas, produced a liveliness of which the Germans believe there is no parallel to be found in any other country of Europe. The German book trade, in respect of the position it has gradually acquired since the Reformation, must be considered as a prime mover in the mental culture of Germany; while, in a material point of view, it has acquired an extent and importance elsewhere unknown. Thousands of people find in it employment and maintenance, as printers, typefounders, machine-makers, paper-makers and bookbinders; and the productions of the press are spread over all Germany with the most marvellous rapidity. Leipzig is the central point of this important branch of industry. The general taste for the beautiful has had its effect on the art of printing, in requiring the use of fine, close, white paper, clear type and elegant binding, instead of the gray-brown blotting paper, and worn out and broken type, that were formerly used. The periodical press is very active; but political discussion is not free. On political subjects freedom of speech does not suit the German governments, and offences of this kind are very severely punished, as happened in 1854, with Gervinus in Baden. On religion, however, and philosophy, the utmost freedom of publication is allowed; and the effect has been to greatly modify the influence of ancestral faith and dogmatic theology on the minds of most educated people. The publication of Kalendars, which have been of late years vastly improved, is of much importance in the instruction of the people. Almost every town in Germany has its own daily newspaper, and of these five have acquired a European reputation, if not for the excellence, at least for the importance of their contents. These are the *Austrian Observer* and the *Prussian State Gazette*, the organs of their respective governments; the *Hamburg Correspondent*, and the *Augsburg and Leipzig General Gazettes*. Of the number of weekly newspapers and popular instructive publications, their name, says Dr

Berghaus, is legion. The higher branches of learning and of art are equally well attended to by their respective journalists.

No field of knowledge has been left uncultivated by the Germans; but much of the best talent of the country has been wasted in the attempted cultivation of the barrenest of all fields, that of speculative philosophy, or, if it be not a contradiction in terms to call it so, the science of the unknowable. In this science the most eminent professors have been Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, whose doctrines, promulgated during the first thirty years of the present century, almost entirely superseded those of the sober-minded Kant, and prevailed to a wide extent; for in Germany, as elsewhere, says Schlosser, whenever a new direction is taken in philosophy or theology, a new head of a sect appears, or a new school is formed, a multitude of followers at once adopt, and devote themselves to the new prophets with blind zeal and madness. The doctrines of these philosophers have, in succession, superseded each other, only to be superseded themselves in turn by some new phase of Idealism, or systematized play of words. The Hegelians have split into sects, or factions, and Kant is again in the ascendant. The Germans, however, seem to be awakening from their dreams, and to be now directing their attention more and more to the cultivation of the concrete, the positive and the practical, instead of the abstract, the speculative and the mystical, which have occupied so long the attention of their fathers. Speculative philosophy is said indeed to be almost already dead. There is not one celebrated professor to represent it in any German university. The governments dislike and discourage it; and the lectures of its remaining adherents are delivered in empty halls. Notwithstanding, however, this unfortunate predilection of the German mind for the speculative and the useless, Germany can boast of many names that have acquired pre-eminent distinction in the cultivation of physical science, and in philology, now no longer confined to Greek and Latin, but be





A. von Humboldt

come of paramount importance in enabling us to trace the affinities of nations, and the early history of the earth's inhabitants. In this latter department the names of Adelung, Klaproth, Grotefend, William von Humboldt, Bopp, Grimm, Lassen and Lepsins, have become familiar even in Britain. In the study of antiquity, the labors of Lepsius and Bunsen in deciphering the hieroglyphic inscriptions and tracing the history of Egypt have created a new branch of science. In chemistry and physics and the natural sciences, the wonderful research of the Germans has placed them at the head of modern discovery, and made the acquisition of their language indispensable to every student.

There is one name that must be distinguished from the host of patient investigators and explorers from which we have just cited a few of the leading representatives. Alexander von Humboldt, by the universality of his genius and his marvellous scope of knowledge, belongs not only to Germany but to the whole world, and above all to the people of this continent, the field of his glory, and this country which he loved so well. Of all the men of modern times, he was the most catholic in spirit; his aspirations and fame were least limited by national boundaries. Europe, Asia and America were equally his by visit and discovery. He wrote scientific treatises in German, French and Spanish. In the words of Dr. Francis Lieber at the unveiling of the bust of Humboldt in the Central Park in New York, "Humboldt is one of the magnates of the history of our race; and as this race spreads farther and farther over the globe, so will he be a magnate in the truly universal history of our kind—in the history of progress, which, like the rays of the sun, spreads as it rises and advances. He is not one of those men the rise of whose name keeps pace only with the sweeping harm they inflict, because their own name is their one object. Humboldt was a fortunate man; he was great, he was kind, liberal in every way, laborious, of vivid per-

ception, a man of the highest culture and of æsthetic taste." Humboldt was born in 1769, the year which gave birth to Napoleon, Wellington, Canning, Cuvier, and so many other remarkable men. His first studies were directed to geology, which he speedily turned to account in his travels through South America and Mexico. Every step of his journey was marked by individual research. He went with his train of mules through the passes of the Andes, measuring the mountains, sounding the valleys, tracing the distribution of vegetation on slopes 20,000 feet high, examining extinct and active volcanoes, collecting and drawing animals and plants. Many of the ascensions were attended with infinite danger and difficulty. He climbed the Chimborazo to a height of 18,000 feet, at a time when no other man had ascended so far above the level of the sea, and was prevented from reaching its summit only by an impassable chasm in which he nearly lost his life. After visiting the United States he returned to Europe in 1804, after an absence of five years. It was a brilliant period in science, letters and politics in Paris. The young traveller bringing intellectual and material treasures even to men who had grown old in research was welcomed by all, and in this centre of social and intellectual life he made his home for several years. He devoted himself to the publication of his results, and secured as his collaborators in this work the ablest men of the day. While of course superintending more or less all the publications, Humboldt himself was engaged especially with those upon physical geography, meteorology and zoölogy. His investigations into the history of the discovery of America have a special interest for us. We learn from him that the name of our continent was first introduced into the learned world by Waltzeemuller, a German professor, settled at St. Didié, in Lorraine—Hylacomylus, as he called himself, at a time when scholars were wont to translate their names into the dead languages and thought it more dignified to appear under a Greek or

Latin garb. This cosmographer published the first map of the New World, with an account of the journeys of Americus Vespucci, whose name he affixed to the lands recently discovered. Humboldt shows us also that Columbus' discovery was no accident, but grew naturally out of the speculations of the time, themselves the echo of a far-off dream, which he follows back into the dimness of Grecian antiquity. We recognize again here the characteristic features of Humboldt's mind, in his constant endeavor to trace discoveries through all the stages of their progress. Although he made his headquarters in Paris, it became necessary for Humboldt, during the preparation of so many extensive works, to undertake journeys in various parts of Europe. It was during one of his first visits to Berlin, where he went to consult about the organization of the University with his brother William, then Minister of State in Prussia, that he published those fascinating *Views of Nature*, in which he has given pictures of the tropics as vivid and as exciting to the imagination as if they lived on the canvas of some great artist. The familiarity of Humboldt with the natural resources of the countries he had visited, —with their mineral products and precious metals—made his opinion valuable, not only in matters of commerce, but important to the governments of Europe; and after the colonies of South America had achieved their independence, the allied powers of Europe invited him to make a report upon the political condition of the new republics. In 1822 he attended the Congress of Verona, and visited the south of Italy. Thus his life was associated with the political growth and independence of the New World, as it was intimately allied with the literary, and scientific interests of the Old. The philosophical geography of our days is based upon Humboldt's investigations. He is, indeed, the founder of comparative geography, that all-embracing science of our globe. His correspondence with Berghaus testifies his intense interest in the progress of geographical knowledge.

The last period of his life was spent in Berlin, and while there to the end of his long and laborious career he was engaged with the publication of his *Cosmos*, and also in editing the great work, on the Kavi language, left by his brother William, who died in 1835. One of the most prominent features of Humboldt's mind, as a philosopher and student of nature, consists in the keenness with which he perceives the most remote relations of the phenomena under consideration, and the felicity with which he combines his facts so as to draw the most comprehensive pictures. This faculty is more particularly exhibited in the *Cosmos*, the crowning effort of his mature life. With a grasp transcending the most profound generalizations of the philosophers of all ages, he draws at first in broad outlines a sketch of the whole universe. In 1827, at the urgent solicitation of his brother, Humboldt transferred his residence from Paris to Berlin. With this step there opens a new phase in his life. Conducting his researches as a private individual, if he appeared before the public at all, it was only in reading his papers to learned academies. Now he began to lecture in the University. In the midst of his lectures there came to him an invitation from the Russian Government to visit the Russian provinces of Asia.

The observations made during this great journey through Siberia brought new materials to the *Cosmos*. Almost to the day of his death, in 1858, Humboldt studied, wrote and taught. The anniversary of his birth was observed in the cities of Germany and the United States. In New York a colossal bust was unveiled in the Central Park, and addresses were delivered in German and English. The occasion was celebrated in Boston by a public meeting, where Professor Agassiz read an elaborate eulogy of the great naturalist, from which we quote the following tribute to his labors. "No man impressed his century intellectually more powerfully, perhaps no man so powerfully as he. Therefore he is so dear to the Germans, with whom many nations unite to do him honor to-day.

Nor is it alone because of what he has done for science, or for any one department of research, that we feel grateful to him, but rather because of that breadth and comprehensiveness of knowledge which lifts whole communities to higher levels of culture, and impresses itself upon the unlearned as well as upon students and scholars. To what degree we Americans are indebted to him, no one knows who is not familiar with the history of learning and education in the last century. All the fundamental facts of popular education in physical science, beyond the merest elementary instruction, we owe to him. We are reaping daily in every school, throughout this broad land, where education is the heritage even of the poorest child, the intellectual harvest sown by him. See this map of the United States;—all its important features are based upon his investigations; for he first recognized the great relations of the earth's physical features, the laws of climate on which the whole system of isothermal lines is based, the relative height of mountain chains and table-lands, the distribution of vegetation on the whole earth. There is not a text-book of geography or a school atlas in the hands of our children to-day, which does not bear, however blurred and defaced, the impress of his great mind. But for him our geographies would be mere enumerations of localities and statistics. He first suggested the graphic methods of representing natural phenomena which are now universally adopted. The first geological sections, the first sections across an entire continent, the first averages of climate illustrated by lines, were his. Every school-boy is familiar with his methods now, but he does not know that Humboldt is his teacher. The fertilizing power of a great mind is wonderful; but as we travel further from the source, it is hidden from us by the very abundance and productiveness it has caused. How few of us remember that the tidal lines, the present mode of registering magnetic phenomena and the action of oceanic currents, are but the application of Humboldt's researches,

and of his graphic mode of recording them." In theology, which, as treated by the Germans, must be considered as a branch of speculative philosophy, and not the least barren portion of it, they have been pre-eminently busy, the country swarming with theologians and biblical critics and commentators, who have carried the Protestant principle of private judgment to its natural but very utmost extreme.

In the cultivation of their native tongue, the Germans long remained behind other nations. The language of books dates from the Reformation, but it has been only since the middle of the eighteenth century that it has been strenuously and systematically cultivated. This cultivation began with Gellert (1715-1759), Lessing (1729-81), Klopstock (1724-1803), and Wieland (1733-1813). Since their time the language has been cultivated to the utmost; and the rich fancy of the Germans has expressed itself in lyric poetry, ballads, idylls, fables and epics. Lessing was the founder of dramatic poetry and true representation, which had been cultivated to excess. Novels, tales and romances have given employment to thousands of persons, and pastime to millions of readers, but not always to the moral improvement of the nation. The multitude of writers in the department of belles-lettres defies enumeration.

Other German prose writers have been neither fewer nor less able than the poets and romancers, but their names have not had the good fortune to be so far renowned as those of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Richter, Tieck and others. In history and geography many excellent works have been produced. In classical and biblical literature many Germans have acquired distinguished reputation as critics and editors. Many others have exhibited the most indefatigable zeal in ransacking all the treasures of ancient and modern learning; collecting materials for new judgments on every point of history, philosophy, science and art; and throwing, perhaps, as much doubt as light on many established opinions, venerable for their antiquity.

AUSTRIA.

THE cradle of Austrian power was the fertile tract lying along the southern bank of the Danube to the eastward of the river Ens. It is said to have been overrun and partly colonized by Germans under Charlemagne; but be that as it may, after the empire of Germany was constituted in the ninth century, the district in question, afterwards called Lower Austria, was declared a military frontier for repelling the incursions of the Huns and other barbarous tribes to the eastward. It was called *Ost-reich*, the east country, from its position relatively to the rest of Germany; and its governor received from the head of the empire the title of margrave (in German *mark-graf*, or lord of the marches), which his descendants bore for centuries without anticipating the future greatness of their house. Towards the middle of the twelfth century their territory received an important accession in the province west of the Ens, which, from its vicinity to the Alps, and the greater elevation of its surface, was called Upper Austria. The governors of this augmented domain were now raised by the emperors of Germany from the humble rank of margrave to that of duke; and it was one of their number, Duke Leopold, who, towards the end of the twelfth century, ungenerously retained Richard I. in confinement on his return from the Holy Land. It was at this time also that the important province of Styria came to the dukes of Austria by bequest. Hitherto the ducal residence had been in a castle on the

high ground of Kahlenberg, near Vienna; but it was now removed to that city. In 1246, the male branch of the ducal line, originally from Brandenburg, in Franconia, became extinct, and Austria underwent a long interregnum. The reigning emperor of Germany declared both that duchy and Styria to have lapsed to the imperial crown, and appointed a lieutenant to govern them on the part of the empire. But claims to the succession were brought forward by descendants of the female branch of the Bamberg line; and after various contests, Ottocar, son of the king of Bohemia, was, in 1262, duly invested with the government of Austria and Styria. Carinthia, Istria, with part of Friuli, soon after devolved on Ottocar by succession; but he forfeited all these advantages by his imprudence in refusing to acknowledge as emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg, who had been regularly elected to that high station. Hostilities ensued; the fortune of Rudolph prevailed; and, in 1276, Ottocar was obliged to renounce his title to Austria and its appendant states. Notwithstanding this renunciation, Ottocar re-entered Austria with an army, but soon after fell in battle. The ducal throne being then vacant, Rudolph vested the succession to it in his sons; and having obtained the sanction of the electors of the empire to that important act, the reign of the Hapsburg dynasty over Austria commenced in 1282.

In the beginning of the following century the dukes of Austria lost a part of their

Swiss territory by the insurrection of the cantons. This they never recovered; but, in 1364, they acquired Tyrol; and Austria, hitherto known only as a remote province, little connected with the improved part of Germany, was soon after brought into contact with the general politics of the empire. The rank of emperor of Germany had been held successively by Saxon, Franconian, Suabian and Bohemian princes, Austria having as yet supplied only one of the number (Albert I.); but, in 1438, another Albert, duke of Austria, was raised to that dignity, and, from close connection with Bohemia and Hungary, the power of Austria became so much greater than that of any other state in the empire, that, from 1438, the imperial crown was regularly vested in the chief of the Austrian family. In the latter part of the century of which we are treating (the fifteenth), Maximilian I., an emperor of the Austrian line, made great additions to the power of his house by matrimonial connections, having himself espoused the heiress of the Netherlands, and afterwards married his son to the heiress of the crown of Spain. Of the latter marriage the issue was the well-known Charles V., who held the crown of Spain by inheritance, and the empire of Germany by election. In the third year of his reign (1522), Charles made over the German provinces to his brother Ferdinand I., who, in consequence of his marriage with Anne, sister of Louis II., king of Hungary and Bohemia, succeeded in gaining the crowns of these two countries. In 1555, Charles, whose ambition had appeared insatiable, all at once retired from his worldly career, leaving the German crown to his brother Ferdinand, and his other possessions to his son Philip II. Ferdinand, already king of Hungary and Bohemia, was elected emperor in 1556, and thus became the head of the Austrian Hapsburg line. The formidable power united in one dynasty, was thus split up by the very monarch who was its creator, though, even after its partition, both the Spanish and Austrian branch were still large enough to rank

as first-rate powers. In Hungary, Ferdinand found a rival in Zapolya, elected king by the majority of the people; nor during his life could Ferdinand obtain possession of the whole country. The general rule of the Hapsburgs, and especially the religious persecutions under the reigns of Rudolph II., Ferdinand II. and Leopold I., were productive of protracted and bloody wars, during which time the Turks made themselves masters of the greater part of Hungary, frequently assisting the malcontents against their Austrian masters. Ferdinand was succeeded by Maximilian II., his eldest son, whose successor was the dreamy and bigoted Rudolph II., subsequently compelled to resign his crown to Matthias II. In the year 1618, Ferdinand II., archduke of Styria, succeeded to the throne, after the death of his predecessor without issue. This emperor is well known by his sworn hatred against the so-called heretics, the Protestants, and scarcely had he commenced his reign when his cruelty against the Bohemians gave rise to the *Thirty Years' War*, one of the most remarkable events in modern history. On the one side were the Catholic princes of the empire, with Austria at their head; on the other, Saxony and the Protestant states, assisted at one time by Sweden, and subsequently by France. The most distinguished commanders were Gustavus Adolphus on the part of the Protestants, and, on that of the Catholics, Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland. Both were greatly superior to the age in which they lived, and evinced, at the battle of Lutzen, fought in 1632, talents not inferior to those displayed by Napoleon on the same fields in 1813. Wallenstein survived his illustrious opponent, but met a tragic end: having been suspected of treating with the Protestant princes for his own aggrandizement, a suspicion never afterward verified, he, with some of the chief officers of his staff, was most cruelly assassinated by order of his imperial master. The war was at last ended by the peace of Westphalia, by which Austria was obliged to relinquish Lusatia to Saxony and Alsace to France.

The peace of Westphalia, like that of Utrecht in a subsequent age, restored tranquillity throughout Europe. It continued many years, and might have lasted much longer, had not the ambition of Louis IV. alarmed the neighboring states, and obliged them to look for safety in arms. Belgium, held at that time with a feeble hand by Spain, was the prize at stake; and the dread of that fertile and populous country falling into the power of France, called forth the greatest efforts on the part both of Austria and of Holland, which, from the extent of its financial means, was at that time a power of great influence. Louis was surrounded by able generals and well-disciplined armies. Flattered with the prospect of success, he attempted the conquest of the Netherlands in no less than three wars, in two of which (those begun in 1672 and 1689), Austria bore a principal part. In the last she received the co-operation of England, which then, for the first time, came forward as a principal in continental coalitions, contributing largely both in troops and subsidies. The chief scenes of conflict were the Netherlands and the banks of the Rhine. The French, acting with all the advantage of unity, had frequently the superiority in action; but the allies, numerous and resolute, were never discouraged by defeat. At last, in 1697, came the peace of Ryswick, which left, as peace often does, the contending parties in nearly the same relative positions as at the outset of the contest. The allies had the satisfaction, however, of having compelled the aspiring Louis to stop short in his encroachments and schemes of aggrandizement.

But with so restless a prince at the head of a population of 20,000,000, peace could not be of long continuance; and, on the death of the King of Spain, Austria, England, and Holland found it again necessary to take the field. The question now related not merely to the Netherlands, but to whether a French or an Austrian prince should succeed to the crown of Spain. Hence the name of War of the Succession given to this long

contest, which, beginning in 1701, lasted no less than twelve years. The superiority in military skill was now for the first time on the side of the allies. The Austrians and other Germans, assisted by Holland and England, were led to repeated victories by Eugene and Marlborough. France sent forth numerous armies, and showed, in Villars and Vendome, generals worthy of the better days of Louis; but in Italy and the Low Countries the allies were completely successful; and it was in Spain only that they failed. Such was the state of affairs in 1711, when the death of the reigning emperor unexpectedly took place, and the election to that dignity fell on his brother, who had been destined by the allies to the throne of Spain. The prospect of the union on one head of the crowns of Spain and Austria, brought to recollection the ambitious projects of the Emperor Charles V., and inclined many who had supported the war from a dread of France, to consider the transfer of Spain to a grandson of Louis XIV. the less dangerous alternative of the two. This, joined to the change of ministry in England, the removal of Marlborough from the command, and the impatience of the Dutch under so long and burdensome a war, led to the peace of Utrecht, to which Austria, after urgent remonstrances with her allies, and fruitless efforts in the field, acceded, by a treaty concluded in the year after (1714), at Baden. Well might she give her assent to a treaty which transferred to her not only the Low Countries, but extensive possessions in both the north and south of Italy.

The emperor, anxious to confirm his authority in Hungary and Transylvania, now directed his troops against the Turks. The latter, who, during the space of 150 years, were in possession of the capital of Hungary, and of the greatest part of its territory, evinced considerable sympathy towards the Hungarians, whom they, on many occasions, proved ready to assist in their struggles against Austria. In fact, the impotence of the Austrian rulers, as evidenced by their

inability to expel the Turks from Hungary, and their readiness to appease the anger of the sultans by annual tributes, served only to keep alive in the Turks the ambition of rendering themselves masters of the Austrian capital. Accordingly, in 1683, the Mussulman host appeared before the walls of Vienna, and the capital was only saved by the appearance of the intrepid Polish king Sobieski, who would, no doubt, have found the Turks within its walls, but for the singular carelessness with which the vizier carried on the siege. This was the first serious check given to these confident barbarians. At a subsequent date Prince Eugene defeated them in several actions, and the peace concluded with them at Carlowitz, in 1699, by the intervention of England, secured to Austria a considerable accession of territory on the side of Hungary. Still that country continued divided and doubtful in its allegiance to Austria. Eugene led thither, in 1716, a part of the armies with which he had conquered in Italy and the Netherlands, and applied European tactics against the Turks with distinguished skill. The result was a series of splendid successes, and a treaty of peace highly favorable to Austria.

Such, however, was not the case in the last scene of the military career of Eugene, when, nearly twenty years after (in 1735), he headed the Austrian armies on the Rhine. The French had taken the field in support of the claims of Spain on the south of Italy. Austria was evidently overmatched in force; and England, guided by the pacific counsels of Walpole, declining to interfere, the result was a treaty, by which the emperor relinquished to Spain the contested territory in Italy.

In 1740, the death of the reigning emperor, Charles VI., brought to a close the male line of the house of Hapsburg, the succession devolving on Charles's daughter, Maria Theresa. The death of Charles became the signal for attack on his dominions by almost all the neighboring powers; by Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and even by France. But England came forward to support the

cause of Austria with a liberal subsidy, while the Hungarians, now united and loyal, recruited her armies. The aspect of affairs was soon altered, the Bavarians were driven back; and the French, who had ventured to advance as far as Bohemia, were obliged to retire to the Rhine.

Frederick II. of Prussia proved a more obstinate opponent; and, as the interest of England and Holland called the Austrian forces to the Low Countries to maintain the great contest carrying on in that quarter against France, Maria Theresa was induced to subscribe, first in 1742, and afterwards in 1745, a separate treaty with Frederick, by which she ceded to him the chief part of Silesia. But the unprovoked attack of Frederick sunk deep in her mind; she watched an opportunity of revenge; and, in 1756, formed that coalition of powers against Prussia, which gave rise to a war of seven years, and to an extent of devastation such as Germany had not witnessed for more than a century. On one side was the whole Austrian force, aided by 80,000 French, and, at particular periods of the war, by the Russians and Swedes; on the other stood Prussia and England, numerically inferior to their antagonists, but managing their resources, and directing their military efforts, with all the ability that belonged to the character of Frederick and of Lord Chatham. On the side of the French there appeared no commander of eminence; but on that of the Austrians, Marshals Daun and Laudohn were generals worthy of being opposed to Frederick. After a number of battles and great alternations of success, both sides became tired of the waste of blood; and a contest, waged for a time with a rapidity of movement and an eagerness for conflict almost equal to those displayed in the French Revolution, was marked towards its close by the cautious tactics of Turenne. At last, in 1763, a general peace was concluded, and the rival powers were left very nearly in the same position as at the beginning of the war.

From this time Germany enjoyed peace

during thirty years. In 1778, the death of the Elector of Bavaria gave rise to pretensions on the part of Austria, which drew once more into the field the great Frederick, now grown gray in command. Austria opposed to him forces fully equal in numbers and scarcely inferior in discipline, but happily the campaign proved bloodless, each side anticipating a close of the dispute by negotiation. In that manner, accordingly, it ended; Austria being content with the cession by Bavaria of the frontier district, called the quarter of the Inn.

Maria Theresa had married Francis Duke of Lorraine, who was afterwards elected Emperor of Germany, but died in 1765. Their son, Joseph II., was then joined in the sovereign power with his mother; and, on her death in 1780, he became sole ruler. The princes of the house of Austria, disposed rather to follow than to lead, have seldom been the authors of political change; but the Emperor Joseph was imbued with all the ardor of a sanguine innovator. He gave a loose to this disposition after 1780, issuing a number of edicts, of which several were praiseworthy in their objects, but abrupt and premature in their operations, having besides set at defiance all the municipal and other authorities of the various provinces, under the pretence that he was the best judge of the wants of the country. He established general toleration in religion, abolished a number of monasteries and convents, dismantled various fortresses, and took steps for new-modelling the existing systems both of law and of national education. But his commercial legislation, based on the prohibition system, gave undoubted evidence of the narrowness of his views as a statesman. Had the public in his dominions been ripe, as in France, for a general political change, Joseph would have perhaps been hailed as a subverter of abuses, and as the author of general improvement; but the Austrians, attached to old usages, understood little of his plans, and merely received them with passive acquiescence, while the

arbitrary manner in which his improvements were introduced could not fail to provoke hatred. The actual effect was thus very limited, notwithstanding the example of new institutions in the United States of America, and soon after in France. But in Belgium the case was different: the contagion of the French revolution spread over the country, and produced a sudden rising against the Austrians. This unexpected revolt, and the chequered success of the war then carrying on against Turkey, are understood to have preyed on the sensitive mind of the emperor, and to have caused his death in 1790.

Leopold, the brother and successor of Joseph, had a very short reign, the crown devolving, in 1792, on his son Francis II. Francis had hardly succeeded to the throne when he found himself involved in a contest with France, the length and vicissitudes of which proved such as to cast into the shade all former wars between that country and Austria. The first important blow was struck in November, 1792, at Jemappes, where the numbers and audacity of the French obtained a signal success. Next year the superior efficiency of the Austrian armies secured to them a temporary superiority; but, in 1794, the multitudes of Frenchmen brought forward by the energetic measures of the terrorists, and the talents of commanders such as Pichegru, Moreau and Kleber, young in years, but full of enterprise and activity, led to the conquest of the Netherlands, and the retreat of the Austrians beyond the Rhine. France now offered to Austria a separate peace; but England engaging to furnish large subsidies, the emperor declined a treaty that would have involved the cession of Belgium. The French, determined to obtain this cession by force of arms, crossed the Rhine, in the autumn of 1795, with two formidable armies. Prussia had withdrawn from the contest, and allowed the whole weight of it to fall upon the emperor. It was then that the talents of Marshal Clairfayt, as yet known only to military men, became apparent to Europe at large. With

numbers inferior to the two French armies collectively, he found means, by rapid movements, to concentrate a force superior to either singly, and drove them across the Rhine with great loss. Next year, however, the French, undismayed by failure, resumed the offensive, and crossed the Rhine again with two armies; one of which penetrated into the heart of Franconia, whilst the other overran Suabia and part of Bavaria. But these armies had not the means of affording each other ready support; they were separated by the Danube, while the Austrians were in possession of the bridges on that river, and could move within a smaller circle. They were thus enabled to repeat their manœuvre of the preceding year, by detaching a superior force against the French army in Franconia, and thus obliging it not only to evacuate the country it had overrun, but to seek safety beyond the Rhine. Such was also the case with the southern army of the French, although the retreat conducted by Moreau was the subject of general commendation.

But whilst in Germany success inclined to the side of Austria, the case was very different in Piedmont and Lombardy. In Piedmont, indeed, the war had long been carried on between the French and the allies without decisive success on either side. The opposing forces were nearly equal, and the mountainous nature of the country afforded so many strong positions, that there seemed no means of bringing the contest to a speedy termination. But all this was suddenly changed by the genius of one man. Bonaparte appeared on the scene, and in less than a month after receiving the command, defeated the allies in three engagements; obliged the court of Turin to make a separate peace; and, pouring his forces into Lombardy, drove the Austrians from every position in that country except Mantua. The strength of the latter place, however, bade defiance to the attacks of the French, and enabled the emperor to make repeated attempts for the recovery of Lombardy. No part of the war is more de-

serving of attention than this campaign; for none displayed in a more striking light the extensive resources of Austria, or the inventive genius of Bonaparte. Threatened in the end of July by an Austrian army of great strength, but which was imprudently advancing in two bodies, he hesitated not a moment in sacrificing his artillery, that by sudden marches he might assail his opponents before they effected a junction. In this he succeeded; but his loss was heavy, and the Austrians were rather repulsed than defeated. Six weeks after, a repetition by Bonaparte of these daring movements was attended with decisive success. When apparently marching against the Austrian troops in Trent, he turned suddenly to the right, and advancing by a valley, reached the headquarters of their army before they were prepared. The result was a series of actions, which cut off the retreat of their main body and obliged it to fly for refuge to Mantua. But ere two months had passed, the Austrians prepared another army, which Bonaparte marched to encounter as it advanced towards Verona, using in his despatch to Paris these remarkable words: *Il faut frapper l'ennemi comme la foudre, et le balayer dès son premier pas.* On this occasion, however, fortune was not favorable to him. He was worsted twice in action (on the 6th and 12th November); yet, far from being discouraged, he conceived the extraordinary plan of quitting his camp at night, and gaining the rear of that army which had twice repulsed him. He reckoned on the effect of a surprise; but his hopes were disappointed by the time unavoidably lost in attacks on the village of Arcola, which stood in his way. The main body of the Austrians had time to advance, and the result was a series of conflicts attended with great loss on both sides.

Thus ended the campaign of 1796, sanguinary beyond example even in those days of blood, and not altogether conclusive in its results. Next year, however, the chances of war were no longer doubtful. The Austrians having reinforced their army, made a

final effort to relieve Mantua; but Bonaparte having intercepted a despatch with their intended plan of operations, was enabled to make such a disposition of his troops as to ensure success; and the results were, the victory of Rivoli, the surrender of the force destined to relieve Mantua, and the complete expulsion of the Austrians from Italy. The French now crossed the mountain barrier, and advanced toward the heart of Austria. This, joined to the approach of their armies from the Rhine, obliged the emperor to conclude preliminaries of peace at Leoben, and afterwards a treaty, proceeding on these as a basis, at Campo Formio. This treaty involved the cession by Austria of Belgium and Lombardy, but gave her, in return, Venice and its dependent provinces, making an absolute loss in population of 1,500,000 souls.

This peace, however, proved only a truce. The absence of a portion of the French armies in Egypt, induced England to form a new coalition, and renew the continental contest early in 1799. The Austrian troops took the field, powerful equally in numbers and in discipline; and the French, commanded for the first time by inferior leaders, were driven back both to Germany and Italy. The arrival of Russian auxiliaries, and the talents of Suwaroff, bore forward the tide of success, until the autumn of the year, when increased levies on the part of the French, and a better choice of generals, began to turn the scale in their favor. The capricious Paul now withdrew from the coalition, and the Austrians entered on the campaign of 1800 with their own forces only. These proved, as formerly, insufficient to withstand the French, especially when the latter were commanded in Germany by Moreau, and in Italy by Bonaparte. Decisive battles, took place; the victories of Hohenlinden and Marengo led to the treaty of Luneville, and to the cession by Austria of almost all her Venetian acquisitions.

This peace, though not so short as the pre-

ceding one, lasted only four years. In 1805, Austria and Russia, provoked by Bonaparte's advances, and stimulated by English subsidies, took the field with numerous armies; but the successive overthrows at Ulm and Austerlitz rendered peace again indispensable to Austria. It was obtained (6th August, 1806,) by the surrender of the remainder of the Venetian territory, of the Tyrol, and of various districts, comprising a sacrifice in all of three millions of subjects. Soon after these reverses, Francis II. renounced the title and authority of Emperor of Germany, and assumed the title of Emperor of Austria. Taught by repeated disasters, he remained passive in the great contest in 1806 and 1807, between France, Prussia and Russia; but in 1809, the war in Spain having withdrawn a very large portion of the French force, he ventured once more to try his fortune in the field. The Austrian armies were numerous; but Bonaparte had still a powerful French force at command, and was aided by all the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine. The Austrians, worsted in Bavaria, retreated to Vienna; and although temporary hopes were excited by their success at Aspern (21st and 22d May), they were blasted by the disastrous day of Wagram, and peace was again purchased by a sacrifice of territory containing more than three millions of inhabitants. Austria, now reduced to a population of twenty millions, remained in peace during the years 1810, 1811 and 1812; but when the disasters of the French in Russia once more raised the hopes of Germany, and brought friendly standards into Saxony, Austria took part with the grand alliance, and her troops bore a conspicuous part in the battle of Leipzig and the invasion of France. The definitive treaties of 1814 and 1815, reinstated her in all her former territories, except Belgium, and gave her substantial additions on the side of Italy. It must, however, be observed, that according to the new territorial division, as determined by the Congress of Vienna, the extent of the Austrian Empire

was diminished by 400 German square miles. The public debt, as reduced in consequence of the state-bankruptcy of 1811, amounted to something above 500,000,000 florins (or £50,000,000 sterling).

Prince Metternich, one of the most conspicuous personages among the diplomatists assembled at the Congress of Vienna, became, from this time, the uncontrolled director of the helm of the state. His policy, in which he persevered until the hour when he was hurled from his post by the movement of 1848, was based on the principles of legitimacy and strict conservatism. In conformity with the former, Austria ever proved ready to assist any acknowledged or legitimate prince against revolutionary movements, while her conservative policy rendered her averse to anything like progress or innovation. "The transition from an old state of things to a new is as dangerous as that from a new state to one which no longer exists. Both are productive of disturbances which must be avoided at any price." Such was the doctrine which Metternich proclaimed after the restoration of peace, and which became ever after the basis of the Austrian policy. To follow up this system in all its consequences, the Austrian government established a strict censorship, whose office was to watch over the home press and literature, and to survey the importation of foreign literary productions. The secret police, which received a thorough organization since the year 1820, had to perform the office of censor in the department of social conversation; its reports serving to the government as a means of estimating the sentiments of the people. It is needless to observe, that this was not the best method for furnishing the cabinet with correct information as to the state of the public mind; for the people, knowing the system of espionage by which they were surrounded, either avoided conversing on political topics altogether, or, if at all advertising to such subjects, purposely expressed sentiments totally at variance with their real convictions.

At the new territorial division of Europe after the fall of Napoleon, Austria renounced her pretensions to Belgium for the acquisition of the Italian provinces, which she deemed more secure. A few years, however, sufficed to prove the fallacy of this policy. In 1822, when a rebellion broke out in Naples and Sardinia, the movement soon spread to Lombardo-Venetia; and the Austrian government, after having quelled the disturbances in her own provinces, deemed it necessary for her own security to put down, by force of arms, the risings in the other States of the Italian provinces. Ten years later Parma and Modena suddenly rose in rebellion, when, guided by like principles, Austria sent her troops to restore peace in the Romagna. In short, the Italian possessions proved one of the most vulnerable points of the Austrian Empire.

The French revolution of July, 1830, however, was the first external event after the Napoleonic era which deeply affected and embarrassed the commanding attitude of the court of Vienna. The very accession of Louis Philippe to the French throne was a sort of declaration of war against the principles of legitimacy; and though the recognition of the Orleans king by Great Britain led Austria to acquiesce in the event, and to follow the example of the court of St. James, she had soon after to encounter various difficulties directly arising from this French revolution. Her first task was in Poland. Tired of Russian rule, the Poles, hoping to be supported by France, took arms to regain their independence, when Austria aided the Czar in crushing them. The second manœuvre was in Germany, to which the revolutionary impulse had been communicated from France. Here Austria acted in concert with Prussia in establishing some new restrictive laws with reference to the German Confederacy. But more important was the desire for reform simultaneously manifested in several of her own provinces, which, with the exception of Hungary, had been stripped of all their ancient institutions and ruled by

edicts from Vienna. As all the means of expressing public opinion were wanting, the government persevered with seeming confidence in its old policy, without encountering many obstacles; though in Hungary matters looked somewhat different. Deprived, equally with the other provinces, of the liberty of the press, Hungary retained its diets and county assemblies, institutions which gave ample opportunity for the expression of free opinion, and which, at the same time, operated as a check on the grasping power of the crown. The diet of 1832 loudly demanded the redress of old grievances, the states intimating their determination not to vote supplies till their wrongs were removed, and asking, moreover, the introduction of the Hungarian language into the courts of administration and justice instead of the dead Latin. Meanwhile the spirit of nationality awoke in Bohemia, the Czechs or Slavonian party attempting to defend their nationality against the absorbing superiority accorded to the German element by the government.

In 1835, the Emperor Francis died, leaving the throne to his son Ferdinand. The mental weakness of this good-natured monarch, far from contributing to any change in the maxims of the state policy, served only to allow free scope to the omnipotent prime minister. "On the accession of the Emperor Ferdinand," says Baron Pillersdorf (the successor of Metternich), "the monarchy was not menaced by external dangers. Circumstances permitted an uninterrupted enjoyment of peace, but the necessity for internal ameliorations became, by so long a delay, more urgent, the demand for them more sensible; whilst, owing to the procrastinations of the government, faith and confidence were diminished. It is true that the prosperity of the provinces generally did not decline; on the contrary, many branches of commerce manifested an increase in their development; but in spite of this the situation of the whole empire inspired, in different respects, serious apprehensions, arising from the disordered state of the economy of finance, the yearly

augmentation of the public debt, the inefficiency of the measures adopted, and still more from the oppressed disposition of mind of the clear-sighted and intelligent classes of the population. The Austrian Empire was partly surrounded by, and was thrown into manifold relations with, countries in which the constitutional form had developed itself in place of that which had previously existed; and as the defects of our own system had been publicly scrutinized and discussed, the spirit of constitutional freedom was transferred from without to the sentiments of all strata of the people. Contemporaneously with this arose a contrast, the more striking in the empire of Austria (the author here alludes to Hungary), where one half of the people enjoyed thoroughly, during many centuries, a constitution, and consequently a right to participate in legislation." These few remarks may suffice to show the state of Austria before the troubles of 1848. Under such circumstances the state of Austria necessarily became perplexed. In Germany she saw the rising influence of Prussia, whose free institutions and superiority in culture and science were gradually raising her to be the leading power of the German Confederacy; which very circumstance induced her to support the German element in her own dominions at the expense of the other nationalities. The non-German population were thus discontented with the court of Vienna for its Germanizing measures, while the Germans knew well that it was not Vienna which represented German learning and civilization. It may be remarked that the aversion of Austria to foster the development of the Slavonic element in particular, was greatly owing to the apprehensions that it might lead to the ultimate advantage of Russia, which was continually endeavoring to attach to itself all the Slavonic tribes. No Austrian statesman, in fact, was more alive to the encroaching power of Russia than Metternich. In 1830, Austria accordingly refused to join the rest of the European powers in the protocol which declared the

independence of Greece; while ten years later, when Turkey was threatened by Mohammed Ali, the pacha of Egypt, whose interests were loudly advocated by France, the court of Vienna readily joined England as an ally of the Porte. Both these instances prove of how much importance the integrity of Turkey appeared to Austrian statesmen with reference to the menacing attitude of Russia.

In 1846, the court of Vienna was again frightened from its sense of security by the Poles. Having suppressed this revolution, Austria, in concert with the other two powers which dismembered Poland, determined to blot out Cracow, the last remnant of Polish independence, from the map of Europe. This step, being contrary to the treaties of Vienna, was of course discountenanced by England, and more strongly remonstrated against by France. This disapproval, however, did not prevent the incorporation of that small republican territory with the Austrian empire; but it may safely be assumed that, if the question of the *Spanish marriage* had not for the time being occasioned a rupture between the cabinets of London and Paris, their conjoint interposition would not have been so utterly disregarded by the northern powers. Not satisfied with the advantages gained in Poland, Metternich thought fit to meddle with the internal affairs of Switzerland, which engaged his special attention from the circumstance of its vicinity to the Italian provinces of Austria. This country was at that time agitated by two contending parties, the Sonderbund, a Jesuitical party, and the Liberals. Metternich, who advocated the cause of the Sonderbund, succeeded in gaining over France to his side, coming into direct opposition to England, which gave its support to the party of progress.

The French revolution of the 24th February, 1848, which convulsed almost the whole of continental Europe, caused the Austrian empire to totter to its very centre. Scarcely had the intelligence of the fall of Louis

Philippe reached Vienna, when that capital, proverbial for its carelessness about politics, presented all at once a counterpart on a smaller scale of Paris in the last days of Louis XVI. On the 13th of March, the whole city was in a state of open rebellion; the populace, forcing the magistracy along with them, broke their way into the imperial palace, and loudly demanded from the Emperor Ferdinand the dismissal of his old councillors and the immediate grant of a new charter. Three days afterwards an imperial proclamation was issued declaring the abolition of the censorship, the establishment of a national guard, and the convocation of a national assembly.

These measures, however, as well as the nomination of a new ministry, headed provisionally by Count Colowrath, and afterwards by Pillersdorf (in place of Prince Metternich, who by this time was in full flight towards London), were far from sufficing to arrest the popular movement, encouraged and led on by the students and other members of the university. The national guard just called into being, along with the academic legion, formed themselves into a permanent committee, and dictated laws to the government. The ministry, unable to resist, promised the convocation of a constituent assembly, while the emperor and the court fled from the capital and retired to Innspruck (May 17). The old system lay thus in ruins, its supporters or rather creators turned fugitives, while the prospects of a new organization were continually defeated more and more by the condition of the rest of the provinces. The Lombards and Venetians, already half in arms before the Parisian revolution broke out, were afterwards all the more determined to fight out their independence; and after having expelled the Austrian troops from Milan, they found an ally in Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, before whose arms the Austrian force under Radetzky was compelled to retreat. Meanwhile the movement propagated itself into Bohemia, where the Czechs, or Slavonic

party, determined to obtain redress against the Germanizing measures of the government. In a petition forwarded to the emperor, they demanded a united and independent national assembly for Bohemia and Moravia, independent municipal institutions, and in the distribution of public offices an equal selection from among the Slavonians and German part of the population. Shortly afterwards the Slavonian party in Prague, already in open collision with their German fellow-citizens, organized a club under the title of *Slowanska Lipa*, with the object of concerting common measures in the interest of all the Slavonian inhabitants of the Austrian empire. A general summons was accordingly issued to the Slavonians of the different provinces, calling upon them to send representatives to the Slavonic congress to be held in the Bohemian capital. Delegates accordingly arrived, and the congress was opened in the beginning of June.

The people, who hated the Austrian commander, Prince Windischgratz, petitioned the emperor for his removal; meanwhile, however, a collision ensued between the Slavonic militia and the regular troops, the result of which was the bombardment of the town, and the final dispersion and imprisonment of the leaders of the Slavonic party. Nor did matters wear a more peaceable aspect in Hungary. Here the national diet succeeded in carrying a measure for the abolition of feudality, as well as the appointment of a responsible and independent Hungarian ministry. These reforms soon gave rise to a civil war, commenced by the Slavonians of Hungary, and, to say the least, encouraged by the Austrian government, which disliked to see an independent Hungarian ministry by its side. The imperial dynasty was thus menaced on every side.

In addition to this distracted and threatening state of affairs within the bosom of the empire itself, may be added the terrible blow inflicted upon Austrian influence on the side of Germany. The national assembly which met at Frankfort determined on the reor-

ganization of Germany into one integral empire, excluding the German possessions of Austria from the confederacy, and offering, besides, the imperial crown to the King of Prussia. It was under these circumstances that the constituent assembly, composed of representatives from all the provinces of Austria, except Hungary and Lombard-Venetia, was opened at Vienna by the Archduke John (July 22d). It may easily be imagined that the Slavonian element, largely preponderating over the German in these provinces, also greatly preponderated in that assembly; a circumstance the more distasteful to the government, in that its influence in Germany had already received so severe a blow, as already related. Notwithstanding, the aspect of affairs in Italy and Hungary, and the desire to flatter the Slavonian population for the sake of its support, induced the government to allow free scope to this assembly in its schemes for the reorganization of the empire. But even whilst the assembly held its sittings, the committee of safety and the academic legion exercised, in many respects, the chief authority in the capital, which was the scene of repeated tumults until the month of October. At this period the people became incensed by the appearance before the walls of Vienna of a Croatian army, led on by the Ban Jellachich, who had previously been foiled in his attempts to advance upon Pesth. The popular fury became concentrated on Latour, the minister of war, who was known to have supplied the Ban with arms and ammunition for the invasion of Hungary. The war-office was stormed by the people, after a severe conflict with the troops, when Latour was taken, and cruelly murdered, his body stript of its clothes, and suspended to a lamp-post. After this event Windischgratz began to collect a large army, and soon after appeared before Vienna. The defence was carried on under the command of General Bem, a Polish officer, subsequently so distinguished in the Hungarian war. Windischgratz, however, conjointly with Jellachich, succeeded

in storming the town (October 30th). Among those who suffered death at the instance of Windischgratz was Robert Blum, member of the parliament of Frankfort, who was accused of having incited the people to rebellion. While Prague and Vienna were thus controlled by military power, the fortune of war began also to turn in favor of the Austrians in Italy. The Austrian government, which had been ready a few weeks before to relinquish its claims on Lombardy, and which implored the British cabinet to mediate a peace on the condition of its retaining only Venice, now saw Râdetzky repel the Sardinian troops, and re-enter Milan (August, 1848). In Hungary, however, matters had now begun to assume a threatening aspect. By an imperial edict the diet met at Pesth (July 2d), with the special purpose of providing for the safety of the country, when, on the other hand, it became notorious that the invasion of Hungary by the Croats, under Jellachich, was determined on by the Austrian government. This diet, therefore, after the resignation of the Hungarian ministry in consequence of the double dealings of the court, appointed a committee of public safety, having previously voted a national army of 200,000 men. Meanwhile the court, then sitting in Ohnutz, determined upon persuading the weak-minded Ferdinand to abdicate his throne in favor of Francis Joseph, son of the Archduke Francis Charles, Ferdinand's brother, and heir-presumptive to the throne. In a manifesto, dated December 2, 1848, Francis Joseph announced his accession to the throne, promising to rule on the basis of true liberty, of the equality of the rights of the different populations comprising his empire, and indicating, moreover, his determination to suppress the rebellions then raging throughout his dominions. This announcement, as may be imagined, had the effect of still more powerfully rousing both Lombard-Venetia and Hungary. The former was henceforth the more determined to regain its complete independence, while the latter regarded the abdication of Ferdinand

and the accession of his successor as unconstitutional, illegal and null, inasmuch as it did not take place with the knowledge and consent of the diet. After a levy of recruits had been effected, the new emperor entrusted Windischgratz with the subjugation of Hungary, of which he was nominated civil and military governor. Joined by the Ban, Windischgratz broke into Hungary, and in a few days possessed himself of Buda-Pesth, the capital (January 1, 1849); the Hungarian diet meanwhile transferring its seat to Debreczin in Lower Hungary. After a short respite allowed to his troops, the Austrian general marched on towards the new seat of the Hungarian diet, but after the first battle, fought about the end of February, at Kapolna, Windischgratz, instead of advancing, was compelled to prepare for a retreat. The emperor, probably relying too hastily on the success of his arms in Hungary, dissolved the constituent assembly of Vienna which had been transferred to Kremsir, and, rejecting the constitution they were preparing, issued a self-granted (*octroyé*) so called constitution (March 4, 1849).

This charter, meant to sweep away all the ancient institutions of the various provinces, proclaimed constitutional liberty, the responsibility of ministers, the liberty of the press, and other safeguards common in constitutional governments, as its groundwork. The establishment of a general diet in Vienna, and of provincial assemblies, and also of courts of central administration in the capital, were likewise among its more prominent provisions.

That Hungary could only see in this charter the abolition of its independent parliaments, and the subversion of all its ancient institutions, will be readily manifest; nor was Lombard-Venetia likely to be reconciled to Austrian rule by the proclamation of such a charter. In Italy, accordingly, the war continued, but very visibly in favor of the Austrian arms; and on the 23d of March, 1849, the cause of Italian independence was crushed on the disastrous field of Novara,

where the Sardinian forces were completely routed by Radetzky. But although Austria obtained so unexpected and speedy a triumph in Italy, its cause looked sufficiently desperate in Hungary in the spring of 1849. The Austrian army suffered one defeat after another in rapid succession, and were driven back, broken and dispirited, up to the vicinity of Presburg. Emboldened by the successes of its army, the Hungarian diet proclaimed the dethronement of the house of Hapsburg, and nominated Kossuth provisional governor of Hungary (April 24th). In this emergency Francis Joseph applied for assistance to the Czar, which the Russian emperor readily granted, and the more so that his interference was objected to neither by France nor England. The Russian army, under the command of Paskiewitch, was not long in penetrating into Hungary, and the whole war was at once extinguished by the disgraceful surrender of the Hungarian general, Georgei, to the Russian commander (August 13th). Thus did the Hapsburg dynasty pass through a crisis more formidable than it had ever before experienced; owing its final preservation to the timely assistance of Russia, a power the increasing influence of which Prince Metternich, during his long administration, kept steadily in view and endeavored to obstruct, but which, from the services it rendered, naturally assumed forthwith towards Austria the attitude of a protector.

To complete the summary of the events resulting from the movement of 1848, a few words must be said on the relation of Austria to Germany, subsequent to the war we have narrated.

Though the King of Prussia declined accepting the imperial dignity, tendered to him in 1848 by the diet of Frankfort, he concluded a treaty with the kings of Saxony and Hanover, (May, 1849,) with a view of forming a *strict union* with the different states of the German Confederacy, to the exclusion of Austria. To this treaty, which is known by the appellation of the "Treaty

of the Three Kings," the majority of the lesser states soon acceded, Prussia proposing, besides, to convene a diet at Erfurth under its own presidency, for the final settlement of the reorganization of Germany. This assembly was accordingly opened, (March, 1850,) and obviously tended materially to raise the influence of Prussia at the expense of Austria, hitherto the leading power in the German Confederacy. But Austria, having now established her authority in her own provinces, began vigorously to counteract the efforts of her rival, and, on her part, invited the different states to send their representatives to Frankfort, where she assumed the lead. The legality of this assembly was at once acknowledged by Bavaria, always jealous of Prussian influence, as well as by Saxony and Hanover, which were subsequently gained over by Austria.

While these two parliaments were thus playing at cross purposes, disturbances arose in Hesse-Cassel. The margrave invoked the assistance of Austria, while the population, on the other hand, looked to Prussia for support. In accordance with the decision of the diet at Frankfort, Austria determined to march its armies into Hessa, a course of action opposed by Prussia, and threatening immediate war between these two powers. This conflict, which seemed unavoidable, was however averted by the conferences of Olmutz, Austria being represented by the prime minister, Prince Schwartzemberg, and Prussia by Manteuffel. These deliberations ended in the entire humiliation of Prussia, which acknowledged the right of Austria to march its troops into Hessa, and even Schleswig-Holstein; a circumstance attributed, not without reason, to the influence of the Czar, with whom the Emperor of Austria and the Prince of Prussia held a conference at Warsaw, (October 25th, 1850,) and who, as may be easily imagined, from his aversion to every species of innovation, pronounced in favor of the policy of Austria to re-establish the old *status quo* in Germany. About the close of the year 1850, Austria and Prussia

convoled a congress of all the German states at Dresden, when the influence of the former so far preponderated, that Prussia, bent all the while on the reorganization of Germany, was fain to propose that the final solution of the affairs of the confederacy should be submitted to the decision of the old Frankfort diet. Having thus achieved so many triumphs over her rival, Austria now proposed to the diet of Frankfort the incorporation into the German Confederacy of all her provinces, including Hungary and Lombard-Venetia. This bold proposal, materially threatening the balance of power in Europe, was met by the remonstrances of the governments of France and England, though its failure may be more directly traced to the policy of Russia, which could not be supposed to look with indifference on the increase of power to the Austrian empire by the success of such a scheme of ambition.

In the year 1855, the Emperor of Austria entered into a concordat with the Pope, which showed how strong a power the Roman Church still ventured to exercise when she could be sure of the admission of her claims. The concordat placed all education in the hands of the clergy, who also were to have complete control of the press, the books which they interdicted being prohibited by the government. Marriages were to be under the jurisdiction of the clergy alone. In 1860, however, five years after this concordat was concluded, a series of political reforms were begun, entirely opposed in spirit to the oppressive compact which had before been made with Rome. Some changes were made in the constitution of the Reichsrath, or legislature, and the emperor promulgated a new constitution, which introduced many substantial improvements, and granted to the people a much larger share of real freedom. The Hungarians and the other nationalities under the Austrian crown claimed

more than this; they demanded the complete restoration of their ancient rights, and not merely a temporary gift of freedom by the personal will of the emperor, to be recalled at his pleasure.

The conduct of Austria towards her Italian provinces, and the threatening attitude which the empire had assumed towards the King of Sardinia, afforded a chance for the interference of Napoleon III. in the affairs of Italy. The war of 1859, by which Austria lost a large part of Lombardy, and the treaty of Zurich, have already been narrated in the history of Italy. Then followed the Schleswig-Holstein war and the subsequent struggle, which, forced upon her by Prussia, resulted in the disastrous battle of Sadowa, and the loss of Venetia. (See PRUSSIA and ITALY.) This last defeat, however, which at once reduced Austria to a second-rate power, had the effect of stimulating the internal reforms which she saw were necessary to reconcile the discordant elements of her people, and to bind them together by the community of national interests, instead of the authority of an arbitrary government, the maintenance of which had absorbed all her resources, and weakened the power of the nation to defend herself against attacks from without.

1867 was a year memorable in the progress of Austria. The long-standing difficulties with Hungary and Bohemia were at last settled by the complete restoration of the ancient constitutions and privileges which had been suppressed in 1848. The concordat with Rome was abrogated, and secular education and civil marriage introduced into the empire. Austria now appears to have entirely abandoned her historical policy of conservatism and repression, and, after being for centuries the firmest upholder of despotism and arbitrary power, she now takes a place among the liberal monarchies, behind only England and Italy.

HUNGARY.

THE history of Hungary begins with the conquest of the Magyars, who united ancient Pannonia, Croatia, Slavonia and Transylvania into one kingdom. Previous to their arrival these countries were ruled over by petty princes, and inhabited chiefly by Slavonians, Bulgarians, Wallachs or Roumians, and a few Germans, all of whom soon submitted to their new conquerors. The prevailing opinion assumes the Magyars to be the descendants of the ancient Scythians, and to belong to the Tartar-Mogulian stock. The Magyars are said to have wandered from the Ural Mountains to the Caspian Sea, and thence to Kiof, possessed by the Russians, who succeeded in getting rid of their new masters by representing to them the fertility and beauty of Pannonia, the land of Attila. Divided into seven tribes, they arrived at the frontiers of Hungary in the year 889, under the leadership of Almus. At this juncture Almus died, and the chiefs of the tribes elected his son Arpad successor. From the foot of the Carpathians the followers of Arpad rapidly spread along the plains of the Theiss, crossing the Danube and occupying the banks of the Drave. From the date of the conquest to the year 1000, Hungary was ruled by dukes, royalty having been introduced simultaneously with Christianity a year afterwards.

The first century spent by the Magyars in Europe, then in its most enervated condition, was chiefly marked by their predatory expeditions. The shores of the Baltic, France and Italy, all experienced the devastations of these swift horsemen, formidable for their archery and irresistible prowess. They received a check at the hands of Otho the Great, who defeated them before the walls of Augsburg in 955. A gradual change to a more peaceful life commenced during the reign of Geysa, who prepared the way for

the introduction of Christianity by entrusting the education of his son Vaik to Adalbert, Bishop of Prague. On succeeding his father, Vaik determined upon assuming the regal title, and applied to Pope Sylvester II. for his consecration and benediction. His petition was granted, and he was crowned under the name of Stephan. It is to this first king that Hungary owed most of those institutions which survived down to the year 1848. Besides giving the country an ecclesiastical organization, Stephan divided it into counties, and laid the foundation of its municipal institutions. He also created a national council, consisting of the lords temporal and spiritual, and the *milites* or middle class nobility, and from this the subsequent Diets took their shape. The most important statutes enacted under his reign are contained in the Decree of 1010. Stephan married Gisela, daughter of the Emperor Henry II., an alliance which proved the source of much trouble after his death. Leaving no heir, as his only son Emeric preceded his father to the grave, the queen, assisted by the emperor, endeavored to gain the throne for her cousin Peter, while Apa or Aba, an Arpadian prince, was proclaimed king by a part of the nobles. Both these princes having perished during the war, Andrew I. succeeded to the throne, but was soon compelled to yield it to his brother Bela I. Neither the reign of this king, nor that of his two immediate successors, offers anything worthy of remark. The reign of Ladislaus is remarkable in many respects. Besides repelling a Tartar invasion and vanquishing the Cumans, Ladislaus subdued Dalmatia and Croatia, and annexed them to the Hungarian kingdom (1078). Ladislaus was notorious for his religious zeal, which procured him the title of Saint. A ruler of much more talent was his successor Colo-

man, whose reign was contemporaneous with the first Crusades. But for the valor of this king, Hungary might have experienced the fate that befell the empire of the Palæologi, and been parcelled out among the Godfreys and Baldwins. Coloman issued several edicts, chiefly concerning the discipline of the clergy; and carried on a successful war against Venice for the possession of Dalmatia. Coloman died 1114, leaving the throne to his son Stephan II., whose reign, like that of all those of the twelfth century, is barren of interest. The reign of Andrew II., called the Hierosolomitan, is famous for those wars of the nobles with the crown, which resulted in the grant, by the king, of the Golden Bull, the Magna Charta of Hungary. The chief provisions of this charter were as follows: 1. That the states were henceforth to be annually convoked, either under the presidency of the king or the palatine. 2. That no nobleman was to be arrested without being previously tried and legally sentenced. 3. That no contribution or tax was to be levied on the property of the nobles. 4. That if called to military service beyond the frontiers of the country they were to be paid by the king. 5. That high offices should neither be made hereditary nor given to foreigners without the consent of the diet. The most important point, however, was Article 31st, which conferred on the nobles the right of appealing to arms in case of any violation of the laws by the crown. The other provisions contained in this charter refer to the exemption of the lower clergy from the payment of taxes and tolls, and to the determination of the tithes to be paid by the cultivators of the soil.

This Golden Bull was sworn to by all the subsequent kings of Hungary, including the fourteen of the Hapsburg house, but the 31st article was cancelled on the accession of Joseph, son of the Emperor Leopold. It was promulgated by Andrew in 1222, shortly after his arrival from the Holy Land. He was succeeded by his son Bela IV., during whose reign Hungary was visited with the

invasion of the Tartars under Batu Khan, who literally turned the country into a wilderness. The reigns of Stephan IV. and Ladislaus were chiefly marked by the wars waged against Ottoacer of Bohemia, who was engaged in hostilities with Rudolph, the founder of the house of Austria. With the assistance of Ladislaus, Rudolph defeated the Bohemian king at the battle of Lea in 1275. Amid fierce internal dissensions, caused by the Cumans, Ladislaus died, and was succeeded by Andrew III., the last of the Arpads. This prince had to turn his arms against the Emperor Albert, who, irritated at Andrew's refusal to marry his daughter Agnes, had declared war against Hungary; and, after defeating his adversary, ended by espousing the slighted Austrian princess. In 1301, Andrew died, leaving no issue, and there thus arose fresh and complicated wars.

After the death of Andrew III. three candidates aspired to the crown of St. Stephan—Charles Anjou, nephew of Charles of Naples, and of Arpadian blood by his mother, who was daughter of Stephan IV.; Vencelaus, son of the King of Poland and Bohemia; and Otho, Prince of Bavaria. Through the influence of Pope Boniface VIII. and the bishops, Charles Anjou or Carobert was raised to the throne. Under the reign of this prince, and especially of his son, Hungary made great progress in general culture, and extended its influence abroad; and while the blessings of peace were felt at home, the Hungarian sword held in subjection Bulgaria, Bosnia, Servia, Moldavia and Wallachia. To this vast power, Louis, surnamed the Great, the son of Charles, added the crown of Poland, so that under his reign Hungary was the most formidable state of Europe. But by a strange fatality so strongly discernible in the annals of this country, this grandeur suddenly vanished, in consequence of the extinction of the male Anjou line. From a reverence to her father, the States, contrary to the rule, resolved upon raising Mary daughter of Louis, to the throne, and, with her, her consort Sigismund of Brandenburg

son of the Emperor Charles IV.—a determination pregnant with portentous events. It was soon after his succession to the throne that the Sultan Bajazet began to infest the provinces subject to the Hungarian crown, and to threaten Hungary proper.

After gaining some victories over the Turks, Sigismund was completely routed at Nicopolis (1395), and obliged to fly the kingdom. During his absence, a party, headed by the palatine Gara, raised the standard of rebellion, and took him prisoner after his return. Scarcely was he released when he met with troubles in another quarter; having found a rival in Wladislaus, King of Poland, who had married Hedvig, the second daughter of Louis the Great. The circumstance of his having pawned the sixteen towns of the north, called the Zips, occasioned fresh discontent, and made them transfer their allegiance to his rival. After being elected Emperor of Germany and King of Bohemia, instead of providing for the safety of the country, Sigismund employed his time and resources in warring with the Hussites, and in presiding over the Council of Constance—satiating his impious zeal by condemning John Huss and Jerome to the flames. The learned Sigismund ended his inglorious reign in 1437, leaving a daughter of the name of Elizabeth, married to Albert, archduke of Austria.

After some misgivings the States proclaimed Albert King of Hungary, compelling him to confirm the privileges and rights of the country in a special manifesto resembling the Golden Bull. This Hapsburg king suddenly died, after a reign of three years. The States thereupon offered the crown to Wladislaus of Poland, and shortly afterwards the queen-dowager, the widow of Albert, was delivered of a son, called Ladislaus Posthumus. This was fresh cause for civil dissension, and, to add to the evil, Amurath prepared for another general invasion. The party of Wladislaus having triumphed, and secured his coronation, he turned his arms against the Turks, already masters of the

Danubian Principalities; and it was at this juncture that John Hunyadi, alias Corvinus, began to display those military talents which stamped him the first hero of the age.

The origin of Hunyadi is shrouded in mystery. The prevailing opinion is, that he was of Wallachian extraction, and the son of George Hunyadi, *vayvod* of Wallachia during the reign of Sigismund. As to his surname Corvinus, some derive it from his estate, *Piatra di Corvo*; others, from his ancestry. Having been nominated *vayvod* of Transylvania by Wladislaus, John Hunyadi met Amurath on the plains of Wallachia, and routing his army, compelled the sultan to retreat. The sultan then overran Servia; but here again the Janissaries were overpowered by the arm of brave Hunyadi. From Servia the Hungarians advanced into Bulgaria, conquered Nissa, and gained a signal victory before the walls of Sophia (1443). These victories inspired Pope Eugene IV. with the hopes of seeing the Turks chased from Europe; and, to accomplish the great work without delay, he formed a league with the King of Hungary, the Emperor John Palæologus, and the famous Scanderbeg, son of George Castriot, Prince of Epirus. The forces of these princes were, moreover, to be supported by a fleet, under the command of the Cardinal-Admiral Albert of Florence, destined to prevent the transportation of the Asiatic Turkish troops across the Hellespont. Apprised of these preparations, the sultan sent ambassadors to the camp of Hunyadi with offers of peace; and, at the intercession of George, despot of Servia, peace was actually concluded for the term of ten years (1444). The sultan, besides acknowledging the sovereignty of Hungary over Wallachia, bound himself to evacuate Bulgaria, and to restore all the Christian prisoners. The observance of the treaty, so advantageous and so needful to Hungary, was sworn to on the Gospel and the Koran. The Papal legate, Cardinal Julian, however, took care to have it turned into an immediate war. Besides representing the vast prepara-

tions made by the league, and the folly of losing the most favorable opportunity for entirely destroying the infidels (representations in themselves sufficient to shake the youthful and ambitious Wladislaus), the cardinal argued that the peace, inasmuch as it concerned all Christendom, and had been concluded without the consent of the pope, was null and void; and, moreover, that no obligations could bind Christians to keep faith with the infidels. The cardinal's harangue produced the desired effect. Wladislaus bound himself by a solemn oath to begin the crusade the very same year. Hunyadi and Dracul, the vayvod of Wallachia, are said to have dissuaded the king from the expedition, but in vain.

Despite the advanced state of the season, and the disbandment of part of his Polish and Hungarian legions, Wladislaus took the field, and marched into Bulgaria towards Widdin. Here he awaited the Greek troops and Scanderbeg, as well as the arrival of the Italian fleet before Gallipoli. Abandoned by his allies, while, despite the fleet, Amurath safely landed his Janissaries at Gallipoli, Wladislaus determined upon a retrograde march, and encamped before Varna, which had been previously taken from the Turks. The rapid advance of Amurath having rendered farther retreat impossible, Cardinal Julian advised him to await the enemy within the walls of Varna; while Hunyadi, to whom the maintenance of a siege seemed impossible in consequence of the want of provisions and ammunition, advised the acceptance of battle on the plain before the walls of the stronghold. The counsel of the vayvod prevailed. For three consecutive days and nights did the hostile forces combat each other without any decisive result. On the fourth day (the 10th of November), Hunyadi, charging with his horse, twice put to flight the Janissaries. On this assault, Amurath, chafing with rage and terror, turned his back to the followers of the Cross, but was stopped in his retreat by one of his subordinates seizing the bridle of his charger.

Meanwhile, two of the Hungarian bishops, as well as the king himself, despising the orders of Hunyadi, whose undisputed laurels they envied, left their position and rashly pursued the flying enemy, a movement which turned the day in favor of the Crescent. Wladislaus paid the penalty of his rashness, with sudden death, having been cut down by the sabres of the Janissaries; and his death at once became the signal of panic and ruin to his army. Hunyadi alone, with a few followers, escaped the carnage. Cardinal Julian, the author of this perfidy, was also among the slain.

The battle of Varna made the sultan sole master of Servia and Wallachia, while the surrounding powers contrived to profit by the misfortunes of deceived Hungary. Venice attempted to conquer Dalmatia and Croatia; the Poles invaded Moldavia; the Emperor Frederick III., the guardian of Ladislaus Posthumus, ravaged the provinces adjoining Austria. Frederick even refused to give up his ward to the Hungarians to be acknowledged king, and to hand over the crown of St. Stephan, which had been left with him for safety. Amid these troubles the States proclaimed Hunyadi governor of Hungary. The first task of the governor was to wrest the young prince from the hands of the emperor by force of arms; but the incursions of the Turks rendered this undertaking for a time impossible. Pope Nicholas, through his legate Cardinal St. Angelo, repeated the promises of his predecessor; but Hunyadi was too sagacious implicitly to confide in the support of the Roman see. Having, with the aid of the Papal legate, concluded a truce of two years with Frederick III., he turned with all his energy against the Turks; but his expectations of victory were disappointed by the treachery of George, despot of Servia, who went over to the camp of the Mussulmans. It was in consequence of this defection that Hunyadi lost, in 1450, the battle of Kossova (Campo Merula), in which 8000 Hungarians and 34,000 Turks are said to have fallen

It need hardly be observed that the Papal promises proved an idle phantom. Pope Nicholas attempted to palliate his inaction on the ground that the Greeks, most concerned in the war, had refused to subscribe to the union-scheme prepared at the Congress of Ferrara.

In 1452, the emperor at last agreed to release Ladislaus Posthumus, who was greeted by the general acclamations of the Hungarians. Hunyadi, having resigned his office of governor, was nominated generalissimo by the king. The terror that seized Europe after the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II., seemed to convince both the pope and emperor of the necessity of assisting Hungary; and while the former issued an indulgence to crusaders, the latter convoked the German States at Regensburg, where 10,000 horse and 32,000 foot were voted against the common foe; a number more numerous than Hunyadi had expected. The pope's indulgences, however, were too cheaply estimated; and the German levy did not go beyond the written resolutions. Exhausted Hungary was again left alone to fight the battles of Christendom. Slighting now his triumph over Bysanz, Mohammed set about preparing for the conquest of Hungary, and in 1456, he appeared before the walls of Belgrade with an army of 150,000 men. The garrison, under the command of Michael Orszag, numbered but a few thousands; the Papal indulgences, promised to every one who should serve for six months, proved for the most part fruitless; and, in addition to this, the king, admonished by Hunyadi to make speedy preparations, fled in dismay to Vienna. The generalissimo, left to his own resources, raised a force of 10,000 troops at his own expense; and to these were added a few thousand men that followed the cross of John Capistran, a Menonite monk. It was chiefly with these forces that Hunyadi hastened to the relief of Belgrade. It is not here the place to dwell on a defence on which the fate of Europe hung; it is enough briefly to state that,

after a siege of several weeks, the haughty Ottoman conqueror, after leaving about 24,000 slain, saw, on August 4, 1456, his lines broken and his soldiers flying precipitately to Adrianople. Excessive fatigue brought on the hero, immediately after this victory, an illness from which he died at Selmin, on the 10th of September. He left to his country two sons, Ladislaus and Matthias, the former of whom was cruelly executed by the orders of King Ladislaus Posthumus, while the latter was destined to reach honors and fame higher even than those of his father.

After the victory of Belgrade, the king returned from Vienna, and soon afterwards died at Prague. The subjugation of the Turks now became the common ground on which the rival princes built their hopes of the vacant throne. The three great rivals were the impotent Emperor Frederick, who held in his hands the crown of St. Stephan; Casmir of Saxony, brother-in-law to the late king; and the King of Poland. Each of these candidates found adherents among the reckless and corrupt oligarchs, but they became the especial support of the Hapsburg-emperor. At the head of his party stood Dionisius, Archbishop of Gran; the palatine Gara, a sworn enemy to the Hunyadis; and Nicholas Ujlak, vayvod of Transylvania. The more patriotic of the nobles, longing for a native ruler, spontaneously turned their eyes to Matthias, the younger son of John Hunyadi, who had marvellously escaped the fate of his elder brother. Treacherously carried away from Buda to Vienna by Ladislaus Posthumus, Matthias, but fourteen years old, was conveyed to Prague, where he arrived just at the death of the Hungarian king. At this juncture he was rescued by Podiebrad, who was about to ascend the throne of Bohemia, and, as afterwards appeared, aimed at making the young Hunyadi his son-in-law.

The party of Frederick were masters of the fortress of Buda, and in their confidence issued writs for the assembling of the diet.

The Hunyadi party found an able leader in Michael Szilagy, uncle to the young Matthias, and an army of 40,000 men stood ready before Pesth to support the cause of the young king. A sudden severe frost which covered the Danube with a thick sheet of ice, and thus facilitated the approach of Buda, turned the scale against the Hapsburg emperor. On the 24th of January, 1458, the diet proclaimed Matthias King of Hungary, and declared Szilagy governor during his minority. A deputation immediately repaired in great pomp to Bohemia, and recovered Matthias from the hands of Podiebrad, who was presented with 60,000 ducats, and had the satisfaction of seeing his favorite marriage scheme realized.

The Emperor Frederick, determined to dispute the Hungarian throne with Matthias, openly assumed the title of King of Hungary (1459); but after being defeated by the Hungarians, he agreed to an armistice, which Matthias employed in marching against the Turks, who were ravaging the Danubian Principalities, Bosnia and Servia. Having compelled Mohammed II. to evacuate those provinces, Matthias again turned his arms against the emperor, and compelled him to conclude a peace in 1463, renouncing all claim to the dominion of Hungary, and delivering up to the Hungarians the crown of St. Stephan. One of the conditions of this peace is said to have been, that in case of Matthias dying without issue, the right of succession should revert to the emperor, or his son Maximilian.

After this peace, Matthias again turned his arms against the Turks, having previously re-organized the military system of the kingdom. Mohammed, who vowed to unfurl the banner of the prophet on the ramparts of Belgrade, invaded Moldavia in 1466, after having come to a secret understanding with the *vayvod* Stephan; but here, too, the Hungarian arms were triumphant. Mohammed now sent ambassadors with offers of peace, while the papal legate was endeavoring to persuade Matthias to a war against Podie-

brad and the Hussites. When it was deliberated in the diet, whether the continuation of the Turkish war or a war against the Bohemians was preferable, the prelates pronounced for the latter, and so did the king. Matthias thus undertook a war against Podiebrad, his former father-in-law, already excommunicated by the pope, announcing, however, in his proclamations, that he took up arms only to defend the rights of the Catholics against the Hussites. The Emperor Frederick secretly designing to secure the Hungarian throne for his son Maximilian, fanned the ambition of Matthias, whose armies marched from victory to victory, and in a few weeks conquered three kingdoms. Accordingly, in May, 1469, Matthias caused himself to be proclaimed, at Olmutz, King of Bohemia and Moravia, and received, a few days afterwards, the homage of the Silesians at Breslau. Meanwhile, the Turks repeated undisturbed their incursions in Bosnia and Croatia, a circumstance which created in Hungary a party against the king, who was opposed in Bohemia by the King of Poland. Returning to his kingdom, and restoring order within, Matthias again marched to gain fresh laurels in conflict with his old foe. A most bloody battle was fought in Transylvania, on the banks of the Marosh, in 1479, where about 100,000 Turks, under Ali Beg, were defeated by Stephan Batory and Paul Kinisy. Amid these victories Matthias celebrated his second nuptials, having married Beatrix, daughter of Ferdinand of Naples. The death of Mohammed, which happened in 1481, was an event calculated to relieve Hungary from all apprehensions, and to re-establish general peace, when the war with the emperor, encouraged by Pope Sixtus II., was rekindled.

After a siege of four months, Vienna opened its gates to Matthias, (June, 1485,) and the emperor was obliged to roam in disguise from village to village. Matthias entered the capital of the Hapsburgs at the head of 8000 troops. The conquest of Austria so much heightened the credit of Matthias with

the Turks, that Sultan Bajazet despatched to him an embassy, bearing the congratulations of their master, and followed by ten camels laden with presents

Despite all the efforts of Frederick and his German allies, Matthias made Vienna for five years the seat of his government, and died there on the 22d of April, 1490, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and thirty-third of his reign.

At the death of Matthias the competitors for the Hungarian crown were John Corrinus, a natural son of Matthias, the Emperor Frederick, his son Maximilian and Wladislaus II. of Poland. The States declared for the last, whose inglorious reign is worthy of mention for the collection then made of the laws of the realm, and their sanction by the king and the States in 1514. This code is known as the *Tripartitum Opus Juris Consuetudinarii incltyti Regni Ungariæ*. Some supplements were made to it in 1628, all of which were afterwards merged in the *Corpus Juris*.

After his death Wladislaus was succeeded by his son Louis, under whose short reign Hungary hastened fast towards destruction. The ambition of the oligarchs, no less than the carelessness of the king, left the frontiers unprotected, and that at a juncture when Soliman the Magnificent, the most powerful of Ottoman emperors, commenced his career. Having captured Belgrade and Peterwardein, Soliman advanced at the head of 200,000 men into the interior of the country. This formidable force the weak king, idly confiding in the assistance of his brothers-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. and Ferdinand, had the rashness to meet with 25,000 men. The Turks lay encamped on the plain of Mohacs, near a town of that name, situated between the Danube and the Drave. After three days' skirmishing the Archbishop of Kolosa, Paul Tomory, urged a general attack, and within an hour and a half the kingdom of Hungary lay in the dust. The king, two archbishops, five bishops, five hundred of the higher nobles, and

almost the whole army perished in the carnage. This battle took place on the 29th of August, 1526. After this victory Soliman marched onwards, captured Buda, where all that told of the fame of Matthias Hunyadi fell a prey to the blind rage of the Jannissaries, and turning homewards, dragged in his train tens of thousands of prisoners.

The general consternation caused by the victory of the Turks at Mohacs had barely subsided, when the majority of the Hungarian nobles proclaimed John Zapolya, vavvod of Transylvania, king of Hungary; and he underwent, in the usual forms, the ceremony of coronation at Weissenburg. Several of the magnates, influenced partly by envy to the vavvod, partly by the prospect of the favors and distinctions of a foreign court, rallied round Ferdinand of Austria, brother of the emperor Charles V., who, in addition to the family alliance upon which he grounded his rights, urged the claims arising from his compact with his brother-in-law, Louis II. A year later Ferdinand likewise received the royal unction, and war accordingly commenced. Assisted by his brother Charles, and the hereditary States, Ferdinand sent an army into Hungary, before which his overconfident rival was soon compelled to retire. Zapolya took refuge for a time in Poland, whence he solicited aid both from Soliman and Francis I. of France. The French king, then at war with the Emperor Charles V., could hardly do more for Zapolya than send an ambassador to Hungary laden with fair promises. But the powerful Sultan, though equally importuned by Ferdinand, determined to aid the native king. A large Ottoman army, led by Soliman in person, entered Hungary in 1529, and drove the Austrians before them to the gates of Vienna. An attempt to take that capital having failed, the Sultan retraced his steps. After the conclusion of an armistice between Ferdinand and Zapolya, the war was renewed, and at last peace was concluded at Grosswardein in 1538. The basis of this peace was the par-

tion of Hungary—Zapolya retaining Transylvania and several counties on the Theiss, and Ferdinand Western Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia. After the death of Zapolya the whole kingdom was to revert to Ferdinand. An additional clause provided for a future alliance between the offspring of the two rivals. Two years afterwards Zapolya died, leaving a son called Sigismund. The queen dowager Elizabeth, backed by a strong party, and guided by the councils of George Martinussus (who, from the position of a monk, was raised by the deceased king to the rank of bishop), determined to gain the throne for her infant, who was actually proclaimed King of Hungary. The war with Ferdinand was forthwith renewed, and occasioned the second intervention of the Turks, in 1541; the Sultan, Soliman, having vowed to protect the interests of the infant Magyar king against the Austrians. From this point till the close of the seventeenth century, the Ottomans maintained the possession of the greater part of Hungary.

In 1547, Ferdinand and the emperor Charles at last succeeded in buying from the Sultan a truce for the term of five years, in consideration of an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats, the young Zapolya now depending entirely on the pleasure of his Ottoman protector. With the expiration of the truce the Turks again took the field, and, on the grant of a new annual tribute promised by Ferdinand, concluded a further truce for eight years, in 1562. In the meantime Ferdinand died, and was succeeded in 1564, by his son Maximilian. The irregular payment of the tribute having kindled the fury of Soliman, the Janissaries were anew set in motion, to be arrested at the fortress of Sziget, not by the numerous armies of the imperialists, who wisely remained at a distance, but by a handful of Hungarians, commanded by Nicholas Zrinyi. With a garrison of but 3000 men, Zrinyi defended Sziget against the whole Mussulman host, long after its walls had been demolished; and when all hope was gone, and his band was reduced to sixty men, he

threw open the gates, rushed with his followers upon the thick masses of the besiegers, and met death sword in hand. This event, the most remarkable in the history of modern sieges, happened in 1566.

Meanwhile the Reformation made rapid progress, especially among the higher classes, who, with the exception of three families, embraced the new creed—the Socinians gaining many adherents in Transylvania, where they were favored by the young Sigismund Zapolya. To preserve the Catholic Church from annihilation, the Archbishop Olah invoked the aid of the Jesuits, the most renowned among whom was one named Peter Canisius, commonly called *Canis Austriacus*. In 1576, Maximilian died, and was succeeded by his dreamy bigoted son, Rudolph, with whom the days of religious persecution commenced. In Transylvania religious liberty found a protector in Stephan Batory, who was elected prince, with the consent of the Sultan Selim, in 1571. The efforts of the Jesuits to kindle the resentment of this prince, who subsequently became so greatly distinguished as king of Poland, completely failed. A well known saying of his was, “that God reserved exclusively to himself three things—to create something out of nothing; to know the future; and to rule over conscience.”

The persecutions commenced in Hungary Proper against the Protestants, under the legal sanction of a dietal enactment passed in 1604, gave rise to fresh war. Stephan Boeskey, the leader of the Protestants, protected by the Porte, after having gained several victories over the imperialists, and penetrated into Austria, soon cooled the fanaticism of Rudolph, and a peace was concluded at Vienna in 1606. With Matthias II., brother of Rudolph, the dawn of happier days was ushered in. His reign, however, lasted but a few years, and Hungary was destined soon to experience the fanaticism of Ferdinand II., the hero of the “Thirty Years’ War.”

The accession of Ferdinand II. to the throne was signalized by the rise of the

Protestants of Bohemia, and the renewal of persecutions in Hungary. The latter were fomented by the Jesuit primate Peter Pazman, the most learned of the Hungarian prelates. In this emergency Hungary found a defender in Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania, a zealous Protestant. Bethlen entered into an alliance with the Porte, with the Protestants of Austria, and with the Bohemians. The Bohemians had elected as their prince, Frederick of the Pfalz, son-in-law of James I. of England. The revolution in the seraglio at Constantinople, and the dastardly conduct of Frederick, content to abandon his subjects and save himself by flight, destroyed *in embryo* this combination. Notwithstanding, the Transylvanian prince, after having gained several advantages over the imperialists, led by Bouguoi, forced Ferdinand to a peace, which was concluded at Nikolsburg, in 1621. By the terms of this treaty, Ferdinand engaged to observe strictly all the laws of the country, and maintain inviolate the privileges of the Protestants; and Bethlen was acknowledged prince of Transylvania and of seven counties of Hungary Proper, and promised the possession of the duchies of Oppeln and Ratisbon, in Silesia. The infraction of this treaty on the part of the emperor led to a second war, which terminated in another peace, concluded in 1628, at Presburg. And now, when the Protestant party were about to receive a formidable defender in Gustavus Adolphus, Bethlen suddenly died. Meanwhile, the Jesuits succeeded in regaining to the Roman Church many of the most powerful of the aristocracy, who carried along with them their numerous serfs. Ferdinand dying in 1637, and the religious persecutions being continued during the reign of his son and successor, Ferdinand III., the country was again exposed to the horrors of war, and in the present instance also the national cause found a defender in the prince of Transylvania, George Rakoczy, who extorted the peace of Lintz, concluded in 1645. His elder son having preceded Ferdinand III. to

the grave, he was succeeded by his second son, Leopold, whose reign forms the most tragic page in Hungarian annals.

At his coronation this prince engaged himself to maintain the laws of the country in a diploma containing the important provision, that without the consent of the diet no war should be proclaimed, nor foreign troops introduced into the country. Despite these promises, however, Leopold ordered fresh troops to enter Hungary, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting his partisan, Kemény, in Transylvania, against Abafi, the designated prince of the Porte, but actually for the suppression of the heretics. Hereupon the Grand Vizier led his forces up the Danube, but, aided by a corps sent by Louis XIV. of France, the imperialists gained the battle of St. Gotthard (1664), a victory which Leopold availed himself of for signing a hasty peace with the infidels, in order the more easily to check the heretics. Persecutions, as well as depredations, which fell equally heavy on the Catholics, now followed each other in rapid succession, and the result was, that the most devoted magnates of the House of Austria conspired to save the nation from ruin. The heads of this conspiracy were the palatines Vesselenyi, Peter Zriny, the ban of Croatia, and the chief-justice Nadasdy. The plot having been prematurely discovered, these leaders were partly seized and partly decoyed to Vienna, placed before a foreign tribunal, and executed. The consternation became general, and the archbishop Szelepcsény established a tribunal at Presburg, before which upwards of two hundred Lutheran and seventy-five Calvinist ministers were compelled to appear. The mad zeal went so far as to sell many of those victims as galley-slaves, some of whom recovered their liberty (at Naples, whither they had been conveyed), by the intercession of the Dutch admiral, John de Haen. The Protestants, in despair, rose in arms, and found an intrepid leader in Emeric Tököli (1678). The Marquis de Bethune, the ambassador of Louis XIV. in Poland, greatly encouraged

the Hungarians, and concluded a treaty with Tököli, from which much was expected, but which remained unfulfilled in consequence of the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen. No other ally was thus left to Hungary except the Porte, not a very reliable friend in hours of extreme danger. The grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, who, despite the remonstrances of Tököli, marched straight forward to Vienna, (1683), was, as is well known, compelled to raise the siege, and then routed, by the valor of Sobieski, king of Poland. The misfortunes that henceforth overtook the Turks in Hungary, the alliance with Tököli, and the fate of the malecontents, were but little thought of at Constantinople, then ruled over by imbecile Sultans. Nor did the court of Vienna neglect to attempt rendering Tököli an object of suspicion to the Porte, in consequence of which he was thrown into chains and carried prisoner to Constantinople. Leopold now took revenge upon Hungary. A scaffold was erected in the market-place of Eperies, in the month of March, 1687, and kept standing to the end of the year. For nine long months the Hungarians beheld their countrymen dragged to open butchery, and if contemporary historians are to be believed, the executioners were weary of sacrificing the multitude of victims, which were, without much distinction, delivered up to them. These massacres, perpetrated under the auspices of General Caraffa, are known in the Hungarian annals by the name of the Butcheries of Eperies. The scaffolds were yet standing when the emperor caused the diet to proclaim the crown of Hungary hereditary, and to crown his son Joseph. After these massacres, Tököli, now released from imprisonment, again called the people to arms, resting his hopes of success on fresh engagements with the Porte. But the victories of Prince Eugene, which resulted in the Peace of Carlowitz, in 1699, gradually dissipated all hopes, and the patriotic leader with his followers, had no other chance left but to seek refuge in the Turkish territory at Nicomedia.

The oppressive rule was persevered in even after the total destruction of the national party; but by an almost incredible vitality, the nation at large was, three years after the peace of Carlowitz, enabled again to make a gigantic effort for independence. The victory of the Austrians under Prince Eugene, which led to the peace of Carlowitz, was gained in 1697, at Zenta, a village on the Theiss. By this peace the Porte abandoned Hungary and Transylvania to the emperor, but was confirmed in the possession of the Banat. The relinquishing of this fertile province to the Turks, as well as the fact that the emperor concluded that peace without the knowledge of the States, was sufficient to create the indignation even of the Austrian party, which largely effected their subsequent success. The leader in this fresh war, which lasted from 1703 to 1711, was Francis Rakoczy, prince of Transylvania. Its issue chiefly depended on the great European war then carried on between France on the one hand, and England, Holland and Austria on the other. Louis XIV. too well felt how favorable a diversion a war in Hungary created for his interests not to encourage and negotiate with Prince Rakoczy; while on the other hand, England and Holland were equally anxious to render him inclined to accept peace.

Through the mediation of the envoys of these two countries a temporary armistice was concluded, and deliberations for a final settlement of disputes were in course, when the victories of Eugene and Marlborough rendered all appearance of moderation on the part of Austria superfluous. Hostilities thus recommenced, and were at first in favor of the Hungarians, who assembled in Onod (1707), and declared the Hapsburg dynasty dethroned. But the favorable turn which affairs took on the Rhine enabled the Emperor Joseph to send reinforcements to the Danube, and the cause of the confederates began rapidly to decline. Rakoczy, discouraged and deceived in his expectations with regard to France and Charles XII. of

Sweden, left the battle-field for Poland, under the pretence of seeking aid, and in his absence peace was concluded (1711), by Karoli, the chief of the Hungarian generals. At this juncture Joseph I. died, and was succeeded by his brother Charles VI. From this time no serious disturbance or open war took place between Hungary and her Hapsburg rulers until 1848. Charles secured the establishment of the right of succession in the female line. This right, known by the name of "Pragmatic Sanction," he obtained at the diet of 1722. In the year 1740, Charles died, leaving his throne to his daughter Maria Theresa, after having exasperated the minds of the nation by the issue of the war made in common with Anne, empress of Russia, upon the Porte, and which ended in abandoning to the Turks the fortress of Belgrade, and several other districts that belonged to the Hungarian crown.

The share which Hungary had in saving the Austrian empire from complete dissolution, during the reign of Maria Theresa, is too familiar to be here described. Threatened by Prussia, Bavaria and France, and appearing at Presburg as a fugitive, she had to appeal but once to the magnanimity and compassion of the States to make all of them shout with tears in their eyes, *Moriamur pro rege nostro*, and to make them immediately effect the *insurrectio*, or the general rise of the nobles. This tragico-dramatic scene took place on the 11th of September, 1741, the young sovereign addressing in Latin the *ordines regni* with her infant Joseph—but six months old—in her trembling arms.

In 1780, Maria Theresa died, and was succeeded by her son Joseph, the last of the male line in the Hapsburg family. The reign of this philosophic monarch produced events of a different character. Hurried away by his zeal for reform, Joseph, whose Edict of Toleration shocked all bigoted minds, and who aspired at transforming the Austrian States into a uniform monarchy, thought it better to dispense with diets, and so pay no regard whatever to ancient usages, and con-

sequently began to govern Hungary by edicts. Not content with this, he enjoined the exclusive use of the German language in the schools, courts of justice and administration, and imprudently carried the crown of St. Stephan to Vienna. To crown all, the exorbitant taxes which he raised for the prosecution of a war against Turkey, in conjunction with Catherine II. of Russia, produced new discontent. The whole country was thus on the eve of a general war, when the king-emperor recalled all his edicts, promised redress and suddenly died (1790). His brother and successor, Leopold, was obliged to confirm the liberties and rights of Hungary in a more explicit manner than any of his predecessors had done.

Leopold was succeeded by his son Francis, at a time when all the dynasties of Europe were meditating the destruction of revolutionary France. Francis swore to the laws of Hungary as readily as the other Hapsburgs had been in the habit of doing; and the States of Hungary contented themselves with furnishing the Viennese court with men and money. The king had but to mention the dangers with which the throne and the "glorious privileges" of the feudal lords were threatened by the French Revolution, and levy followed levy *en masse*. The feudal lords of the Danube were not even impelled by a feeling of curiosity to think a while of what happened on the Seine. One abbot, Martinovich, and a few others, who pondered over the *Declaration of the Rights of Men*, paid for their curiosity with their lives.

No other Hapsburg king of Hungary convoked the States so regularly and at such short intervals as Francis I. did, from the commencement of the Great War to the period when (as the phrase ran), to save Europe, he sacrificed his daughter Maria Louisa; and at no other period were the Hungarian nobles more lavish in sacrificing their lives and treasures. In the year 1809, alone 50,000 nobles took the field, and their equipment entailed an outlay of more than

14,000,000 florins, besides the armaments of the counties. At the same time Hungary became inundated with bad coin and paper money, and was made to feel deeply the effects of the Austrian state bankruptcy. The States then began to approach the throne with loud complaints; but the close of the Great War led the emperor to choose, for the sake of avoiding useless recrimination, the easy method of altogether discontinuing the holding of the diets. This system was persevered in amid loud manifestations of discontent, till the year 1825, when the convening of the States and the exculpatory speech of the monarch again restored harmony between him and his subjects. It is to this date that the reform movement in Hungary, resulting in 1848, in the abolition of feudality, must be traced. The reconciliation of the Viennese court, where Prince Metternich, the personal friend of the emperor, possessed the greatest influence, to the idea of constitutionalism in Hungary was no doubt much owing to the unsettled state of Europe, and in particular to the war of independence of the Greeks, which reacted on all the Christian provinces of the Ottoman empire.

Upon the whole, the diet of 1825 was of a retrospective character, but it remained immovable from the appearance of Count Stephan Szechenyi. The young count, then a captain in a hussar regiment, startled the lords spiritual and temporal, who strictly adhered to the use of Latin, by delivering his speech in the Magyar tongue; and on that occasion he, more than any other magnate, contributed to the establishment of a Hungarian academy, or learned society, offering towards this object his income of one year. This diet being ended, he left the army, and boldly assuming the task of a reformer, began to apply himself to political writing. He advocated the redress of some grievances connected with feudal tenure, reform in the laws relating to credit, and an increase and improvement of the means of internal communication. The effects pro-

duced by his writings were shown in the spirit of the diet of 1832, when earnest appeals were made by the liberals in favor of the peasantry, and when the antiquated privileges of the nobles began to be called by their right names. A loud cry was also raised on behalf of Poland, then suffering all the horrors of a vanquished people. The results of that diet, however, were futile, although the progress which the idea of reform made in public opinion had by that time become palpable enough. Next to Szechenyi—engaged with the creation of clubs, the introduction of horse-racing, and plans for the regulation of the rivers, and for railway lines and other public works—the pioneers in the path of progress were Francis Kölesey, the most classical of Hungarian authors; Stephan Bezeredi, who may be styled the Wilberforce of the Hungarian serfs; Francis Deak; Gabriel Klauzal; and Eugene Boethy. The last—who, after a stay of a few years in Britain, died in 1854, an exile in Hamburgh—was remarkable for his wit and extempore harangues, and contributed much to the progress made in matters pertaining to religion. The Viennese court, to intimidate public discussion, resolved to visit a few of the liberals with imprisonment—a fate which fell also to the lot of Louis Kossuth. But this arbitrary conduct served only to render more animated the diet of 1840. The results of this diet were also nugatory. Public discussion, however, entered into a new phase, in consequence of the appearance of the political journal (*Pesti-Hirlap*) edited by Louis Kossuth.

Despite the influence of Kossuth's labors as a journalist, and the stimulus given to public opinion by the liberal tendency of the literature, then in its most flourishing state, all that the diet of 1843 accomplished was an enactment conferring on the serfs the right to purchase their complete independence by paying a sum equivalent to the value of the land they possessed. Marriages between Roman Catholics and Protestants

solemnized by Protestant clergymen, were declared to be legal, and provision was made for enabling Roman Catholics to make a legal transfer of their profession from the Popish to a Protestant creed.

On the 11th of November, 1847, the diet was opened by King Ferdinand V. in person, the business having, according to usage, commenced with debates on the proposals of the crown. The first duty was the election of a palatine in the person of the Archduke Stephan, who was appointed to the office. In the address to the throne, particular stress was laid, along with the mention of other *gravamina* or grievances, on the recent change introduced into the county administration. The final solution of the reform questions, especially opposed by the upper table or the House of Lords, was quickened by the unexpected February revolution of Paris. A numerous deputation conveyed the demands of the diet to Vienna. The troubled state of Lombardo-Venetia, and the revolutionary aspect of the capital, followed by the flight of Metternich, allowed the court but short time for equivocation; and Count Louis Batthanyi, who had latterly served the cause of reform, was entrusted by his majesty with the formation of a Hungarian responsible ministry. The principal laws passed were—The abolition of feudality; general taxation for all classes; the extension of the franchise to commoners, including also those occupying the military frontiers; the equality of all received religions, including the Unitarians; the reunion of Transylvania with the mother country; liberty of the press, and trial by jury. On the 11th of April, King Ferdinand repaired to Presburg, and closed the diet amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the people.

As it afterwards became manifest, the court of Vienna, far from readily acquiescing in these reforms, rather meant them as a bait for drawing large supplies from Hungary against the Italian provinces, having immediately conceived the idea of prevent-

ing the consolidation of the new state of affairs by fanning internal discord. This was easily accomplished. The Rascians, who chiefly inhabit the Banat, and the Croats, demanded separate rights and separate administration, and instantly commenced to arm. The Rascians, who first unsheathed the sword of civil war, and many of whom were military borderers inured to arms, soon gained the ascendancy over the Magyars and Germans that inhabited the same districts, while their large supplies of arms and ammunition clearly indicated that they were receiving external assistance. Nor was it long before it became evident that Austrian officers were in their camps, directing their plans of attack. This state of things could not but hasten a collision between the Hungarian ministry and the court of Vienna with regard to a most sensitive question—the army,—the former having necessarily urged the recall of the Hungarian regiments. Without complying with this demand, the Viennese court—which as yet feigned surprise at what happened in Southern Hungary, and stigmatized the Rascians and Croats as rebels—placed at the disposal of the Hungarian ministry a few foreign regiments, the commanders of which were soon found to be acting according to secret orders. The ranks of the Rascians were also swelled by levies openly made in Servia by the Austrian consul. While the Banat was thus all but a smouldering flame, Transylvania was becoming the theatre of a no less savage conflict. The Wallachs, inflamed against their former feudal lords, and furnished with arms, destroyed Magyars, and everything that belonged to Magyars, with indiscriminate fury. The Saxons, flattered with hopes of great separate privileges, though preferring to keep within the walls of their towns, likewise contributed to the carnage; and, in addition to this general distress, Baron Jellachich (lately nominated Ban of Croatia) undisguisedly prepared an expedition against Pesth. The ministers turned to the fountain

of justice, and King Ferdinand readily issued proclamations admonishing the "rebels" to peace and obedience; while the "rebels," in strange mockery, were boasting at that very moment of fighting for the king and his throne.

Amid this slaughter and devastation, the court of Vienna, directing its conduct in Hungary according to the state of the war in Lombardo-Venetia, went a step further in its dissimulation. The diet was convoked at Pesth with the avowed object of providing for the defence of the country (July 5). In the speech from the throne, the palatine, who opened the diet as vice-regent, declared the determination of the king to protect the integrity of the Hungarian throne. The secret object in view of the imperial dynasty in convoking the diet, as it appeared, was to obtain fresh levies for Italy, an idea sufficiently extravagant. The parliamentary deliberations on that head were, however, cut short by the approach of the Ban Jellachich. Count Bathanyi resigned, and Kossuth determined to proceed to the country and call the people to arms. The terror of the Croatian invasion soon proved a farce. Having advanced till within twenty-five miles from Pesth, the Ban was defeated in an engagement which took place at Paakozd, and fled toward the Austrian frontiers during a three days' armistice that was granted to him. A few days afterwards, his rear, consisting of 10,000 men, was compelled to a surrender. The court now prepared for a regular invasion of Hungary, while the diet was equipping the levy of 200,000 men formerly decreed, and from which decree royal sanction had been withheld. Meanwhile a dynastic revolution was accomplished. The weak Ferdinand was made to resign and to give place to his cousin, the Archduke Francis Joseph, son of Francis Charles, the heir-apparent to the throne. The new emperor proclaimed his ascension in a manifesto, announcing, among the primary things, the reduction of Hungary, while, at the same time, the diet de-

clared this dynastic change unconstitutional and illegal. The real intentions of the court had been shortly before divulged by the interception of the correspondence of Count Latour, the Austrian minister of war, and the seizure of the papers of the palatine, who had fled to Vienna when he was supposed to be repairing to the camp to take the lead of the Hungarian troops.

Having dispersed a Slavonic congress held at Prague, and reduced the capital to obedience, Prince Windischgrätz, joined by the troops of the Ban, began marching against Pesth. A part of the Hungarian national army, or the *Honveds*, which opposed his progress, were commanded by Görgei, lately a subaltern officer in the Austrian army. Without meeting much opposition, the Austrians advanced, in the beginning of 1849, to the vicinity of Pesth, which they occupied, after the diet and the committee of public defence had determined to transfer their seat to Debreezin, a town situated on the upper side of the Theiss. The heavy falls of snow, the severity of the season, the badness of the roads, naturally enjoined on the Austrian commander the necessity of a short respite, and during that interval the national government gained time for effecting a concentration of troops, and for procuring the *materiel* of war. With regard to the latter, the efforts and inventive powers of Kossuth surpassed every expectation.

On the advance of the Austrians in February, 1849, the first engagement which took place at Kapolna proved decisive for neither party; but, a few days afterwards, a Hungarian corps, withdrawn from the Lower Danube, and commanded by Damyanics, one of the most valiant of officers, routed the Austrians at Szolnok. In the meantime, the Görgei corps, which, at the taking of Pesth by the Austrians, made a flank movement to the north, made its way amid numerous privations and difficulties through the Carpathians to join the army on the Theiss; while in Transylvania the war

entered into quite a new phasis. After the Hungarians, led by the intrepid Bem, a general known as a Polish hero since 1830, had defeated both the Austrians commanded by General Puchner and the Wallachs, application was made to Russia, and General Luders, the Russian commander in the Danubian Principalities, forthwith penetrated into Transylvania, occupying Hermanstadt and Cronstadt, two towns inhabited by the Saxons. Even this foreign aid proved ineffectual. The victorious national legions led by Bem, took Hermanstadt by storm, and compelled both the Russians and Austrians to seek safety in the territories of the Porte.

By this time a large national army was ready on the Theiss to commence the offensive against Windischgrätz. The command was given to Görgei, and the different corps were led by Damyanics, Klapka and Aulich. After crossing the Theiss, the Hungarians, in a high pitch of enthusiasm, advanced on the road leading to Pesth, meeting with the first serious resistance at the mountains of Gödölö. After an obstinate battle the Austrians were driven from their positions, and successively defeated in four other pitched battles, the bloodiest of which was that of Isaszeg, fought on the 6th of April. Windischgrätz, abandoning the capital to the rebels, hastened to recross the Danube, leaving behind a small garrison at Buda.

Amid these victories, Kossuth, the president of the committee of public safety, proposed in the diet the dethronement of the Hapsburg dynasty, and the proposal was carried by acclamation. Hatred to the Austrian dynasty was much increased, both in consequence of its having called in the Russians, and by the new constitution promulgated (March 4) by the emperor Francis Joseph, which made a *tabula rasa* of all the ancient laws of Hungary. The substance of the act of independence, passed on the 14th of April, runs to the following effect: That the House of Hapsburg having treacherously levied war against the nation, broken

up the integrity of the kingdom, and called in the aid of a foreign power to accomplish its aims, has by these facts destroyed all the treaties that bound it to Hungary, and is therefore declared forever excluded from the throne of the Hungarian kingdom. The future form of government was to be fixed afterwards, and in the meantime Kossuth was nominated governor, and a new responsible ministry formed. The legislators at Debreczin little suspected that that very moment couriers between Vienna and Petersburg were preparing a second Russian invasion, and that Europe would raise no voice against such an act. The English and French governments refused even to admit into their presence the Hungarian envoys. Though the warlike preparations of Russia were now immense, the Hungarians, under Damyanics, gained (April 18) the battle of Nagy Sarlo, which, if followed up, would have placed in their hands the Austrian capital, and thus have rendered them secure against Russian power. The commander-in-chief, Görgei, however, instead of advancing, led the army back to Buda, which, after a three weeks' siege, was taken by assault on the 21st of May; the divisions of Generals Nagy and Kmety having been the first to scale the ramparts. The Russians meanwhile concentrated their forces in Poland, while the Hungarian government, not to offend European diplomacy, proved its forbearance, by refusing to order the corps of observation in the north to advance into Galicia, and thus anticipate the Russian invasion. Neither Russia nor the Western powers showed any sense of this moderation.

The Russians, commanded by Paskiewitsch, began to pour in upon the Hungarian territory in June. The whole invading army amounted to upwards of 200,000 men. The Austrians were now placed under the command of Haynau, who was at Presburg, joined by a Russian corps under General Panutin. The fact alone, that no protest was made, no word raised against the Rus-

sian invasion, served greatly to discourage both the people and the national troops. The combined armies of the two emperors reaped no small advantages from the refractoriness of Görgei, who, jealous of his comrades, prevented a speedy concentration of the troops. Obligated for the second time to abandon the capital, the diet and government repaired now to Szegedin, a town situated on the Theiss. After occupying Pesth, Haynau and the Russian corps joined to his army advanced towards the new seat of the diet; and at the same time the main body of the Russians advanced in two columns upon Miskolez and Debreczin. The diet then transferred its seat to Arad, the fortress of which, like Comorn and Petervardein, was in the hands of the nation, and now the great struggle was drawing to its melancholy close. In Transylvania, the army under Bem was finally overpowered and routed; and in Hungary, Haynau and the Russian corps first drove the Hungarians, commanded by Dembensky, from their position at Szegedin, and then gained a signal victory near Temesvar (August 9). It was two days after this latter defeat that Görgei, after a flank movement, undertaken at his own suggestion, arrived at Arad, where a pitched battle was to have been fought with concentrated forces; but this plan was naturally much affected by the defeat of Temesvar. At this juncture Kossuth resigned (August 11), having, in concert with those ministers that were present, nominated Görgei dictator of Hungary, and soon afterwards left Arad. The new dictator, who for some time back had been negotiating with the Russians, no sooner entered upon his office, than he at once settled with the Russian commander-in-chief the conditions of a surrender. This was soon accomplished on the 13th of August at Vilagos, a place near Arad; 24,000 men laid down their arms, and delivered 140 guns to the Russian General Rudiger. Bodies of troops that were in the immediate vicinity were compelled to do the same and the fortress

of Arad also opened its gates to the Russians. The belief of many among the Hungarian army, it may be observed, was, that the Grand Duke Constantine was to be the king of Hungary, and that he promised to give a constitution.

A few thousand men followed Bem and Guyon to Turkey, whether Kossuth and several others of the principal leaders had retreated, while all the prisoners of war were delivered by the Russians to General Haynau; and by the 2nd of October the last rock of hope disappeared in the capitulation of Comorn, governed by General Klapka. "Hungary lay now entirely prostrate. The Russians began to take their backward route to the north and east, the Servians returned to the south, only the Austrians remaining with their commander Haynau, surrounded by bloody tribunals and hangmen. In almost every town of importance sat these foreign judges, to whom Francis Joseph confided the complete pacification of Hungary, Arad and Pesth, however, were the centres of these judicial proceedings. By an inexorable decree of Haynau, all the officers below the rank of a general, if not consigned to prison, were pressed as privates into the Austrian service, while the generals were sentenced to perish by the rope." Eleven generals perished on the gallows at Arad on the 6th of October: Kiss, Török, Aulich, Lahner, Schweidel, Lemingen, Vecsey, Kneich, Nagy Sandor and Danyanics. The last, the Hector of the Hungarian army, was dragged to the scaffold, despite his fractured leg. On the same day were executed at Pesth with the bullet, Count Louis Batthanyi, Baron Prenyi, and several others, whose memory is endeared to the nation.

Despite the fact, that the constitution promulgated by the emperor in March, 1849, meant to give equal rights to all the parts of the monarchy, was subsequently declared inapplicable, the new *regime* in Hungary was based on the ruins of all the ancient institutions. The office of the palatine, the county municipalities, the rights and privil

eges of the Protestant churches, all were swept away by periodical organic laws or ordinances. A treacherous hand dug up the crown of St. Stephan to deliver it to the emperor. But Francis Joseph, too glad of its possession, declined to undergo the ceremonies of coronation. From a kingdom, Hungary thus sunk into a province.

That the people felt the loss of their political rights, and looked with anything but contentment upon the *tabula rasa*, feeding a host of foreign officials, and the infinitely less pleasant secret spies, may easily be understood. It is no secret, that the 119 million florins which Hungary contributed in 1854, to the well-known voluntary loan of 500 millions, was, in the proper sense, a compulsory tax, levied with the voice of command and intimidation. As if willing still more to brave the feelings of Hungary, the emperor surrendered to the pope the privileges of the Hungarian king by the concordat concluded in August, 1855.

In the year 1860, the Austrian Emperor, by his own will, granted certain privileges to all the subjects of his crown. These grants and reforms might have been a boon to a people who had never known real freedom, but they were an insult to those who had once possessed it, and, as such, they were rejected by the Hungarian Diet. An address was sent to the emperor, in reply, which he refused to receive, as it did not recognize him as king of Hungary. To a second address he replied by refusing an amalgamation, but granting a separate internal administration, at the same time with dynastic, military, diplomatic and financial unity with the rest of the empire. This rescript was received in the Hungarian Diet with contempt and disgust. An answer was prepared by M. Deak, which maintained that, according to the pragmatic sanction, there exists between Hungary and the hereditary countries no other bond of union besides the identity of the reigning house, while the

right of making laws and interpreting them, belongs to the legally crowned king and the legally assembled Diet, and cannot be exercised without the latter; and Hungary, he declared was determined to adhere to this pragmatic sanction, while it protested against the exercise on the part of the Reichsrath, of any legislative or other power over Hungary in any relation whatever. This reply was immediately adopted by the Hungarian Parliament. The emperor met the difficulty by a rescript, dated August 31st, dissolving the Diet. He then undertook to collect by force the taxes which the people had refused to pay. Soldiers were quartered in Hungary, and a system of intolerable oppression pursued until at last the people submitted in silence, and the taxes were sullenly paid.

The fear of another war in Italy, arising out of the difficulties in the way of settling the treaty of Villafranca, and the danger of an uprising of the provinces during the war, led to farther attempts to conciliate the Hungarian people; many concessions were made, and a general amnesty granted to political offenders. The outbreak in Poland, too, led to disturbances in Hungary which were soon suppressed by the military power. This state of things went on until the disastrous result of the German war in 1866 showed the Austrian government the necessity of strengthening her dominion by harmonizing in some way the discordant elements that caused its weakness. The negotiations between the emperor and the Hungarian Diet were brought to a close in 1867, by the full restoration of the Constitution and privileges which the kingdom of Hungary claimed in its own right. The Emperor of Austria was crowned in Pesth on the 8th of June, 1867, with the crown of St. Stephan. The coronation was performed with all the traditionary ceremonies; and amid the acclamations of the people, the emperor took the royal oath to support alike the rights of the king and the Constitution.

POLAND.

THE Poles belong to the great family of the Slavonians, who, when the Goths and Vandals possessed themselves of Gaul, Spain and Italy, left their ancient habitations east of the Vistula, and gradually spread themselves to the south and west. Though they frequently, like the other barbarians, disturbed the Roman Empire, yet they were generally peaceful in their character. They settled on the lands that other nations had relinquished, employing themselves as husbandmen and shepherds, in the domestic arts or in trade. They were characterized by their hospitality and honesty; and from their peaceful habits, were often deeply wronged by their more warlike neighbors.

The first prince of Poland is said to have been Lech, who flourished in the middle of the sixth century. He founded the first city, Gnesna, so naming it from *Gniazdo*, signifying "a nest,"—as an eagle's nest was found there; and hence the arms of Poland were a spread eagle. The descendants of Lech reigned in Poland for about one hundred years, when the race being extinct, twelve palatines, or vayvods, were chosen, and the country divided into twelve parts. The people soon became dissatisfied with this government, and chose one of the twelve, Cracus, to be their sovereign. He reigned for about thirty years, and was much esteemed by the people. He founded Cracow, and removed the seat of his government from Gnesna to that city. He left three children, the eldest of whom, Cracus, succeeded him, but he was

soon after murdered by his brother Lech. The latter did not long profit by his fratricide, for the crime having been discovered, he was deposed and banished by his subjects, and his sister Venda elected in his stead. She was celebrated for her beauty; and having refused the hand of a German prince named Rudiger, he marched against her with a large army. According to some accounts she was defeated, and to save herself from falling into his hands, she drowned herself in the Vistula; according to others, Rudiger's forces having abandoned him without striking a blow, he killed himself in despair, and she was so much concerned at his death that she drowned herself. The race of Cracus being thus extinct, twelve vayvods were again appointed, but they soon fell out among themselves, and the country was invaded by the Hungarians and Moravians. One Premisl, a common soldier, having by stratagem overthrown the invaders, was raised to the dukedom under the title of Lesko I. After a long and prosperous reign, he died without leaving issue, and again the country was thrown into a state of anarchy. Several candidates appeared for the crown, and the Poles determined to elect him who should outstrip all the others in a horse-race. A certain nobleman, in order to secure the victory, caused the race-course to be strewn with iron spikes, and had the feet of his own horse protected by iron plates. The artifice took effect; but when he was about to be proclaimed victor, a peasant who had found

out the deceit, opposed the ceremony, and exposed the fraud. The nobleman was immediately torn to pieces by the people, and the ducal authority conferred on the peasant. The new sovereign, Lesko II., conducted himself with great wisdom and moderation, and was distinguished both in war and peace. He is said to have at length fallen in a war with Charlemagne. He was succeeded by his son, Lesko III., who inherited all his father's virtues. He concluded a peace with Charlemagne, and encouraged among his subjects the cultivation of the arts of peace. He was succeeded by his legitimate son, Popiel I., but he left also a number of illegitimate sons, to whom he gave fiefs which were held from the crown. Popiel was a monster of cruelty and debauchery, and his son Popiel II. was, if possible, still worse. He found means to poison all his uncles (the illegitimate sons of Lesko III.), at an entertainment; but it is said that the vengeance of heaven soon overtook him, and he perished miserably with all his house. The nation now became a prey to civil discord; and at length a diet was assembled at Kruswick to choose a king. They could not, however, come to any agreement, and their presence soon brought on a famine in the town. A citizen named Piast liberally opened his stores for their use, and this act brought him the kingdom. He was proclaimed duke about 830, and his reign was long and peaceful. He engaged in no foreign wars, and was harassed with no domestic commotions. His son Ziemowitz, who succeeded him, was of a more warlike disposition than his father, and was the first to introduce regular discipline among the Polish troops. He was victorious in all his battles, and greatly enlarged his dominions. Lesko IV. succeeded him in 892. This prince was of a quiet and peaceful disposition, and contented himself with preserving what his father had left, without seeking to enlarge his dominions. He died in 913 and was succeeded by his son Ziemovistus. He, too, had a peaceful reign, which extend-

ed over fifty-one years, and was succeeded by his son Miecislus.

Miecislus I., who attained the ducal authority in 964, was born blind, and remained so for seven years; but he afterwards obtained his sight without any assignable cause; and hence it was ascribed to a miracle. He became enamored of Dombrowka, daughter of the Duke of Bohemia; but that lady refused to accept his suit unless he should suffer himself to be baptized. The religion which the duke had thus been led to adopt he afterwards propagated with the greatest zeal. On his death in 999, he was succeeded by his son Boleslas I., surnamed the Brand, who was even more zealous than his father in extirpating the remains of paganism. He obtained the remains of St. Adelbert, who had been murdered in Prussia, and deposited them with great pomp at Gnesna. Otho III., Emperor of Germany, having made a pilgrimage to the tomb of this saint, was so kindly entertained by Boleslas that in return he invested him with regal dignity; an act which was confirmed by the pope. The elevation of Boleslas excited the envy of the Duke of Bohemia, who had vainly solicited that honor for himself; and his jealousy was further excited by the marriage of Miecislus, Boleslas' son, with Rixa, the emperor's niece. He accordingly entered Poland at the head of a numerous army, and committed the most wanton and barbarous outrages. On the approach of the Polish army, however, he retreated with precipitation; and Boleslas, at the head of a formidable army, entered Bohemia. The Bohemians had not the courage to venture a battle; and after a siege of two years, Prague, the capital, was taken, and most of the other fortresses in the country speedily fell into the hands of the conqueror. He did not, however, rest satisfied with this, but followed up his advantages, resolved to obtain possession of the duke, which he at length did, and to satisfy his resentment, put out his eyes. From Bohemia he marched against Moravia, which submitted without striking a blow. He after-

wards turned his attention to Russia, and found an excuse for invading that country in a civil war that was then raging between the children of the famous Vladimir. The chief competitors were Jarislas and Swiantopelk. Boleslas sided with the latter, and defeated Jarislas with great slaughter on the banks of the Bug. He took Kiow, the most celebrated and opulent city in that part of Europe, and became master of the greater part of Russia. He placed Swiantopelk on the throne, but he soon found in him a more dangerous enemy than his brother. This Russian prince had no sooner obtained the crown than he formed a conspiracy, which had for its object nothing less than the destruction of Boleslas and his whole army. The massacre was already begun, when Boleslas received intelligence of the scheme. He immediately mounted his horse, and, having with the utmost haste assembled part of his army, fell upon the traitors with such fury that they were obliged to betake themselves to flight; and Boleslas got safe back to Poland. He now turned his arms against the Saxons, and extended his conquests to the Elbe. The inhabitants of the country to the north of Poland he also reduced to obedience. In 1018, the Russians, under Jarislas, attempted to invade Poland, but were defeated with great slaughter. By this victory Boleslas acquired a considerable tract of country, and the Russians were besides obliged to pay him a tribute. This monarch died in 1025, and was succeeded by his son Miecislus, who possessed none of the great qualities of his father. In the beginning of his reign the Russians, Bohemians and Moravians revolted; but as the spirit and discipline of the Polish troops still remained, Miecislus found no difficulty in reducing them to obedience, after which he devoted himself entirely to voluptuousness, and, at length worn out by his debauched course of life, he died in 1034. His Queen Rixa was elected regent during the minority of his heir Casimir; but she proved tyrannical, and so partial to her countrymen, the Germans,

that a rebellion ensued, and she was forced to flee to Germany. Her son Casimir was also driven out of the kingdom, and a great many claimants started up for the vacant throne. This produced a civil war; and to add to their distress, the Bohemians and Russians invaded the kingdom in different places. At length it was resolved to recall the young prince, but as five years had already elapsed, no one knew where he was to be found. By interceding with his mother, however, they succeeded in obtaining the wished-for intelligence. He had at first retired into France, where he applied himself closely to study at the university of Paris; he afterwards went to Italy, where, after suffering great distress, he entered a monastery and assumed the religious habit; and subsequently he returned to France, where he obtained some preferment in the abbey of Cluny. It was here that he was found, but his vow presented an obstacle to his now accepting the crown. At length, however, the pope consented to grant a dispensation of this tie, on condition that the nation should become subject to the tax called "Peter's pence;" that they should all shave their heads like monks, and wear white surplices at festivals. Casimir was welcomed with the greatest joy by all ranks of the people, and was crowned at Gnesna with more than usual solemnity. He proved himself worthy of the confidence of his people, and equal to the difficulties of his situation.

He died after a reign of sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son Boleslas II., an enterprising and valiant prince, who soon rendered himself so famous that three unfortunate princes took refuge at his court, having been expelled from their dominions. These were Jaromir, brother of Wratislas, Duke of Bohemia; Bela, brother of the King of Hungary; and Zaslaf, Duke of Kiow, and cousin to the King of Poland. The Duke of Bohemia, dreading the consequences of his brother's escape, assembled an army, desolated Silesia, and laid waste with fire and sword the frontiers of Poland

Boleslas marched against him, and surprised him in the narrow passes of a forest. The duke being reduced to the greatest distress, proposed terms of peace, which, however, were rejected. In this extremity he resolved to attempt an escape during the night, and, if discovered, to cut his way through the Polish army, or perish in the attempt. Ordering fires to be kindled in his camp, he drew off his forces with the utmost secrecy, and had advanced several leagues before Boleslas was aware of his retreat. The king pursued the fugitive, but in vain; and after ravaging the frontiers of Moravia, he returned to his own dominions. The next year he entered Bohemia with a numerous army, and the duke, unwilling to encounter so formidable an adversary, submitted to terms of peace, which contained conditions in favor of Jaromir. He now turned his attention towards Hungary, and entered that kingdom at the head of a numerous army. The Hungarian king, supported by a large body of Bohemians, prepared to meet him; and a battle was at length fought, in the heat of which the Hungarian portion of the troops went over to the enemy, and the auxiliaries were killed almost to a man. The king himself was taken prisoner, and treated with such cruelty that he died soon after of a broken heart; and Bela was placed on the throne without further opposition. He next, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, marched into Russia, ravaged the territories composing two palatinates, reduced the strong city of Wolyn, and transported the booty to Poland. The campaign was finished by a battle, which proved so bloody that, though Boleslas was victorious, his army was so weakened that he could not pursue his conquests. In the winter he made numerous levies, and returning in the spring to Kiow, reduced it by famine. Kiow being the most dissolute as well as the richest city in the north, the king and his soldiers gave themselves up to the pleasures of the place. Boleslas himself affected all the state of an eastern monarch, and contracted an inclina-

tion for the grossest debaucheries. The Hungarian and Russian wars having continued for seven years, during that time the king had never been at home, excepting for the short space of three months; and the Polish women, exasperated at hearing that their husbands had neglected them, raised their slaves to the beds of their masters, in order to be revenged for the infidelity of their husbands. This was so general that history has handed down the name of only one lady as remaining faithful to her lord—Margaret, wife of Count Nicolas de Zembosin. The soldiers hearing of this, blamed the king for their dishonor, and resolved to return home, in order to take vengeance upon their wives and their paramours. A dreadful kind of civil war now ensued. The women, knowing that they had no mercy to expect from their husbands, persuaded their paramours to take up arms in their defence, and they themselves fought by the side of their gallants with the utmost fury, seeking out their husbands in the heat of battle, in order to secure themselves from all danger of punishment. They were, however, on the point of being subdued, when Boleslas, who had been left almost alone in the heart of Russia, arrived with the few remaining Poles, assisted by an army of Russians, with whom he resolved to take equal vengeance on the women, their gallants, and his own soldiers who had deserted him. This produced a carnage more dreadful than ever. The soldiers united with their former wives and their gallants against the common enemy, and fought against Boleslas and the Russians with the fury of lions. At last, however, the fortune of the king prevailed; the rebels were totally subdued; and the few who escaped the sword were tortured to death or perished in prison.

To add to the calamities of this unhappy kingdom, the schisms which for some time had prevailed in the Church of Rome found their way also into Poland; and the matter at length came to be a contentions for wealth and power between the king and clergy. Bloodshed followed. The Bishop of Cracow

was, like another Thomas à Becket, massacred in the cathedral whilst he was performing the duties of his office. Pope Gregory VII. thundered out anathemas against the king, released his subjects from their allegiance, and laid the kingdom under a general interdict. The whole kingdom became a scene of confusion, and the king fled with his son Miecislus, and took refuge in Hungary. Authors differ respecting the manner of his death, but the generally received account is that, being driven from place to place by the persecutions of the clergy, he was at last obliged to become a cook in a monastery at Carinthia, where in this mean occupation he ended his days.

The kingdom continued under a severe interdict, which could be removed only by the most abject concessions; but at length the Pontiff consented that the brother of the deceased monarch should be raised to the sovereignty, but only with the title of duke. This prince, named Uladislas, being of a meek disposition, with little ambition, accepted the terms offered, and sent an embassy to Rome, earnestly entreating the removal of the interdict. The request was granted; but all his endeavors to recover the regal dignity proved fruitless, the pope having, in conjunction with the Emperor of Germany, conferred that honor on the Duke of Bohemia. Russia availed itself of the recent disturbances to throw off the yoke; and this step was followed by the rising of Prussia, Pomerania and several other provinces. The smaller provinces were soon reduced; but the duke had no sooner returned to Poland than they again rebelled. He marched against them with a considerable army; but was entirely defeated, and obliged to return. Next year, however, having led against them a more numerous army than before, he compelled them to submit and deliver up the ringleaders of the revolt. But no sooner were the Pomeranians reduced than civil dissensions took place. Sbigniew, his son by a concubine, was placed by the discontented nobility at the head of an army to

subvert his father's government and dispute the title of Boleslas, his legitimate son, to the succession. Sbigniew was at length defeated and taken captive, but was afterwards pardoned and received into favor.

Uladislas died in 1102, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Boleslas III.; but a portion of his dominions was assigned to his brother Sbigniew. The latter, being dissatisfied with his share, stirred up the Bohemians, Saxons and Moravians against his brother, and made such formidable preparations as threatened the conquest of all Poland. Boleslas, unable to oppose such a formidable force, had recourse to the Russians and Hungarians, who readily embraced his cause. At length Sbigniew was defeated, and might have easily been obliged to surrender at discretion, had not Boleslas generously left him in quiet possession of the duchy of Mazovia. Sbigniew, however, subsequently entered into other conspiracies, and was at length banished from the kingdom.

Boleslas was scarcely freed from the intrigues of his brother when he found himself in danger from the ambition of the Emperor Henry V. The emperor had attacked the King of Hungary, with whom Boleslas was in close alliance. The King of Poland determined to assist his friend, and therefore made a powerful diversion in Bohemia, where he repeatedly defeated the imperialists. The emperor then collecting all his forces, ravaged Silesia, and even entered Poland, where he laid siege to the strong town of Lubusz; but he was at last obliged to abandon the enterprise, after having sustained severe loss. Henry, in no degree discouraged, penetrated still farther into Poland, and was laying waste all before him, when the superior skill of Boleslas compelled him to retire. Enraged at this disappointment, Henry laid siege to Glogau, and after a spirited defence, the inhabitants were on the point of surrendering when Boleslas arrived and attacked the emperor with such vigor that he obliged him to retreat with

disgrace into his own country. This soon brought on a peace, which was confirmed by a marriage between Boleslas and the emperor's sister. About 1135 he was brought into a war with Russia. He and conferred the government of Wislica, a strong town on the Nida, to a Hungarian who had insinuated himself into his affections; but the traitor delivered up the place to the Russians. Boleslas, incensed, immediately entered into a war with Russia. The inhabitants of Halitz, having implored his assistance, Boleslas marched to their relief with a choice body of troops; but as he was preparing to enter the town he was attacked by the Russian army, and, after a most violent conflict, entirely defeated. The unfortunate prince was so much afflicted by this reverse, that in a short time he died, after having reigned thirty-six years.

By his will he divided his dominions equally amongst his four grown-up sons. Uladislav, the eldest, had the provinces of Cracow, Sieradz, Lencsysa, Silesia and Pomerania. Boleslas, the second son, had for his share the palatinates of Culm and Kujavia, with the duchy of Mazovia. The palatinates of Kalszh and Posen fell to Miecislav, the third son; and to Henry, who was the fourth, were assigned those of Lublin and Sandomir. No provision was, however, made for Casimir, the youngest child, then an infant in the cradle. The eldest son had a certain superiority over his brothers.

The harmony of the princes was soon disturbed by the ambition of Christina, the wife of Uladislav, who formed a scheme to get possession of all Poland. Having obtained her husband's concurrence, she assembled the states of Poland, and made a long speech, showing the dangers which might arise from a partition of the ducal dominions amongst so many; and concluded with attempting to show the necessity of revoking the ratification of the late duke's will, in order to insure the tranquillity of the republic. At length all the nobility were gained over or intimidated by Uladislav, who then drove Boles-

las from his territories, and next marching against Henry, dispossessed him also, forcing both to take refuge with Miecislav in Posnania, where all the three brothers were besieged. Thus driven to despair, the brothers sallied out, attacked the duke's army, and obtained a complete victory, taking possession of all his baggage and effects. They next laid siege to Cracow, which surrendered, and Uladislav retired into Germany to solicit assistance. Boleslas was raised to the supreme authority, and the new duke began his administration with an act of generosity towards his brother Uladislav, on whom he conferred the duchy of Silesia, which was thus separated from, and has never since been re-annexed to Poland. Uladislav, not content with this, found means to persuade the Emperor Conrad to invade Poland. Boleslas, however, so harassed and fatigued his army that he was soon obliged to return to his own country; and for some years Poland enjoyed profound tranquillity. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was next persuaded by Uladislav and his wife to invade Poland. The number of the imperialists was so great that Boleslas and his brothers did not think proper to oppose them in the open field. They divided their forces, and laid waste the country before the enemy, burning all the towns and cities which were in no condition to stand a siege. Thus the emperor was at last reduced to such a situation that he was glad to come to terms, and the treaty was confirmed by a marriage between Adelaide, niece of the emperor, and Miecislav, Duke of Posen.

Boleslas subsequently attempted the conquest of Prussia, but his army having fallen into ambush, was almost entirely cut off; Duke Henry was killed, and Boleslas and Miecislav escaped with great difficulty. After this, Boleslas applied himself to promote the happiness of his subjects, and continued thus occupied until the period of his death, which happened in the year 1173.

On the death of Boleslas, the States raised his brother Miecislav to the ducal throne

But the moment that Miecislus ceased to be a subject he became a tyrant, and the slave of almost every vice ; so that in a short time he was deposed, and his brother Casimir elected in his stead.

Casimir, a prince remarkable for his justice and benevolence, set himself about securing peace and establishing tranquillity in all parts of his dominions. He redressed grievances, suppressed exorbitant imposts, and assembled a general diet, in which it was proposed to rescind the peasants from the tyranny of the nobility. The nobles, influenced by the example of their sovereign, immediately granted all that he required ; and, to give still greater weight to this decision, the acts of the Diet were transmitted to Rome, and formally confirmed by the pope. But though the nobility consented to the partial retrenchment or limitation of their power, it occasioned discontent amongst some, who for this reason immediately became the partisans of the deposed Miecislus. That unfortunate prince was now reduced to such indigence, that his brother Casimir, affected by the accounts he had received, tried every method to relieve him, and even connived at the arts that were practiced by some discontented noblemen to restore him. But this generous and amiable conduct was repaid by the grossest ingratitude. Miecislus used every art to wrest from his brother the whole of his dominions, and actually conquered the provinces of Mazovia and Cujavia ; but of these he was soon dispossessed, and only some places in Lower Poland were left him. The last action of this amiable prince was the conquest of Russia, which he effected rather by the reputation of his wisdom and generosity than by the force of his arms. The people of that country voluntarily submitted to a prince so famed for his benevolence, justice and humanity. Soon after his return he died at Cracow, lamented as the best prince that had ever filled the throne of Poland.

Casimir left two sons very young, the elder of whom, named Lesko, was nominated

his successor. Miecislus embraced the opportunity of renewing his attempts upon the throne, and formed an alliance with the Dukes of Oppeln, Pomerania and Breslau. Having raised all the men in Lower Poland fit to bear arms, he took the road to Cracow with a numerous army. On the banks of the river Mozgarva a sanguinary conflict ensued ; but both sides were so much weakened that they were forced to retire for some time, in order to repair their losses. Miecislus now had recourse to artifice rather than force ; and having attempted in vain to corrupt the guardians of Lesko, he entered into a compact with the Princess Helen, his mother. Representing in the strongest manner the miseries which would ensue from war, he stipulated to adopt her sons Lesko and Conrad as his own ; to surrender the province of Cujavia for their present support ; and to declare them heirs to all his dominions. The principal nobility opposed this accommodation ; but it was accepted by the duchess in spite of all their remonstrances ; and Miecislus was once more put in possession of the capital, after having taken a solemn oath to execute punctually every article of the treaty. The princess was not long in perceiving that she had been duped, and having formed a strong party, she excited a general insurrection against the duke. Miecislus was expelled from Cracow, and on the point of being reduced to his former indigence, when he found means to foment a quarrel between the duchess and the palatine of Cracow, and thus once more turned the scale in his favor. He regained possession of Cracow, but did not long enjoy his prosperity, for he fell a victim to intemperance in 1203. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Uladislas III., a prince noble and generous as his father had been base and treacherous. Knowing that the crown rightfully belonged to his cousin Lesko, he was with difficulty induced to accept of it, and at length willingly resigned it to him, after a short reign of three years.

During the government of Lesko the

Tartars made an irruption into Poland, and everywhere committed the most cruel ravages. At last they came to an engagement with the Poles, and obtained a complete victory. This incursion, however, terminated as precipitately as it had commenced; but the devastations they had committed produced a famine, which was soon followed by a plague that depopulated one of the most populous countries of the north. In this unhappy situation of affairs, death ended the misfortunes of Lesko, who was assassinated by his own subjects. A civil war followed his death; and the history of Poland is for some time so confused that it is difficult to say who was his successor. During this unfortunate state of the country, the Tartars made a second irruption, laid all waste before them, and were advancing towards the capital, when they were attacked and defeated with great slaughter by the palatine of Cracow, with only a handful of men. Next year, however, they returned, and committed barbarities such as can scarcely be imagined. Whole provinces were ravaged, and every one of the inhabitants massacred. They were returning, laden with spoil, when the palatine fell upon them a second time, but after a most obstinate engagement, he was defeated, and all Poland was thus laid open to the ravages of the barbarians. The nobility fled into Hungary, and the peasants sought an asylum amongst rocks and impenetrable forests. Cracow was taken, pillaged and burned; and the barbarians, penetrating into Silesia and Moravia, desolated these countries, destroying Breslau and other cities.

Poland was in this dreadful situation when Boleslas, surnamed the Chaste, obtained the sovereignty. But this, so far from putting an end to the troubles, only superadded a civil war to the other calamities with which the country was afflicted. Boleslas was opposed by his uncle Conrad, the brother of Lesko, who having assembled a powerful army, gained possession of Cracow, and assumed the title of Duke of Poland. His

avarice and pride, however, offended equally the nobility and the peasants; and they unanimously invited Boleslas, who had fled into Hungary, to return home and head the insurrection which now broke out in every quarter. On his arrival, he was joyfully received in the capital. But Conrad still headed a powerful party; and it is reported that on this occasion the knights of the Teutonic order were first called into Poland, to dispute the pretensions of Boleslas. All endeavors of Conrad, however, proved unsuccessful. He was defeated in two pitched battles, and forced to live in a private situation; though he never ceased to harass his nephew, and make fresh attempts to recover the crown. Boleslas died in 1279, having previously adopted Lesko, Duke of Cujavia, and procured a confirmation of his choice by the free election of the people.

The reign of this last prince was one continued scene of foreign and domestic trouble. On his accession, he was attacked by the united forces of Russia and Lithuania, assisted by the Tartars; but he had the good fortune to defeat the confederate barbarians in a pitched battle. This was followed by civil dissensions, which rose to such a degree that he was obliged to fly to Hungary, the common resource of distressed Polish princes. The inhabitants of Cracow alone remained firm in their duty, and withstood a tedious siege, until they were at last relieved by Lesko at the head of a Hungarian army, who defeated the rebels, and regained the government. But scarcely had he reascended the throne, when the united forces of the Russians, Tartars and Lithuanians made a second irruption into Poland, and desolated the country with the most savage barbarity. Their forces were now rendered more terrible than ever by their having along with them a vast number of large dogs trained to join in their attacks. With an army much inferior, however, Lesko obtained a complete victory, the Poles being animated by all the fury of despair. Soon after this, Lesko died, with the reputation of having been a

wise, warlike, but on the whole an unfortunate prince.

As this prince died without issue, a civil war again ensued; and the affairs of the state continued in a very declining condition till 1296, when Prezemislas was crowned king by the Archbishop of Gnesna, a title which had been forfeited for more than 200 years. He did not enjoy this title for more than seven months, having been murdered, it is said, by some Brandenburg emissaries. A series of dissensions again succeeded till the year 1305, when Uladislas Lokietek, who had seized the throne in 1300, and afterwards been driven out, was restored. The first transaction of his reign was a war with the Teutonic knights, who, during the recent disturbances, had usurped the greater part of Pomerania. They had been settled in the territory of Culm by Conrad, Duke of Mazovia, but soon extended their dominion over the neighboring provinces, and had even obtained possession of the city of Dantzic, where they massacred a number of Pomeranian gentlemen in cold blood. The knights were commanded by the sovereign Pontiff to renounce their conquests; but they set at nought all his thunders, and even suffered themselves to be excommunicated rather than part with their acquisitions. Uladislas entered the territory of Culm, which he laid waste with fire and sword; and although opposed by the joint forces of the Marquis of Brandenburg, the knights and the Duke of Mazovia, he obtained a complete victory, after a desperate and bloody engagement. Without following up the blow, however, he returned to Poland, where he recruited his army; and being reinforced by a body of auxiliaries from Hungary and Lithuania, he a second time ravaged all the dominions of the Teutonic knights. A treaty was concluded under the mediation of the kings of Hungary and Bohemia. But in a few months the knights not only refused to evacuate Pomerania, as had been stipulated in the treaty, but even endeavored to extend their usurpations, and for this pur-

pose assembled a very considerable army. Uladislas, enraged at their treachery, once more took the field, and gave them battle with such success that 4000 knights were left dead on the ground, and 30,000 auxiliaries killed or taken prisoners. Though the king had it in his power to destroy the whole order, he satisfied himself with obtaining the territories which had occasioned the war, after which he spent the remainder of his life in tranquillity and peace.

Uladislas was succeeded by his son Casimir III., surnamed the Great. Having in a single campaign subdued the province called Black Russia, he turned his arms against Mazovia, which he overran with great rapidity, and annexed as a province to the crown. He then applied himself to domestic affairs, and was the first who introduced a written code of laws into Poland. He was a most impartial judge, a rigid observer of justice and the most submissive to the laws of any potentate mentioned in the history of Europe. He was a great patron of industry as well as an eminent legislator, and through his encouragement numbers flocked into his kingdom from various parts of Germany. He fortified many of his chief towns, which he also embellished; whilst colleges, hospitals, churches and other public buildings, attested alike his genius, his magnificence and his patriotism. His reign is considered as the golden age of Poland.

Casimir was succeeded in 1370 by his nephew Louis, King of Hungary; but as the Poles looked upon him as a foreign prince, they were not happy under his administration. He left Poland almost as soon as he was crowned, leaving the government in the hands of his mother Elizabeth. But at that time the state of Poland was too disturbed to be governed by a woman. The country was overrun with gangs of robbers, who committed the most horrid cruelties; the kingdom was likewise invaded by the Lithuanians, the province of Black Russia had revolted, and the land was universally filled with dissension. The Poles displeased to see

their towns occupied by Hungarian garrisons, sent a message to the king, informing him that they thought he had been sufficiently honored in being elected king of Poland himself, without suffering the kingdom to be governed by a woman and his Hungarian subjects. Upon this, Louis raised a numerous army, intending to subdue the refractory spirit of his subjects. His first operations were directed against the Russians, whom he defeated, and again reduced to subjection. He then turned his arms against the Lithuanians, expelled them from the kingdom, and re-established public tranquillity. He died after a reign of twelve years, and his daughter Hedwig was proclaimed queen.

This princess married Jagellon, Duke of Lithuania, who was converted to Christianity, and baptized by the name of Uladislas. By this marriage, the duchy of Lithuania, as well as the vast provinces of Samogitia and Black Russia, were annexed to the crown of Poland. Such a formidable accession of power excited the jealousy of the Teutonic knights, and they assembled a large army and suddenly invaded his territory. Uladislas raised a strong force with the utmost celerity, which he committed to the care of his brother Skirgello. The Teutonic knights were defeated, and obliged to abandon all their conquests.

After some years of peace, a long series of wars broke out between Poland and Prussia. The knights having now got possession of Samogitia, Mazovia, Culm, Silesia and Pomerania, Uladislas resolved to punish them before they became too powerful; and with this view he assembled an army composed of several different nations. He then penetrated into Prussia; took several towns; and was advancing to Marienburg, the capital of Pomerania, when he was met by the army of the Prussian knights, who determined to hazard a battle. When the engagement began, the Poles were deserted by all their auxiliaries, and obliged to stand the brunt of the battle. But the courage and conduct of their king so animated them that, after a

most desperate struggle, they obtained a complete victory.

Uladislas V. died in 1434, and was succeeded by his son Uladislas VI., at that time only nine years of age. He had scarcely ascended the throne, when the kingdom was invaded by the Tartars, who defeated the general of the Polish forces; and returned to their own country loaded with booty. A few years afterwards the nation was involved in a war with Amurath, the sultan, who threatened to break into Hungary. But before the young king took the field, a strong body of auxiliaries was despatched under John Hunyadi, vayvod of Transylvania, to oppose the Turks, and likewise to support the election of Uladislas to the crown of Hungary. This detachment surprised the Turkish army near the river Morava, and defeated Amurath with the loss of 30,000 men; after which Hunyadi retook all the places which had been conquered by Amurath, the sultan was forced to sue for peace, and Uladislas was raised without opposition to the crown of Hungary. A treaty was concluded, by which the Turks promised to relinquish their designs upon Hungary, and to give up all their conquests in Bosnia and Servia. This treaty was sealed by mutual oaths; but Uladislas broke it at the persuasion of the Pope's legate, who produced a special commission from the Pope, absolving the king from the oath he had taken. The result of this perfidy was, that Uladislas was entirely defeated and killed at Varna, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.

Uladislas VI. was succeeded by Casimir IV., in whose reign the Teutonic knights were subdued and obliged to yield up the territories of Culm, Mielow and the duchy of Pomerania, together with the towns of Elbing, Marienburg, Talkmith, Schut and Christburg, to the crown of Poland. On the other hand, the king restored to them all the other conquests he had made in Prussia; granted a seat in the Polish senate to the grand-master; and endowed him with other privileges, on condition that, six months after

his accession, he should do homage for Prussia, and take an oath of fidelity to the king and republic.

About this time the crown of Bohemia having become vacant, the barons were induced to bestow the crown upon Uladislav, the eldest son of Casimir, in opposition to the intrigues of the King of Hungary. Not satisfied with this acquisition, Uladislav took advantage of the dissensions in Hungary, in order to unite that crown to his own, and thereby he greatly augmented his power. Casimir died in 1492.

During the succeeding reigns of John Albert and Alexander, sons of the last monarch, the affairs of Poland fell into decline, the kingdom being harassed by continual wars with the Turks and Tartars. But they were retrieved by Sigismund I., who ascended the throne in 1507. This monarch, having reformed some internal abuses, set about rendering the kingdom as formidable as it had formerly been. He first quelled an insurrection which broke out in Lithuania; after which he drove the Wallachians and Moldavians out of Black Russia, and defeated the Russians in a pitched battle, with the loss of 30,000 men.

After this victory, the king turned his arms against the Teutonic knights, who had elected the Marquis of Brandenburg as their master, under whom they invaded the Polish territories. Sigismund marched against him, and gained possession of several important places in Brandenburg; but as he was pursuing his conquests, the marquis, reinforced by 14,000 Germans led by the Duke of Schonenburg, ventured to lay siege to Dantzic, after having ravaged the neighboring country. The Dantzicers, however, defended themselves so bravely, that the besiegers were soon obliged to relinquish their enterprise. Soon after this the marquis was obliged to submit to the clemency of the conqueror. To secure him in his interest, however, Sigismund granted him half the province of Prussia as a secular duke, dependent on the crown of Poland.

In the reign of Sigismund the kingdom of Poland may be considered as having attained its greatest pitch of glory. This monarch possessed, in his own person, the republic of Poland, the great duchies of Lithuania, Smolensko and Saveria, besides vast territories lying beyond the Euxine and the Baltic; whilst his nephew Louis possessed the kingdoms of Bohemia, Hungary and Silesia. But this glory received a sudden check, in 1548, by the defeat and death of Louis, who perished in a battle fought with Solymán the Great, sultan of the Turks. The daughter of this prince had married Ferdinand of Austria, an alliance by which the dominions of Hungary, Bohemia and Silesia became inseparably connected with the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family. Sigismund did not survive the news of this defeat many months.

Sigismund Augustus, who succeeded his father Sigismund I., proved also a very fortunate prince. Avoiding the violent and bloody wars which were going on in Germany and indeed throughout other parts of Europe, on account of religion, he applied himself diligently to the reforming of abuses, enforcing the laws, enriching the treasury and promoting industry. Out of the revenue recovered in this manner he raised a formidable standing army without laying any additional tax upon his subjects. His knowledge of the art of war was soon tried in a contest with the Russians, who, encouraged by the disputes which had subsisted between the Teutonic knights and the Archbishop of Riga, cousin of Sigismund, had made an irruption into Livonia. The province was at that time divided between the knights and the prelate; and the Russians, under pretence of assisting the former, had seized great part of the dominions of the latter. The archbishop had recourse to his kinsman the King of Poland, who, after fruitless efforts to accommodate matters, marched towards the frontiers of Livonia with an army of 100,000 men. The knights were in no condition to resist such a formidable power; and therefore

deserting their allies, they put themselves under the protection of the King of Poland. But the czar, John Basilides, though deserted by the knights, did not lose his courage. His army consisted of 300,000 men, with whom he imagined himself able to reduce all Livonia, in spite of the utmost efforts of the King of Poland; but having met with some checks in that quarter, he directly invaded Poland with his whole army. At first he carried everything before him; but the Poles soon made a vigorous opposition; and the Russians, though everywhere defeated, still continued their incursions, which Sigismund at last revenged by invading Russia in his turn.

These mutual desolations and ravages at last made both parties desirous of peace, and a truce for three years was agreed on; but during the continuance of the armistice the King of Poland died, and with him was extinguished the house of Jagellon, which had governed Poland for nearly two hundred years. On the death of Sigismund, Poland became a prey to intestinal divisions; and intrigues were set on foot at the courts of Vienna, France, Saxony, Sweden and Brandenburg, each of them endeavoring to establish a prince of their nation on the throne of Poland.

Whilst the candidates for the throne were severally attempting to support their own interest in the best manner they could, John Crasoski, a Polish gentleman of great merit, but diminutive stature, had just returned from France, whither he had travelled for improvement. His humor, wit and diverting size had rendered him universally agreeable at the court of France, and in a particular manner engaged the esteem of Catharine de Medicis, which the little Pole had the address to make use of for his own advantage. He owed many obligations to the Duke of Anjou, whom, out of gratitude, he represented in such favorable terms, that the Poles began to entertain thoughts of making him their king. These sentiments were confirmed and encouraged by Crasoski, who returned

into France by order of several leading men in Poland, and acquainted the king and the queen-mother that nothing was wanting except the formality of an embassy to procure the crown for the Duke of Anjou, almost without opposition. Charles IX., king of France, at that time also promoted the scheme; being jealous of the Duke of Anjou's popularity, and willing to have him removed to as great a distance as possible. The parties accordingly came to an agreement, in which it was stipulated that the Duke of Anjou should maintain the laws, liberties and customs of the kingdom of Poland, and of the grand duchy of Lithuania; that he should transport all his effects and annual revenues in France into Poland; that the French monarch should pay the late King Sigismund's debts; that he should maintain a hundred young Polish gentlemen at his court, and fifty in other places; that he should send a fleet to the Baltic to assist Poland against the Russians; and, lastly, that Henry should marry the Princess Anne, sister of the late King Sigismund, though this article Henry refused to ratify till his return to Poland. Everything being thus settled, the young king quitted France, attended by a splendid retinue, and was accompanied by the queen-mother as far as Lorraine. He was received by his subjects on the frontiers of Poland, and conducted to Cracow, where he was soon afterwards crowned. The affections of the Poles were soon engaged by the youth and accomplishments of Henry; but scarcely had he been seated on the throne, when, by the death of Charles IX., he became heir to the crown of France. Being informed of this by repeated messages from Catharine, he repented his having accepted the crown of Poland, and resolved to leave it for that of France. But being sensible that the Poles would oppose his departure, he kept his intentions secret, and watched an opportunity of stealing out of the palace in disguise during the night-time. The Poles, as might well be expected, were irritated at being thus abandoned, from the

mere motive of interest, by a prince whom they had so much loved and honored. Parties were despatched after him by different roads; and Zamoski, a nobleman who headed one of these parties, overtook him some leagues distant from Cracow. All the prayers and tears of that nobleman, however, could not prevail on Henry to return; he rode post to Vienna, and then passed into France by the way of Italy. On the 15th of July, 1575, he was in full diet solemnly divested of the regal dignity, and the throne declared vacant.

After the deposition of Henry, commotions and factions again occurred, but the contending parties were now reduced to two,—one who supported the interest of Maximilian, Emperor of Germany; and the other, who were for electing the Princess Anne, and marrying her to Stephen Batory, prince of Transylvania. The latter prevailed; and Batory having married the princess, was crowned on the 1st of May, 1576. No opposition was made to his authority, except by the inhabitants of Dantzic, who adhered to the interest of Maximilian, and after his death had the presumption to demand from the king an oath acknowledging their absolute freedom and independence. This led to a war in which the people of Dantzic were worsted; but it was not until after suffering severely that they were at length induced to submit.

The war with Dantzic had no sooner been ended than the king directed his whole strength against the Czar of Muscovy, who had laid siege to Revel, and made himself master of several important cities in Livonia. At length, in 1578, a body of forces was despatched into the province; the towns of Wender and Dwinaburg were surprised; and an army sent by the czar to surprise the former was defeated. That unhappy province was at this time also invaded by the Swedes, who professed themselves to be enemies equally to both parties, and who in cruelty were scarcely inferior to the Russians themselves. The king, however, nothing daunted

by the number of his adversaries, called to his assistance Christopher, prince of Transylvania, with all the standing forces of that country, and took the field in person against the Muscovites. He laid siege to Polocz, a town of great importance, situated on the river Dwina; and the Russians, in order to strike terror into the enemy, put to death all the citizens of the town. The river was dyed with blood, and a vast number of human bodies, fastened to planks and terribly mangled, were carried down the stream. But this barbarity, instead of intimidating the Poles, irritated them to such a degree that nothing could resist them. Finding that their cannon made little impression upon the walls of the city, which were constructed of wood, they advanced to the assault with burning torches in their hands, and reduced them to ashes. The Russian barbarians were thus obliged to surrender at discretion; and it reflects the highest honor on Batory that, notwithstanding the dreadful instances of cruelty which he had before his eyes, he did not suffer his soldiers to retaliate.

After the reduction of Polocz, Batory continued the war, and with great success. The czar was at last obliged to sue for peace, which he obtained on condition of relinquishing Livonia. A peace was likewise concluded with the Swedes, and Batory being thus freed from war applied himself to the internal government of his kingdom.

Whilst Batory was employed in this manner, the Swedes broke the convention into which they had entered with Poland, and were on the point of obtaining possession of Riga. To this, indeed, Batory himself had given occasion, by attempting to impose the Catholic religion upon the inhabitants, after having promised them entire liberty of conscience; a proceeding which so irritated them that they revolted, and were on the point of admitting a Swedish garrison into the city, when the king became informed of what was going forward. He resolved to take a most exemplary vengeance on the inhabitants of Riga; but before he could execute his inten-

tion, he died in 1586, the fifty-fourth year of his age and tenth of his reign.

The death of Batory involved Poland in fresh troubles. Four candidates appeared for the crown: the princes Ernest and Maximilian, of the house of Austria; Sigismund, prince of Sweden; and Theodore, czar of Muscovy. Each of these had a separate party; but Sigismund and Maximilian managed matters so cleverly that in 1587, both of them were elected. The result was a civil war, in which Maximilian was defeated and taken prisoner; and thus, without opposition, Sigismund III., surnamed Vasa, obtained the throne of Poland. He waged a successful war with the Tartars, and was otherwise prosperous; but though he succeeded to the crown of Sweden, he found it impossible for him to retain both kingdoms, and he was formally deposed from the Swedish throne. In 1610 he conquered Russia, and placed his son on the throne of that country; but the Polish conquests of that country have always been short-lived. The young prince was soon afterwards deposed; and the Russians not only regained their liberty, but began to make encroachments on Poland itself. A very unfortunate war also took place with Sweden, which was now governed by the great Gustavus Adolphus; but the particulars of that contest, with the other exploits of that renowned warrior, are elsewhere related. At last, Sigismund, worn out with cares and misfortunes, died in 1632.

After Sigismund's death the affairs of Poland seemed to revive a little under Uladislas VII., who obliged the Russians to sue for peace, and Sweden to restore some of her conquests; but an attempt being made to abridge the liberty of the Cossacks, they revolted, and gave the Poles several terrible defeats; nor did the war terminate in the lifetime of Uladislas, who died in 1648. His successor, John Casimir, concluded a peace with these dangerous enemies, but the war was soon after renewed; and whilst the kingdom was distracted between the hos-

tility of the Cossacks and the discontents of its own inhabitants, the Russians took the opportunity of invading and pillaging Lithuania.

In a little time afterwards, the whole kingdom was subdued by Charles Gustavus, successor to Christina, Queen of Sweden. Happily for Poland, however, a rupture took place between the courts of Sweden and Copenhagen, and the Poles were thereby enabled to drive out the Swedes in 1657. This was succeeded by civil wars and contests with Russia, which so much vexed the king that he resigned the crown in 1668. For two years after the resignation of Casimir the kingdom was filled with confusion; but on the 17th September, 1670, one Michael Koributh Wiegnowiecki, collaterally descended from the House of Jagellon, though in a very mean situation at that time, was chosen king. His reign continued only for three years, during which time John Sobieski, a celebrated Polish general, overthrew the Turks, and, if his success had been followed up, the Cossacks would not only have been entirely subdued, but very advantageous terms might have been obtained from the sultan. However, the Polish soldiers, being only bound by the laws of their country to stay a certain time in the field, refused to pursue this signal victory, and suffered the king to make peace on any terms he could procure.

Wiegnowiecki died before the news of this transaction reached Craeow; and after his death a new scene of confusion ensued, till at last the fortune of John Sobieski prevailed, and he was elected king of Poland in 1674. He was a most magnanimous and heroic prince, and by his valor and good conduct retrieved the affairs of Poland. Sobieski died in 1696, and with him the glory of Poland descended into the tomb.

Most violent contests now took place about the succession, but the recital of these would far exceed our limits. At last, Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, prevailed; but as some of the most essential

ceremonies were wanting in his coronation, because the primate, who was in an opposite interest, would not perform them, he found it extremely difficult to keep his subjects in proper obedience; and, to add to his misfortunes, having engaged in a league with Denmark and Russia against Sweden, he was attacked with irresistible fury by Charles XII. The particulars of this war, however, as they form great part of the exploits of that northern hero, more properly fall under the head of Sweden. Here, therefore, we shall observe only, that Augustus was reduced to the humiliating necessity of renouncing the crown of Poland on oath, and even of congratulating his rival Stanislas upon his accession to the throne. But when the power of Charles was broken by his defeat at Pultowa, the fortune of Augustus again prevailed; Stanislas was driven out; and the former, being absolved from his oath by the pontiff, resumed possession of the throne of Poland.

After this Poland makes no figure, except in the history of political iniquity. Weakened by internal dissensions, it became unable to resist foreign aggression, and fell an easy prey to the ambitious powers by which it was surrounded. On the 5th of October, 1763, Augustus II., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, died, and was succeeded by Count Poniatowski, a Polish grandee, who on the 7th of September, 1764, was proclaimed king by the name of Stanislas Augustus, and crowned on the 25th of November the same year. During the interregnum which took place between the death of Augustus III. and the election of Stanislas, a decree had been passed by the Convocation-Diet of Poland, with regard to the Dissidents, as they were called, or dissenters from the Catholic faith, by which they were prohibited the free exercise of their religion, and excluded from all offices and places under the government. On this occasion several of the European powers interposed, and the courts of Russia, Prussia, Great Britain and Denmark, tendered remonstrances

to the Diet; but, notwithstanding these, the decree was confirmed by the Coronation-Diet held soon after the king's election.

On the 6th of October, 1766, an ordinary Diet was assembled. Here declarations from the courts above-mentioned were presented to his Polish majesty, requiring the re-establishment of the Dissidents in their civil rights and privileges, and the peaceable enjoyment of their modes of worship secured to them by the laws of the kingdom, which had been observed for two centuries. The Catholic party contended strongly for a confirmation of some decrees against the Dissidents, made in the years 1717, 1723 and 1736. The deputies from the foreign powers replied, that those decrees had passed in the midst of intestine troubles, and were contradicted by the formal protestations and express declarations of those powers. At last, after a violent contest, the matter was referred to the bishops and senators for their opinion; and upon a report from them, the Diet came to a resolution that they would maintain the Dissidents in all the rights and prerogatives to which they were entitled by the laws of their country and by treaties; and that as to their complaints with regard to the exercise of their religion, the college of archbishops and bishops, under the direction of the prince primate, would endeavor to remove all those difficulties in a manner conformable to justice and charity. In the meantime, the Court of Russia, resolved to enforce her remonstrances, marched a body of troops to within a few miles of Warsaw.

The Dissidents, being now pretty sure of the protection of foreign powers, entered, on the 20th of March, 1767, into two confederacies, at Thorn and Sluck. One of these was signed by the Dissidents of Great and Little Poland, and the other by those of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The purpose of these confederacies was, an engagement to exert themselves in the defence of their ancient privileges and the free exercise of their religion; professing at the same time the utmost loyalty to the king, and re-

solving to send to him a deputation to implore his protection. They even invited those of the Catholic communion, and all true patriots, to unite with them in maintaining the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the peace of religion and the rights of men in society. They also claimed, by virtue of public treaties, the protection of the powers who were guaranties of their liberties, namely, Russia, Sweden, Great Britain, Denmark and Prussia. And they protested that they had no intention of acting to the detriment of the Roman Catholic religion, which they duly respected, but only asked for their own, and the re-establishment of their ancient rights. The three cities of Thorn, Elbing and Dantzic, acceded to the confederacy of Thorn on the 10th of April; as did the duke and nobles of Courland to that of Sluck on the 15th of May. In the meantime the Empress of Russia and the King of Prussia continued to issue new declarations in favor of the Dissidents; and the Russian troops in Poland were gradually augmented to 30,000 men.

The different confederacies of malecontents formed in the twenty-four districts of Lithuania united at Wilna on the 22d of June; and that general confederacy re-established Prince Radzivil, who had married the king's sister, in his liberty, estates and honor, of which he had been deprived in 1764 by the states of that duchy. On the 23d of June Prince Radzivil was chosen grand-marshal of the general confederacy of all Poland, which then began to be called the National Confederacy, and was said to be composed of 72,000 noblemen and gentlemen. In the meantime the Catholic party were not idle. The Bishop of Cracow sent a letter to the Diet assembled at Warsaw on the 13th of August, in which he exhorted them to encourage their nuncios, by giving them orthodox and pious instructions, that they might not grant the Dissidents new advantages beyond those which were secured to them by the constitutions of the country and the treaties with foreign powers. The pope also sent briefs to the king, the grand chancellor,

the nobility, the bishops of the kingdom and to the prince primate, with such arguments and exhortations as were thought most calculated to ward off the impending danger. Councils in the meantime were frequently held at the Bishop of Cracow's palace, where all the prelates at Warsaw assembled. On the 26th of September, 1767, the confederacy of Dissidents was united with the general confederacy of malcontents in the palace of Prince Radzivil, who on that occasion expressed great friendship for the Dissidents. In a few days afterwards the Russian troops in the capital were reinforced, and a considerable body of them was posted at about five miles distant.

On the 5th of October an extraordinary Diet was held. But the affair of the Dissidents met with such opposition, that it was thought necessary to adjourn the meeting till the 12th, during which interval every expedient was used to gain over those who opposed Prince Radzivil's plan. This was, to appoint a commission furnished with full power to enter into conference with Prince Repnin, the Russian Ambassador, concerning the affairs of the Dissidents. But notwithstanding all the pains taken, the meeting of the 12th proved exceedingly tumultuous. The Bishops of Cracow and Kiow, with some other prelates and several magnates, declared that they would never consent to the establishment of such a commission; and at the same time they spoke with more vehemence than ever against the pretensions of the Dissidents. Some of the deputies replied with great warmth; and this occasioned such animosities, that the meeting was again adjourned till the 16th.

On the 13th the Bishops of Cracow and Kiow, the palatine of Cracow and the starost of Donski, were carried off by Russian detachments. The crime alleged against them, in a declaration published next day by Prince Repnin, was, that they had been wanting in respect to the dignity of the Empress of Russia, by attacking the purity of her intentions towards the republic.

It was probably owing to this violent proceeding of the Russians that Prince Radzivil's plan was at last adopted, and several new regulations were made in favor of the Dissidents. These innovations, however, soon produced a civil war, which at last ended in the ruin of the kingdom. In the beginning of the year 1768, a new confederacy was formed in Podolia, a province bordering on Turkey; it was afterwards called the Confederacy of Bar, and the intention of it was to abolish, by force, the new constitutions, particularly those in favor of the Dissidents.

Podolia was reckoned the fittest place for the purpose of the confederates, who imagined that the Russians could not attack them there without giving umbrage to the Ottoman Court. Similar confederacies, however, were quickly entered into throughout the kingdom. The clergy excited all ranks of men to exert themselves in defence of their religion; and so effectual did their exhortations prove, that even the king's troops could not be trusted to act against these combinations. The Empress of Russia threatened the new confederates as disturbers of the public tranquillity, and declared, that if they persisted, her troops would act against them. It was some time, however, before the Russian troops were considerably reinforced; nor did they at first seem inclined to act with the vigor that they might have exerted. A good many skirmishes soon occurred between the contending parties, in which the confederates were for the most part defeated. In one of these encounters, the latter being worsted, and hardly pressed, a number of them passed the Dniester and took refuge in Moldavia. This province had formerly belonged to Poland, but was now subject to the grand signior. The Russians, however, pursued their enemies into Moldavia; but in order to prevent any offence being taken by the Porte, Prince Repnin wrote to the Russian resident at Constantinople, that the Russian colonel who commanded the party acted quite contrary to the orders of his court, and that he would therefore be dismissed.

Great cruelty was in the meantime exercised against the Dissidents where there were no Russian troops to protect them. Towards the end of October, 1768, Prince Martin Lubomirski, one of the southern confederates, who had been driven out of Poland, and had taken shelter with some of his adherents amongst the mountains of Hungary, caused a manifesto to be posted up on several of the churches of Cracow, in which he invited the nation to a general revolt, assuring them of the assistance of the Ottoman Porte, with whom he pretended to have concluded a treaty. The unhappy kingdom of Poland became the first scene of this war, and in a short time it was reduced to the most deplorable situation. In the end of the year 1768, the peasants of the Greek faith in the Ukraine took up arms, and committed the greatest ravages, having, as they pretended, been threatened with death by the confederates unless they would become Roman Catholics. Against these insurgents the Russians employed their arms, and made great numbers of them prisoners. The rest took refuge amongst the Haidamacks, by whom they were soon joined, and in the beginning of 1769 they entered the Ukraine, committing everywhere the most horrid massacres. Here, however, they were at last defeated by the Polish troops, at the same time that several of the confederacies in Poland were severely chastised. Soon afterwards, the khan of the Crim Tartars having been repulsed with loss in an attempt on Servia, entered the Polish territories, where he left frightful marks of his inhumanity; which, with the cruelties exercised by the confederates, induced the Polish Cossacks of Braclau and Kiovia, amounting to nearly 30,000 effective men, to join the Russians, in order to defend their country against these destroyers. Matters continued much in the same state during the rest of the year 1769; and in 1770 skirmishes frequently occurred between the Russians and confederates, in which the latter were almost always worsted, but they took care to revenge themselves by

the most barbarous cruelties on the Dissidents, wherever they could find them. In 1770, a considerable number of the confederates of Bar, who had joined the Turks, and been excessively ill-used by them, came to an accommodation with the Russians, who took them under their protection upon very moderate terms. In the meantime agriculture had been so much neglected, that the crop of 1770 proved deficient. This encouraged a number of desperadoes to associate, who, under the denomination of Confederates, were guilty of still greater excesses than those who had been under some kind of regulation; and thus a great part of the country was at last reduced to a mere desert, the inhabitants being either exterminated, or carried off to stock the remote Russian plantations.

In the year 1771, the confederacies, which appeared to have been extinguished, sprang up afresh, and increased to a great degree. This was occasioned by their having been secretly encouraged and supplied with money by France. A great number of French officers also engaged as volunteers in their service; and having introduced discipline amongst their troops, they acted with greater vigor than formerly, sometimes proving more than a match for their enemies. But these gleams of success served only to light them on to their ruin. The Russians were reinforced and properly supported. The Austrian and Prussian troops entered the country, advancing on different sides; and in a short time the confederates found themselves entirely surrounded by enemies, who seemed to have nothing less in view than an absolute conquest of the country, and sharing it amongst themselves.

Before matters came to this crisis, however, the confederates had formed a design of assassinating the king, on account of his supposed attachment to the Dissidents. A Polish nobleman, named Pulaski, a general in the army of the confederates, was the person who planned the enterprise; and the conspirators who carried it into execution

were about forty in number, headed by three chiefs, named respectively Lukawski, Strawenski and Kosinski. On the 2d of September they obtained admission into Warsaw, unsuspected and undiscovered. On Sunday night, the 3d of September, 1771, a few of these conspirators remained in the skirts of the town; but the others repaired to the place of rendezvous, the street of the Capucins, where his majesty was expected to pass about his usual hour of returning to the palace. The king had been to visit his uncle Prince Czartoryski, grand chancellor of Lithuania, and was on his return from thence to the palace between nine and ten o'clock. He was in a coach, accompanied by at least fifteen or sixteen attendants, besides an aide-de-camp in the carriage. Scarcely was he at the distance of two hundred paces from Prince Czartoryski's palace, when he was attacked by the conspirators, who commanded the coachman to stop on pain of instant death. They fired several shots into the carriage, and almost all the other persons who preceded and accompanied his majesty were dispersed; the aide-de-camp having also abandoned him, and attempted to conceal himself by flight. The king himself attempted to escape under cover of the night, which was extremely dark, but they immediately laid hold of him by the collar, and, mounting on horseback, dragged him along the ground between their horses at full gallop for nearly five hundred paces through the streets of Warsaw. Finding that he was incapable of following them on foot, they set him on horse-back, and then redoubled their speed for fear of being overtaken.

The night was exceedingly dark, and they were absolutely ignorant of the way; so that they wandered through the open meadows without getting to any distance from Warsaw. At length they were suddenly alarmed by a Russian patrol or detachment and instantly a number of the assassins disappeared, leaving only three with the king. Scarcely a quarter of an hour after, a second

Russian guard challenged them anew, and two of the assassins then fled, leaving Kosinski alone with the king. At length, by means of expostulation and entreaty, the king prevailed on Kosinski to restore him to liberty, and upon his return to Warsaw, he was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy. But neither the virtues nor the popularity of the sovereign could allay the factious spirit of the Poles, nor prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom.

The partition of Poland was first projected by the King of Prussia. Polish or Western Prussia had long been an object of his ambition. Exclusive of its fertility, commerce and population, its position rendered it highly valuable to that monarch: it lay between his German dominions and Eastern Prussia, and whilst in the possession of the Poles it cut off at their will all communication between them. The period had now arrived when the situation of Poland seemed to promise the easy acquisition of this valuable province. Frederick, however, pursued it with all the caution of an able politician. On the commencement of the troubles, he showed no eagerness to interfere in the affairs of this country; and although he had concurred with the Empress of Russia in raising Stanislas Augustus to the throne of Poland, yet he declined taking any active part in his favor against the confederates. Afterwards, when in 1769 the whole kingdom became convulsed with civil commotions, and desolated by the plague, he, under pretence of forming lines to prevent the spreading of the infection, advanced his troops into Polish Prussia, and occupied the whole of that district. Though now completely master of the country, and by no means apprehensive of any formidable resistance from the disunited and distracted Poles, yet, as he was well aware that the security of his new acquisition depended upon the acquiescence of Russia and Austria, he planned the partition of Poland. He communicated the project to the emperor, either upon their interview at Niess

in Silesia in 1769, or in that of the following year at Nienstadt in Austria, and from him the overture met with a ready concurrence. To induce the Empress of Russia to acquiesce in the same project, he despatched to St. Petersburg his brother Henry, who suggested to the empress that the House of Austria was forming an alliance with the Porte, with which she was then at war; that if such an alliance took place, it would create a most formidable combination against her; that nevertheless the friendship of that house was to be purchased by acceding to the partition; that, upon this condition, the emperor was willing to renounce his connection with the grand signior, and would suffer the Russians to prosecute the war without interruption. Catharine, anxious to push her conquests against the Turks, and dreading the interposition of the emperor in that quarter; perceiving, likewise, from the intimate union between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that it would not be in her power at the present juncture to prevent the intended partition; closed with the proposal, and selected no inconsiderable portion of the Polish territories for herself. The treaty was signed at St. Petersburg in the beginning of February, 1772, by the Russian, Austrian and Prussian plenipotentiaries. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm and Copenhagen remonstrated against these usurpations; but remonstrances without assistance could be of no effect.

A Diet being demanded by the partitioning powers, in order to ratify the cession of the provinces, it met on the 19th of April, 1773; and such was the spirit of the members that, notwithstanding the deplorable situation of their country, and the threats and bribes of the three powers, the partition-treaty was not carried through without much difficulty.

The partitioning powers, however, did less injury to the republic by dismembering its fairest provinces than perpetuating the principles of anarchy and confusion. Under pretence of amending the constitution, they

confirmed all its defects, and took effectual precautions to render this unhappy country incapable of ever emerging from the deplorable state into which it had fallen, as was seen in the failure of the most patriotic attempt ever made by a king to reform the constitution of his kingdom.

The Polish constitution established by the king and the confederates in 1791, cannot be compared with systems that have been matured by long experience; but it is surely infinitely superior to the motley form of government which, for a century previous, rendered Poland a perpetual scene of war, tumult, tyranny and rebellion. Many of the corrupt nobles, however, perceiving that it would curb their ambition, deprive them of the base means which they had long enjoyed of gratifying their avarice by giving the crown for money, and render it impossible for them to continue with impunity their tyrannical oppression of the peasants, protested against it, and withdrew from the confederates. This was nothing more than what might have been expected, or than what the king and his friends undoubtedly expected. But the malcontents were not satisfied with a simple protest; they preferred their complaints to the Empress of Russia, who, ever ready on all occasions, and on the slightest pretence, to invade Poland, poured her armies into the republic, and surrounding the king and the Diet with ferocious soldiers, compelled them, by the most open menaces, to undo their glorious labor of love, and to restore the constitution as settled after the partition-treaty.

On the 18th of May, the Russian ambassador delivered a declaration worthy of such a cause. It asserted that this wanton invasion, which was evidently against the sense of almost every individual Pole, was intended solely for the good of the republic. At the moment when this declaration was delivered to the Diet, the Russian troops, accompanied by Counts Potocki, Rzewuski, Branicki and a few Polish renegades, appeared upon the frontiers, and, before the close of the month,

entered the territories of the republic in several columns.

The spirit manifested by the nobility was truly honorable to that body. Some of them delivered in their plate to the mint. Prince Radzivil engaged voluntarily to furnish ten thousand stand of arms, and another noble offered to provide a train of artillery. The courage of the new and hastily-embodied soldiers corresponded with the patriotism of their chiefs. Prince Poniatowski, nephew of the king, was appointed commander-in-chief; and though his force was greatly inferior to the enemy, it must be confessed that he made a noble stand.

The perfidy, the meanness and the duplicity manifested by Prussia on this occasion is probably without a parallel in history. By the treaty of defensive alliance, solemnly contracted between the republic of Poland and the king of Prussia, and ratified on the 23d of April, 1790, it is expressly stipulated that the contracting parties shall do all in their power to guarantee and preserve to each other reciprocally the whole of the territories which they respectively possess; that, in case of menace or invasion from any foreign power, they shall assist each other with their whole force, if necessary; and that if any foreign power whatever should presume to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland, his Prussian majesty would consider this as a case falling within the meaning of the alliance, and assist the republic according to the tenor of the above article, that is, with his whole force. What, then, was the pretext for violating this treaty? It was this, that the empress of Russia had shown a decided opposition to the order of things established in Poland on the 3d of May, 1791, and was provoked by Poland presuming to put herself into a posture of defence. It is ascertained, however, by the most authentic documents, that nothing was effected on the 3d of May, 1791, to which Prussia had not previously assented, and which she did not afterwards sanction; and that Prussia, according to the assertion of

her own king, did not intimate a single doubt respecting the revolution till several months after it had taken place ; in short, to use the king's own words as explanatory of his double politics, "not till the general tranquillity of Europe permitted him to explain himself." Instead, therefore, of assisting Poland, Prussia insultingly recommended Poland to retrace her steps ; in which case, she said that she would be ready to attempt an accommodation in her favor. But this attempt was never made, and probably never intended ; for the empress pursued her measures without opposition.

The duchy of Lithuania was the great scene of action in the beginning of the war. But the Russians had made little progress before the middle of the month of June. On the 10th of that month, General Judycki, who commanded a detachment of the Polish troops between Mire and Swierzna, was attacked by the Russians ; but, after a combat of some hours, he obliged them to retire with the loss of five hundred men dead on the field. The general was desirous of profiting by this advantage, by pursuing the enemy, but was prevented by a violent fall of rain. On the succeeding day, the Russians rallied again to the attack ; and it then too, fatally appeared that the Poles, being young and undisciplined, were unable to contend with an inferior force against experienced troops and able generals. By a masterly manœuvre, the Russians contrived to surround their antagonists, at a moment when the Polish general supposed that he had obliged the enemy to retreat ; and though the field was contested with the utmost valor by the troops of the republic, they were at length compelled to give way, and to retire towards Nieswiesz.

On the 14th another engagement took place near Lubar, on the banks of the river Suez, between a detachment of the Russian grand army and a party of Polish cavalry despatched by Prince Joseph Poniatowski to intercept the enemy. The patriotic bravery of the Poles proved victorious in this

contest ; but upon reconnoitring the force of the enemy, the prince found himself incapable of making a successful stand against such superior numbers. He, therefore, gave orders to strike the camp at Lubar, and commenced a precipitate retreat. During their march, the Polish rear was harassed by a body of about 4000 Russians. The Polish army next directed its course towards Zielime, where meeting, on the 17th, with a reinforcement from Zaslow, it halted to give battle to the enemy. The Russians were upwards of 17,000 strong, with 24 pieces of cannon, and the force of the republic much inferior. After a furious contest, from seven o'clock in the morning till five o'clock in the afternoon, the Russians were at length obliged to retreat, and leave the field of battle in possession of the patriots.

Notwithstanding these exertions, the Poles were obliged gradually to retire before their numerous and disciplined enemies. Nieswiesz, Wilna, Minsk, and several other places of less consequence, fell one after another into their hands. On a truce being proposed to the Russian general, Kochowski, the proposal was haughtily rejected ; whilst the desertion of Vice-Brigadier Rudnicki and some others, who preferred dishonor to personal danger, proclaimed a tottering cause. The progress of the armies of Catharine was marked with devastation and cruelty ; whilst such was the aversion of the people, both to the cause and the manner of conducting it, that, as they approached, the country all around became a wilderness, where scarcely a human being was to be seen.

In the meantime, a series of petty defeats, to which the inexperience of the commanders, and the intemperate valor of newly-raised troops, appear to have greatly contributed, served at once to distress and dispirit the defenders of their country. Prince Poniatowski continued to retreat ; and on the 17th of July, his rear being attacked by a very superior force, it suffered a considerable loss, although the skill and the courage of General Kosciuszko enabled him to make

a most respectable defence. On the 18th, a general engagement took place between the two armies. The Russian line extended opposite Dubienka, along the river Bug, as far as Opalin; and the principal column, consisting of 14,000 men, was chiefly directed against the division of General Kosciuszko, which consisted only of 5000 men. After a most vigorous resistance, in which the Russians lost upwards of 4000 men, the troops of the republic were compelled to give way before the superior numbers of the enemy, and retire further into the country.

This unequal contest was at last prematurely terminated. On the 23d of July the king summoned a council of all the deputies at that moment in Warsaw, and laid before them the last despatches from the empress, which insisted upon total and unreserved submission. He pointed out the danger of a dismemberment of the republic, should they delay to throw themselves upon the clemency of the empress, and to entreat her protection. He also mentioned the fatal union of Austria and Prussia with Russia, and the disgraceful supineness manifested by every other court of Europe. Four citizens, the intrepid Malachowski, and the Princess Sapieha, Radzivil and Soltan, vehemently protested against these dastardly proceedings; and the following evening a company of gentlemen from the provinces attended for the same purpose. The assembly immediately waited upon these four distinguished patriots, and returned them their acknowledgements for the spirit and firmness with which they had resisted the usurpations of despotism. The submission of the king to the designs of Russia was no sooner made known than Poland was bereft of all her best and most respectable citizens. Malachowski, as Marshal of the Diet, and Prince Sapieha, Grand Marshal of Lithuania, entered on the journals of the Diet strong protests against these proceedings, and declared solemnly that the Diet legally assembled in 1788 was not dissolved.

On the 2d of August a confederation was

formed at Warsaw, of which the renegade Potocki was chosen marshal. The acts of this confederation were evidently the despotic dictates of Russia, and were solely calculated to restore the ancient abuses, and to place the country under the aggravated oppression of a foreign yoke.

Not satisfied with restoring the old wretched constitution, the Empress of Russia seized upon part of the territory which, at the last partition, she and her coadjutors had left to the republic; and her ambassador entering into the Diet with a crowd of armed men, compelled the king and that assembly to grant the form of legality to her usurpations. The nation, however, did not submit.

In February, 1794, General Kosciuszko appeared in the neighborhood of Cracow with a small force of armed peasants. He beat some detachments of Russians and Prussians, compelled them to evacuate Cracow, and there proclaimed the constitution of 1791. Everywhere the people and the nobles flew to arms. The Russians, who occupied Warsaw with 15,000 men, began to seize suspected persons, and demanded possession of the arsenal. But at that moment the news arrived of a defeat sustained by a corps of 6000 Russians, with a loss of 1000 killed, and their general, Woronzow, made prisoner. Encouraged by this event, the people rose on the garrison, and after forty-eight hours' hard fighting, drove them out, with the loss of 6000 killed, 3000 prisoners and 50 pieces of cannon. The whole country was now in arms. Russia and Prussia, however, sent 110,000 men into Poland. Kosciuszko, pressed by superior forces, made an able retreat upon Warsaw. The King of Prussia, after besieging the city during three months, was compelled to retire towards his own territories with the loss of 20,000 men. Here he was harassed for some time by Madalinsky with a small corps of cavalry. Kosciuszko, relieved from the Prussians, marched against the new Russian armies, which, during the siege of Warsaw, had reconquered Lithuania and Volhynia.

But the battle of Noezylac, on the 10th of October, 1794, in which the Poles fought with heroic resolution against overpowering numbers, proved fatal to their unhappy country. Kosciuszko was made prisoner and carried to St. Petersburg, where he languished in a dungeon until the death of Catharine. The Russians, after this event, united their forces and marched upon Warsaw, where the Poles had named Wawrzecky general-in-chief. He had only 10,000 men to oppose to 50,000, but an obstinate resistance was nevertheless offered. The last remains of the national army were concentrated at Praga, on the right bank of the Vistula, immediately opposite Warsaw; but they were soon broken by the furious charges of the Russian General Suwarof, who gratified his natural cruelty by the most frightful carnage. The fate of Poland was now decided. After the capture of Praga, Warsaw capitulated. 9000 Poles fell in the fight; 30,000 persons of all ages and either sex were destroyed in cold blood; and 30,000 more, who still refused to submit, were suffered to leave the place, and afterwards hunted down by the soldiery. The most distinguished chiefs were carried away to distant provinces; and the wretched king was sent to Russia, where he ended his days in 1798.

The two powers were proceeding to divide the remaining provinces between them, when Austria interfered, and declared that she would not permit the destruction of Poland unless she received a share. At that moment it was not thought prudent to raise up a new enemy; and Austria obtained considerable addition of territory, without having struck a blow or expended a florin. The negotiation continued till 1795, when the definitive treaty of partition was signed, which closed a series of transactions unparalleled for perfidy, cruelty and infamy in the history of Europe. Austria received Cracow, with the country lying between the Pilitsa, the Vistula and the Bug. Prussia had the capital, with the territory as far as the Niemen. The lion's share, as usual, fell to

Russia. After an existence of near ten centuries, the republic was thus erased from the list of nations. No people on earth, perhaps, have ever shown so much personal bravery as the Poles. Their whole history indeed is full of wonderful victories. But with such a vicious frame of society as we have already described, the most chivalrous valor, and the most splendid military successes, could avail nothing. It could not enforce obedience to the laws, nor maintain domestic tranquillity; it could not preserve the proud nobles from dissipation, nor prevent them from receiving bribes to repair their shattered fortunes; it could not restrain the powers which lavished the means of corruption from interfering in the affairs of the kingdom; it could not dissolve the union of these powers with the malcontents at home; it could not infuse vigor into a government corrupted by foreign gold, nor avert the invasion of foreign armies to support the factious and rebellious; it could not, while divided against itself, uphold the independence of the nations against foreign and domestic treason; in a word, it could not effect impossibilities, and though it might dazzle by its glory, it could not counteract those slow but sure-working causes which determined the inevitable doom of Poland.

But with the year 1806 new hopes began to revive. The brilliant campaign of that year, the simultaneous victories of Jena and Auerstadt, and the advance of the French army into Poland, seemed an earnest of future success, a sure pledge of approaching restoration. A general outburst of enthusiasm followed. Polish regiments were organized with amazing rapidity, and the approach of Kosciuszko was proclaimed. On the 27th of November, Napoleon entered Posen in triumph; in December, Warsaw received him with not less enthusiasm; a commission of government was immediately organized; and as his purpose was announced, his armies were recruited by thousands of the best troops in Europe. The battle of Eylau had been a mere butchery, unproductive of any result;

but on the field at Friedland, Dombrowski had given signal proofs of his own talents and the valor of the heroes he commanded ; and the opening of the negotiations at Tilsit was hailed by the Poles as the dawning of a bright and auspicious future. But the result proved that they had been far too sanguine in their anticipations. Napoleon in effect, though not probably in intention, betrayed them, and at the same time lost the opportunity of erecting a powerful barrier against the encroachments of Russia. Instead of restoring the kingdom of Poland in something like its ancient power and dimensions, he contented himself with forming a small portion of his conquests into the grand duchy of Warsaw, which he united with Saxony.

The duchy of Warsaw, thus established, consisted of the departments of Posen, Kalisch, Plock, Warsaw, Lomza and Bydgoszez, with a population somewhat exceeding two millions. With this shred and mockery of a country the Poles were highly dissatisfied. But the greater number, reposing an unexhausted faith in the justice of their cause, consoled themselves with the belief that eventually Poland would be recalled into political existence, and her independence re-established upon a sure foundation. Accordingly in the war with Austria in 1809, they rendered the most important service to Napoleon. They conquered Galicia, without the smallest aid from France ; they reduced Cracow and the adjoining territory ; they regained possession of the capital, which the archduke had temporarily occupied ; and they humbled their enemies on every side. What their own arms had won, they conceived that they had a right to retain, and they regarded as inevitable the incorporation of these conquests with their infant state. But they were destined to be speedily undeceived. Not a foot of ground were they allowed to retain in Galicia ; and half of their other conquests between the capital and the Austrian frontier was wrested from their hands. Four departments were indeed

incorporated with the grand duchy ; namely, Cracow, Pradom, Lublin and Siedlee. This acquisition, however, afforded but a small compensation for the sacrifices which had been made, the forcible loans which had been raised, the lives which had been wasted, and the misery which afflicted every class of the inhabitants.

After the Russian campaign the work of Napoleon was destroyed ; the grand duchy of Warsaw ceased to exist ; the King of Saxony was stripped at once of it and of a portion of his hereditary dominions ; the allied, who were also the partitioning powers, again took possession of the towns which they had held previous to the invasion of Napoleon, and in this state matters remained, awaiting the meeting of a congress, which was to assemble to decide, amongst other things, the fate of this unhappy country.

The negotiations which commenced with the downfall of Napoleon, and were completed by the treaty of Paris in 1814, necessarily embraced the future condition of Poland, which, though then occupied by Russian troops, had from previous cession to France become a fit subject of arrangement, not for the eventual benefit of Russia alone, but for that of the whole European commonwealth. Public opinion, the interests of rulers, and the sympathies of the governed, were all in favor of the re-establishment of the kingdom in its ancient integrity ; and the side of justice, policy and humanity was powerfully advocated by France and England, whose ministers regarded the Polish question as one in comparison of which all others were of but secondary importance.

At this juncture, however, Napoleon escaped from Elba, and the whole question assumed a new phasis. In the common danger, Poland was scarcely remembered ; and the czar, finding that his aid would be indispensable in the approaching contest, was enabled to insist on a measure which he had long contemplated, namely, the union of the grand duchy with Russia as a separate kingdom. The facility with which he carried

his object proves the alarm that had been occasioned by the re-appearance of Napoleon, and the anxiety felt to adopt any measure calculated to prevent Polish partisanship from swelling the ranks of the invader. It was, therefore, decided that the grand duchy of Warsaw should be attached to the empire of Russia, under the name of the kingdom of Poland, and that it should be governed by separate institutions.

The new kingdom of Poland was proclaimed on the 20th of June, 1815, and on the 24th of December following, a constitutional charter was granted to the Poles. The articles of this charter, by which Poland became united to Russia, were of so liberal a nature as to astonish all Europe. According to some, they prove that, at the time of their promulgation, Alexander was no enemy to liberal institutions. But the more probable supposition seems to be, that the earnest and loyal interposition of Great Britain and France, favored by the declared disposition of Austria, and strengthened by the public opinion of Europe, had more effect on the mind of the czar than any presumed inclination towards liberal institutions, of which he afterwards became the most uncompromising opponent.

From the re-establishment of the kingdom in 1815, until the year 1820, the affairs of Poland were conducted apparently in conformity with the constitution. The benefits of the government had to a certain extent disarmed the prejudices and antipathies of the people; the opposition to ministers in the lower chamber was comparatively trifling; the emperor's lieutenant, Count Zayonczek, a Pole, endeavored to attach the Poles to his sway; and Alexander, congratulating himself on the liberal policy which he had adopted towards his new subjects, declared in full senate at Warsaw, that he only waited to try the effect of the free institutions he had given them, in order to extend those institutions over all the regions which Providence had placed under his sway. But all this fair promise proved hollow and

deceptive. From the very first there had been perpetual breaches in the constitution; and after the Spanish revolution of 1820, followed as it speedily was by the establishment of the Holy Alliance, all disguise was thrown aside, and an attempt made to suppress entirely the spirit of national independence in Poland. Count Zayonczek was only nominated the king's lieutenant. The real power was invested in the Grand Duke Constantine, who held the appointment of commander-in-chief of the army.

But whilst acts of private oppression were calling forth all that hatred of Russia which is the birthright of every Pole, political tyranny was superadded, as if it were desirable to concentrate upon one point the entire indignation of a brave and devoted people. The liberty of the press was abolished, and a censorship established, in violation of article sixteenth of the constitutional charter. This was effected by an ordinance dated the 31st of July, 1819; and not long afterwards the patriotic association formed by General Dombrowski, who had modelled it almost after the recommendation of Alexander, was suppressed, and a military commission appointed, which tried and condemned civilians without any of the prescribed formalities. "What have we to hope," exclaimed Dombrowski; "what have we not to fear? This very day might we not tremble for the fate which may await us to-morrow?" Meanwhile, the secret police pursued its fatal career, and arbitrary arrests, followed by hidden condemnations, the banishment of many and the imprisonment of more, signalized its hateful activity. The university of Wilna was also visited with severity by the agents of this dreadful institution. Twenty of its students were seized and subjected to different punishments. Nor were those of Warsaw treated with greater leniency. A state-prison was likewise erected in the capital, and its dungeons were soon crowded with inmates, victims of the execrable system adopted by the government. Nor were these the only grievances of which the people had reason to

complain. Although the constitutional charter had provided that Russian troops, when required to pass through Poland, were to be maintained at the sole charge of the Russian treasury, yet for years they had been stationed at Warsaw, and paid by the inhabitants of the capital, whom they were employed to overawe. Further, independently of the violations of individual liberty, the difficulty of procuring passports, the misapplication of the revenue to other objects than those for which it had been raised (as the maintenance of the secret police), and the nomination of men as senators, without the necessary qualifications, or any other merit than that of being mere creatures of the government, were infractions of the charter as wanton as they were intended to be humiliating. But the worst of all yet remains to be told. In the dietines Russian money and influence were unblushingly employed to procure the return to the general Diet of such members only as were known to care less for the honor of their country than the advancement of their own fortune. Instead of a Diet being held every two years, in accordance with article eighty-seventh of the charter, none was convoked from 1820 to 1825, and only one from the year 1825 until after the accession of Nicolas, in 1829. Finally, an ordinance, issued as early as 1825, had abolished the publication of the debates in the two chambers; and on one occasion, the most distinguished members of opposition were forcibly removed from Warsaw the night preceding the opening of the Diet. Add to all this the constant irritation produced by the ungovernable temper and consequent excesses of Constantine; the useless but vexatious manœuvres he introduced into the army; his rigorous mode of exercise, exceeding the ordinary measure of human strength and endurance; his overbearing manner towards the best and highest officers in the service; and, above all, that progressive increase in cruelty which a regimen of terror presupposes and almost necessitates; take these matters into consideration, along with

all the other circumstances of grievous oppression which have already been stated as affecting the mass of the people, and it will easily be seen that it was vain to whisper peace, and that the grand duke was treasuring up to himself wrath against the day of wrath.

The Poles did not long submit to this system of cruelty and oppression. The students of the military school were the voluntary leaders of the movement, which burst forth on the 29th of November, 1830. Early in the evening of that day, several of them repaired to their barrack, in accordance with a preconcerted plan; and having addressed their comrades, summoned them to take up arms. The call thus made was instantly obeyed. On their way to the residence of Constantine, who had established himself at the palace of Belvedere, in the outskirts of the city, their number was increased by the students of the university, and the young men attending the public schools. Constantine had no troops about his residence, but at a short distance from it were the barracks of three regiments of Russian guards. The hour chosen for the attack was seven o'clock, and at that time the assailants proceeded to the bridge of Sobieski, where the main body posted themselves, whilst some of the most determined pressed forward to complete their object. They forced their way into the palace, where they were first opposed by the director of the police, Lubowidizki, who, on being wounded, took to flight. Next they encountered the Russian general, Gendre, a man obnoxious for his cruelties and crimes, who was killed in the act of resisting. Lastly, when on the point of reaching the bed-chamber of the grand duke, whom the alarm had just awakened from his evening siesta, they were stopped by a valet, Kochanowski, who, closing a secret door, thus enabled his master to escape undressed through a window. Constantine fled to his guards, who instantly turned out. Disappointed in their prey, the devoted band rejoined their companions at the bridge of Sobieski, where they had been

awaiting the result of the attack on the palace. On finding that their first object had failed, they now resolved to gain the city, and at once proclaim a general insurrection. Their retreat was opposed by the Russian guards, close to whose barracks it was necessary to pass. But such was the spirit which animated them, such were the skill and courage they displayed, that they killed three hundred of their opponents, and triumphantly effected their retreat. On reaching the city, they instantly liberated every state-prisoner, and were joined by the school of engineers and the students of the university. A party entered the only two theatres which were open, calling out, "Women, home; men, to arms." Both requisitions were instantaneously complied with. The arsenal was next forced, and in less than two hours from the first movement, so electrical was the cry of liberty, forty thousand men of all descriptions were in arms. The sappers and the fourth Polish regiment declared early in favor of the insurrection; and by eleven o'clock the remainder of the Polish troops in Warsaw, with the exception of two regiments of guards whom Constantine had forced along with him, espoused the popular cause, declaring that their children were too deeply compromised to be abandoned. Never perhaps was any popular movement more universal or more triumphant.

By the morning of the 30th of November the commotion had subsided, and the results could be calmly surveyed. Besides the troops of the line which had joined the patriots, nearly thirty thousand citizens had taken up arms, and now swelled their dense ranks. In twelve hours the revolution had been begun and completed. In vain did the grand duke, who lay without the walls, meditate the recovery of the intrenchments and fortifications. His isolated though desperate efforts to re-enter the city were repulsed with serious loss; and finding it hopeless to contend with the mass opposed to him, he not only desisted from all further attempts of the

kind, but removed to a greater distance from the walls.

The functionaries of the government having abandoned their posts, an administrative council was immediately formed to preside over the destinies of the new state. It consisted of men distinguished for their talents, their character, or their services, and numbered amongst its members Czartoryski, Radzivil, Niemcewicz, Chlopicki, Pac, Kochonowski and Lelewel. But no good resulted from this heterogeneous assemblage of persons professing moderate and ultra opinions, or what may be called Whigs and Radicals. The former were not men made for revolutions, though in this instance they obtained the direction of the movement; and in the hope of accommodation, which from the first was desperate, they allowed the grand duke to retire under a convention, when they might have captured his entire army, and detained himself as a hostage. At first they evidently entertained no intention of throwing off their allegiance to the czar. All their proclamations ran in his name, and their claims were confined to a due execution of the charter. On the part of the provisional government, however, this seems to have been the very excess of weakness. Besides, as nothing less than unconditional submission would gratify the czar, it is obvious that negotiation was at once a waste of time, and a confession of indecision. The next blunder of the council was in the opposite direction. As their patriotism appears to have risen with their success, they at length insisted on the incorporation of Lithuania, and the other Polish provinces subject to Russia, with the kingdom; and, as if this had not been enough, they some months afterwards declared the throne vacant, an act which, upon their own principles, was equally rash and impolitic. But, what was worst of all, they lost precious time. The force of the first impulsion was wasted. The great and sudden outburst of national enthusiasm was allowed to exhaust itself.

But all these errors were nobly redeemed. When it appeared that negotiation was vain, and that nothing but unconditional submission would satisfy the czar, they gallantly prepared themselves for the unequal struggle. Their plans were evidently not matured. Neither from Lithuania, nor from any of the other Polish provinces incorporated with Russia, did they receive the aid on which they had relied ; so that the honors of the first campaign were exclusively their own. Their efforts were stupendous, and their bravery was worthy the age of Boleslas and Sobieski. The laurels which Diebitsch Zabalkanski had reaped in his campaign against the Turks, protected by mountains and fortresses, were blighted and withered in the plains of Poland. On the 25th of February, 1831, his dense masses, first brought into contact with the patriotic forces at Grochow, recoiled from the shock, after one of the most unequal and sanguinary conflicts of modern times. March was illustrated by the victories of Dembiewielki and Wawr ; and in May was fought the celebrated battle of Ostrolenka, where, after performing prodigies of valor, the Polish army retired from the field, unpursued, towards Modlin. In the meantime, Diebitsch had perished, the victim of disease, chagrin and fatigue. Paskewitsch, distinguished by his American campaigns, succeeded, and, following the example of his predecessor Suwarof, concentrated all his means for an at-

tack on the capital. On the 5th, 6th and 7th of September was fought the ever-memorable battle of Warsaw, which ended in the defeat of the patriot forces and the loss of that city, after a struggle unparalleled in history. This blow proved decisive.

The Poles submitted. With reluctance they laid down those arms which they had taken up in the hope of re-conquering their national independence, and which they had so gloriously employed in many a hard-fought field. But all former experience of Muscovite vengeance could scarcely have prepared them for the miseries which have since been accumulated, in new and fearful forms, on their unhappy country.

The history of the little republic of Cracow forms an appropriate sequel to that of the unhappy kingdom of Poland. That small state, created by the treaty of Vienna, and having its independence guaranteed by the same general compact, enjoyed the constitution which had been conferred on it until the year 1846, when it was seized upon by Austria, Russia and Prussia ; and by decree of the 9th of November its freedom was abolished, and it was annexed to Austria. Soon afterwards the kingdom of Poland was incorporated with Russia, and made a Russian province ; and the history of Poland becomes a part of the history of the countries with which it has been united. (See RUSSIA, PRUSSIA and AUSTRIA.)

RUSSIA.

THE history of Russia commences shortly after the middle of the ninth century, when a Scandinavian race, known as the Varages or Varangians, established their dominion over several of the less warlike Slavonic and Finnish tribes who inhabited the eastern shores of the Baltic. These seem to have made some progress in the arts of peace, and even at this early period to have carried on a considerable commerce. Harassed by more warlike neighbors, they had called in the assistance of the Varangians; but these unscrupulous allies no sooner rid them of their enemies than they established themselves in their country. Ruric, the leader of the Varangians, built a town near the Volkhof, where Old Ladoga now stands, and made it the seat of his government. This is said to have been about A.D. 862. His two brothers, Sinaf and Truvor, who had accompanied him, established themselves,—the former at Biel Ozero, and the latter at Isborsk, near Pleskof. The rightful owners of the soil, however, were not inclined peacefully to submit to this species of usurpation, and accordingly they took up arms under the leadership of Vadim, a chief who had greatly distinguished himself for his military talents. A fierce engagement took place, in which the Varangians were victorious, Vadim and several of the other chiefs having lost their lives. This success emboldened Ruric to extend his territories, and to change the seat of his government from Ladoga to Novgorod, the capital of the Slavi, which was even then

a large and opulent city. His brothers, Sinaf and Truvor, died soon after, and Ruric became sole monarch of the conquered territory, over which he reigned without further molestation for fifteen years. At his death his son Igor was only four years of age, and the government devolved upon his kinsman Oleg. The new ruler did not long remain idle, and one of his first expeditions was against Kief, where two Varangian chiefs, Oskhold and Dir, seem to have established their dominion over the Slavi of that part. To effect his purpose, Oleg had recourse to stratagem; and taking with him Igor, he descended the Dnieper with a few boats, in which he had concealed a number of armed men. On approaching Kief, he sent a message to the two chiefs, stating that some Varangian merchants, on their way to Greece by order of the Prince of Novgorod, desired to see them as friends and kinsmen. Oskhold and Dir accepted the invitation, and, suspecting no harm, went unarmed and unattended. They no sooner reached the place of meeting than they were surrounded by armed men, and Oleg taking Igor in his arms, cried, "You are neither princes nor of the race of princes; but I am a prince, and this is the son of Ruric." No sooner were these words uttered than the soldiers fell upon the two chiefs and slew them. The inhabitants of Kief, thrown into consternation by this bold and treacherous act, made no resistance, but opened the gates of their city to the invader. But his ambitious designs did not end here.

He now meditated an attack upon Constantinople, and for that purpose he removed the seat of his government to Kief. At length he embarked on the Dnieper with 80,000 warriors, on board of no fewer than 2000 vessels. After encountering numerous obstacles, and having several times to disembark and carry their vessels for some distance overland, the Russians at length reached the Black Sea, and, coasting along its shores, they soon arrived at the Strait of Constantinople. To prevent their approach to the city, the inhabitants had thrown a chain across the harbor; but the invaders, not deterred by this, are said to have drawn their vessels ashore, and fitting them upon wheels, by means of sails, converted them into carriages and thus arrived under the walls of the city. The weak Leo, who was then upon the throne, did not offer any resistance, but was content to purchase an ignominious peace, and Oleg returned to Kief laden with wealth. Soon after this Oleg sent deputies to Constantinople with articles of a treaty to be signed by the Greek emperor. Oleg died in 913, after having conducted the government for thirty-three years, leaving Igor in full possession of the throne, who, up to this time, does not seem to have had any share in the administration. On the accession of the new sovereign, several of the nations that had been subjugated by Oleg attempted to regain their independence.

After suppressing these revolts, we next hear of Igor in 941 setting out on an expedition against the Greeks with, if we may credit the Russian accounts, 10,000 barks, each carrying forty men. The government of the empire, however, was now in different hands from those that had held it during the former invasion. The Greeks were commanded by two able generals, Theophanes and Phocas, the former of whom was over the fleet, the latter over the army. Theophanes attacked them in their ships, and throwing among them the terrible Greek fire, with the effects of which they were totally unacquainted,

caused such consternation that many cast themselves into the sea to avoid the flames. Their vessels were dispersed, shattered or burned, and great numbers of their crews perished. Those that reached the land were immediately attacked by Phocas, so that Igor carried back with him scarcely one-third of his immense army. Though discouraged by this ill success, it did not deter him from making a second attempt, and accordingly three years afterwards, he set out with a new army, which included many of the Petchenegans whom he had taken into pay. Before he had advanced beyond the Taurican Chersonesus, however, he was met by deputies from the emperor, offering to pay to him the same tribute that his predecessor had received; and Igor, doubtful of the issue of a contest, complied with this offer, and retired with his army. Igor was now far advanced in years, but the insatiable rapacity of his officers impelled him to turn his army against the Drevlians, for the purpose of obtaining from them an increase of their yearly tribute. In this he was at first successful, and was returning home loaded with booty; but, not yet satisfied, he sent home the greater part of his troops with the spoil, and with the remainder marched again into the enemy's country. The Drevlians, now driven to desperation, fell upon him and his followers near the town of Iskorosch, and massacred the whole of them.

Igor's son, Sviatoslaf, was very young at the death of his father, and the regency devolved upon Olga the queen-mother. Her first act was to revenge the murder of her husband. The Drevlians were anxious to renew friendship with the Russians, and their chief made offer of his hand to Olga. Pretending to listen to their overtures, the queen received the messengers kindly, but immediately caused them to be put to death. In the meantime, she requested a larger deputation to be sent to her, consisting of the chief men of the state; and these, on their arrival, she treated in the same inhuman manner, taking care, in each case, that no

tidings should reach the Drevlians. She then set out, as if on a friendly visit, to conclude the new alliance, and having invited to a great entertainment some hundreds of the principal inhabitants, she caused them all to be assassinated. Not yet satisfied, she now laid waste the country with fire and sword. The town near which Igor had lost his life long withstood her utmost efforts, the inhabitants dreading the horrible fate that awaited them. At length she had recourse to stratagem, and promised them mercy on condition of receiving all the pigeons in the town. To the tails of these she attached lighted matches, and then set them all at liberty. They, of course, made for their usual haunts, and the houses being all of wood, the town was speedily in a blaze. The wretched inhabitants, endeavoring to escape the flames, were immediately butchered by the Russians.

The only other remarkable event during Olga's regency was her conversion to Christianity. Her example, however, had little effect upon the Russians, and even her son disregarded all her solicitations to become a Christian. She died about the year 969. Sviatoslaf's first care was to improve the character and discipline of his army, and to this he devoted himself with the greatest zeal, living in the camp, and sharing in the duties and dangers of the meanest of his followers. His first great expedition was against the Kozares, a people that had come from the shores of the Caspian and the sides of the Caucasus, and had established themselves along the eastern side of the Black Sea. He totally vanquished them, and took their capital by storm. He is even said to have annihilated the nation, at least we find no mention of it after that time. The Greek emperor Nicephorus Phocas, harassed by the Hungarians, assisted by his treacherous allies the Bulgarians, applied for assistance to Sviatoslaf, who hastened southward with a large army. He quickly made himself master of all the Bulgarian towns along the Danube, and was so elated with his success, that he resolved to remove the

seat of his government from Kief to Pereiaslavatz, now Yamboly, on the banks of that river. He was, however, obliged to defer his intentions and hasten home, having received intelligence that the Petchenegs, taking advantage of his absence, were ravaging his territory, and had laid siege to his capital. Before his arrival, however, the Petchenegs had, by an artifice of the Russian general, been induced to raise the siege. After reducing them to subjection, Sviatoslaf resumed his design of establishing himself on the Danube. By this time the Bulgarians had recovered most of their towns, and were prepared to resist his encroachments. At length he succeeded in establishing himself in Bulgaria, but by this time the Emperor Nicephorus had been assassinated, and his murderer, John Zimiscees, had ascended the throne. The new emperor saw clearly that the Russians would be a more dangerous neighbor than the Bulgarians, and sent ambassadors to the Russian monarch, desiring him to evacuate Bulgaria in terms of his treaty. This Sviatoslaf refused to do, and prepared to maintain his ground by force. He raised his army by the addition of Bulgarians, Petchenegs and Hungarians, to the number of 300,000 men. He first made an incursion into Thrace, burning and ravaging in all directions, and laid siege to Adrianople, but was defeated by stratagem by the commandant of that town. This was succeeded by a series of other losses, and his army was further weakened by desertions among the allied troops, until a great part of them were shut up in the city of Pereiaslavatz. The city was taken by assault, but 8000 of the Russians threw themselves into the citadel, which was considered impregnable. The enemy, however, succeeded in setting it on fire; many threw themselves from the summit of the rock, others perished in the flames and the rest were taken captive. Sviatoslaf, who had not been shut up in Pereiaslavatz, now took refuge in Durostole, the strongest of the few towns that now remained to him on the Danube. It was immediately besieged by

the enemy; and the Russians, reduced to extremity, made a sally from the town. A desperate battle ensued, in which the Russians were defeated; and Sviatoslaf made for Russia with the shattered remains of his army. Contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, he attempted the navigation of the Dnieper, and was intercepted near the cataracts of that river by his old enemies the Petchenegans. After remaining on the defensive all winter, exposed to famine and disease, he attempted to force his way through the enemy, but was defeated, and himself slain. He was succeeded by his three sons—Yaropolk in Kiev, Vladimir in Novgorod and Oleg in the country of the Drevlians. A war soon took place between Yaropolk and Oleg, in which the latter was defeated and slain; and Vladimir, dreading a similar fate, abandoned his dominions, which were quietly seized on by the Kievan prince. He did not, however, long enjoy his success; for Vladimir, who had taken refuge among the Varangians, returned with succors which enabled him not only to secure his possessions, but to make war on the Kievan territory. Yaropolk's chief adviser, Blude, was in the interest of his brother, and led him on to his ruin. He was thus prevailed upon to leave his capital, which immediately opened its gates to the enemy; and was afterwards induced to throw himself on the mercy of his brother, by whom he was ordered to be put to death. The commencement of Vladimir's reign was but a continuation of those atrocities by which he had obtained the throne. The traitor Blude was one of the first to suffer. He displayed like perfidiousness towards the Varangians, who had assisted in placing him upon the throne. They were beginning to feel the effects of his ingratitude, and so they asked permission to go and seek their fortune in Greece. He granted their request, but also privately advised the emperor of their approach; so that they were arrested and secured. He engaged in numerous wars with the neighboring states—the Poles,

Bulgarians, Petchenegans and others; and being generally successful, he added very considerably to his territory. He was very devout in his religious duties, and usually sacrificed a number of his prisoners at the shrine of his gods. The fame of Vladimir's military exploits had rendered him so formidable to the neighboring nations that each courted his alliance, and strove to unite him by the ties of the same religion with themselves. Determined to act with judgment, Vladimir despatched deputies to inspect the religious tenets and ceremonies of the several nations, and to report. The accounts of the imposing splendor of the Greek worship, and the gorgeous decorations of the priests and churches, attracted his attention, and he resolved to join that church. Being too proud to seek from the Greek emperor a priest to instruct him in the Christian religion and administer baptism, he resolved to obtain one by arms. Assembling his army, he marched to Taurida, and laid siege to Theodosia. After a lengthened siege, he obtained possession of the town, and soon after of the whole of the Crimea. He might now have obtained baptism, but he was also desirous of an alliance with the Greek monarch, and therefore demanded in marriage Anna, sister of Basilius and Constantine, who were then upon the throne. After some deliberation, his request was complied with, on condition that he and his people should become Christians. These conditions being accepted, the Russian monarch was baptized, and took the name of Basilius, receiving the Grecian princess, and carrying with him several popes and archimandrites, together with sacred vessels and church books, images of saints and consecrated relics. The change effected in his conduct by his conversion to the Christian faith was, if we may credit the Russian accounts, most marked. Formerly delighting in human blood, he could now scarcely be prevailed upon to sanction the death of the greatest criminal; instead of destroying cities and laying waste territories, he now built churches and endowed seminaries.

rics of education ; and though he is said to have had six wives and 800 concubines, he now became faithful to the imperial princess. He destroyed the idols that he had formerly worshipped, and used every exertion to persuade his subjects to adopt the Christian religion. His last days were embittered by domestic vexations. His wife and one of his favorite sons died long before him ; while another of his sons, Yaroslaf, on whom he had bestowed the government of Novgorod, refused to acknowledge him as his liege lord, and applied to the Varangians for assistance against his father. The aged Vladimir, compelled to march against a rebellious son, died of grief upon the road, after a long and glorious reign of thirty-five years.

Vladimir had before his death divided his territories among his twelve sons, reserving to himself and his immediate heir the principality of Kief. This was the occasion of almost perpetual warfare among the brothers. Sviatopolk, who had obtained possession of Kief after the death of his father, attempted by stratagem and force to possess himself of some of the neighboring principalities. Yaroslaf, Prince of Novgorod, took up arms to stop his encroachments, and forced him to flee for refuge and succor to his father-in-law, Boleslaus of Poland. The latter accompanied him back to Russia with an army, and forced Yaroslaf to retreat with precipitation. Sviatopolk now plotted the destruction of his allies, and a massacre ensued in which many of the Poles lost their lives ; whereat Boleslaus was so enraged that he plundered Kief and several other towns, and then left his perfidious son-in-law to shift for himself. He next applied for assistance to the Petchenegs, and with an army of these auxiliaries offered battle to Yaroslaf. The contest was long and bloody, but at length terminated in favor of Yaroslaf. Sviatopolk died soon afterwards. By this victory Yaroslaf became possessed of the greater part of his father's dominions. He advanced the Christian religion by causing the Bible to be translated into the Russian language, and circulated. He

also established a metropolitan at Kief, and devoted himself generally to the advancement of his people. He drew up a code of laws for Novgorod, which is still known as the municipal law of Novgorod. He is supposed to have died about 1054, after a reign of thirty-five years. Like his father, he divided his territories among his sons, but exhorted them on his deathbed to live in peace and harmony among themselves. From his death to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the history of Russia comprises little else than a continued series of intestine commotions and petty wars with the neighboring states. The same system of dismemberment was continued by the succeeding princes, and was attended with the same result. There were during this period not fewer than seventeen independent principalities, though these were at length reduced to seven.

Such a state of anarchy and confusion held out a strong temptation to powerful states in the vicinity. In the neighborhood of the Sea of Aral, not far from the confines of Vladimir and Kief, the wandering hordes of Mongols, or Mongol Tartars, took up their residence, about the year 1223, under the conduct of Tusch, son of the famous Genghis Khan, chief of the Mogul empire. From the Aral, Tusch conducted his horde along the shores of the Caspian Sea, and gradually approached the Dnieper. In his course he attacked and overcame the Circassians, who on his approach had joined with the Polovtzes to resist the terrible enemy. The defeated Polovtzes gave notice to their neighbors the Russians of the approaching storm, and the two united their armies to oppose the common enemy. A furious engagement took place near the small river Kalka, which flows into the Sea of Azoff, and ended in the complete overthrow of the Russians and their allies.

About thirteen years after this defeat another horde of Tartars, headed by Baaty Khan, the grandson of Genghis Khan, penetrated into Russia, after having attacked and defeated their neighbors the Bulgarians

The invaders soon spread far and wide the terror of their name. They advanced unimpeded to the capital of Vladimir, left to its fate by the Grand Prince Yury, who, with unpardonable negligence, was celebrating a marriage feast when he ought to have been employed in collecting the means of defence against the enemy. The city, which contained the princess and two of her sons, was left to the protection of a chieftain totally unqualified for its defence, and fell an easy prey into the hands of the Tartars; who, like wild beasts, glutted their appetite for blood amongst the wretched inhabitants. The grand princess and other ladies of distinction had taken refuge in the choir of a church; but it was set on fire by the barbarians, and they perished in the flames. Yury, incensed almost to desperation, assembled all his forces, and marched against the enemy. Though his army was greatly inferior in number, he attacked them with the most determined valor; but victory was with the Tartars, and the body of Yury was found amongst the slain. This appears to have been the only vigorous stand made by the Russian princes. The Tartars pushed forward with rapidity, and successively overpowered the principalities of Novgorod and Kief.

They had now established themselves in the Russian territories, and their Khan or chief, though he did not himself assume the nominal sovereignty, reigned as paramount lord, and placed on the throne any of the native princes whom he found most obsequious to his will, or who had ingratiated themselves by the magnificence of their presents. Till the middle of the fourteenth century the miseries of a foreign yoke were aggravated by all the calamities of intestine discord and war; whilst the knights of Livonia on one side, and the Poles on the other, lost no opportunity of attacking Russia, and took several of its towns, and even some considerable countries.

About the year 1362, Dimitri Ivanovitch received the sovereignty from the Tartar

chief, and established the seat of his government at Moscow. This prince possessed considerable ambition, and contrived to inspire the other Russian princes with so much respect for his person and government that they consented to hold their principalities as fiefs under him. This excited the jealousy of Mammai, the Tartar khan, who determined to take measures for maintaining his superiority. He began by demanding an increase of tribute; but when Dimitri demurred to this, the khan not only insisted on his demand, but required the grand prince to appear before him in person. This requisition Dimitri thought proper to refuse, and prepared to support his refusal by force of arms. A combination of favorable circumstances operated strongly in favor of Dimitri. The terror with which the Russians had at first viewed the Tartars had now in a great measure subsided; while the haughty bearing of the latter, with their barbarism and paganism, served to keep alive the hatred with which they had ever been viewed. The clergy, too, did all in their power to foster the spirit of revolt, and promised crowns of glory to all who should fall in battle. Thus the grand duke soon found himself at the head of an army of 200,000 men, with which he marched towards the Don, on the southern bank of which the Tartars were encamped in numbers greatly exceeding his own forces. This, however, did not deter him from crossing the river, and the fight commenced with the greatest fury on both sides. The issue was long doubtful; but victory at length declared for the Russians. The Tartars appear to have been so much humbled by this defeat that for a time they left the Russians to enjoy in peace their recovered liberty. This forbearance, however, was not of long duration. Before the death of Dimitri, returning with increased numbers, they laid siege to Moscow, which, after an obstinate defence, was at length induced to surrender, and Russia once more submitted to her old masters.

Dimitri died in the year 1389, and was succeeded by his son Vasilii Dimitrievitch.

In the reign of this prince a new incursion of the Tartars took place, under the great Timur or Tamerlane, who, having subdued all the neighboring Tartar hordes, extended his conquests to the Russian territories, took Moscow by assault, and carried off immense plunder.

The grand principality of Vladimir, or, as it may now be called of Moscow, had at the end of the fourteenth century attained its greatest height, whilst that of Kief had proportionally declined. This latter principality was, at the time of which we are now writing, under the dominion of the Poles, having been seized on in 1320, by Gedemin, Duke of Lithuania.

The later part of the fifteenth century forms a splendid epoch in the history of Russia. At this time,—viz., from 1462 to 1505,—reigned Ivan Vasilivitch, or, as he is commonly called, John Basilovitz. This able prince, by his invincible spirit and refined policy, became both the conqueror and deliverer of his country, and laid the first foundation of its future grandeur. Observing with indignation the narrow limits of his power at his accession to the throne, he began immediately to resolve within himself upon the means of enlarging his dominions. He demanded and obtained in marriage Maria, sister of Michael, Duke of Twer, whom he soon afterwards deposed, on pretence of avenging the injuries done to his father, and added this duchy to his own territories of Moscow. Maria, by whom he had a son, who died before him, did not live long; and upon her death he married Sophia, daughter of Thomas Palæologus, who had been driven from Constantinople, and forced to seek shelter at Rome, where the Pope portioned this princess, in hopes of thus procuring great advantage to the Catholic religion, but his expectations were frustrated, Sophia being obliged to conform to the Greek Church after her arrival in Russia.

This princess, shocked at the servile manner in which her husband was treated by the proud Tartars, stirred him up to resistance.

He gradually increased his forces, and at length openly disclaimed all subjection to the Tartars, attacked their territories, and made himself master of Kazan. Here he was solemnly crowned, about the year 1470, with a diadem which is said to be the same that is still used in the coronation of the Russian sovereigns. He afterwards carried his arms against the neighboring states. Asiatic Bulgaria and great part of Lapland soon submitted to him; and the great Novgorod, a city then so famous that the Russians were accustomed to intimate their idea of its importance by the proverbial expression, "Who can resist God and the great Novgorod?" was reduced by his generals after a seven years' siege, and yielded immense treasure. After he quitted the city, which had been awed by his presence, the discontents, excited at his violent measures, broke out into acts of mutiny, upon which he, in 1485, carried off fifty of the principal families, and distributed them through several of the Russian towns.

After his reduction of this city, Ivan invaded the territories of Livonia and Esthonia, in consequence, as we are told, of an affront offered to him by the inhabitants of Revel. Here, however, he met with a stout resistance, and does not seem to have made much progress. Towards the conclusion of his reign the Kazanian Tartars, who, though humbled, had continued to inhabit that district, made a hard struggle to shake off the Russian yoke that had been imposed on them; but Ivan had established his authority too firmly for them to accomplish their purpose during his life. He died in 1505, and was succeeded by his son Vasilii Ivanovitch, commonly called Basilus III.

About fourteen years after the death of Ivan, the Tartars of Kazan rebelled against the Russian yoke, and united themselves with their brethren of the Crimea. With their assistance, they assembled a mighty force, entered the Russian dominions, and carried their arms even to the gates of Moscow. The Grand Prince Vasilii finding him-

self at that time unable to resist the barbarians, purchased an exemption from general pillage by great presents and a promise of renewed allegiance. The Tartars retired, but carried off immense booty, and nearly 300,000 prisoners, the greater part of whom they sent to Theodosia in the Crimea, and sold to the Turks. Vasili, however, was soon enabled to make head against the Tartars, and to recover possession of the city Kazan, and of Pscoe, a city which had been built by the Princess Olga, and was the great rival of Novgorod in wealth and commercial importance. Under this prince all the principalities of Russia were once more united, and they have remained ever since under the dominion of one sovereign. He died in 1533, having reigned twenty-eight years.

It was under the son and successor of Vasili, Ivan IV., or, as he is styled by the Russian historians, Ivan Vasiliivitch II., that Russia completely emancipated herself from her subjection to the Tartars, and acquired a vast accession of territory, which extended her empire into the northeast of Asia, and rendered her for the first time superior in extent to any state that had appeared since the Roman empire. He was only three years old when his father died; and during his minority the state became a prey to anarchy and confusion. But when he attained his seventeenth year he was able to assume the reins of government; and he displayed so much prudence and manly fortitude as soon raised him very high in the estimation of his subjects. His first aim was to still the contending factions which surrounded him; and he then resolved to attempt liberating his country from the dominion of the Tartars. In 1551 he marched an army in the depth of winter into the district of Kazan, and laid siege to the capital, which he made himself master of in 1552, by the new, and, to the Tartars, unheard-of method of springing a mine below the walls. By this important conquest the dominion of the Tartars, who had oppressed the Russians for more than three centuries, was completely

and permanently overthrown. About two years later Ivan extended his conquests eastward to the shores of the Caspian, and took possession of the territory that lay on the right bank of the Volga, round the city of Astracan, and which was also inhabited by the Tartar hordes. In 1570 the inhabitants of Novgorod being suspected of forming a plot for delivering that city and the surrounding territory into the hands of the King of Poland, felt still more severely the effects of his vengeance.

In 1547 Ivan sent a splendid embassy to the Emperor Charles V., requesting a number of German artists, mechanics and literary men to be sent into Russia. Several hundred volunteers were thus collected; but they were intercepted in their journey through Livonia, and obliged to return home, though some of them escaped and succeeded in reaching Moscow. Ivan endeavored to revenge himself on the Livonians by invading their country, which was strenuously defended by the Teutonic Knights; and these champions, finding at last that they were unable to maintain their ground, put the territory under the protection of Poland. The Swedes also received a share of the Livonian territories; and this circumstance gave rise to a war between them and the Russians. Ivan invaded Finland; but that country was bravely defended by William of Furstenberg, Grand Master of the Livonian Knights, with the assistance of the troops of Gustavus Vasa; and it does not appear that Ivan gained much in this expedition, though we are told that the Livonian grand master ended his life in a Russian prison.

About twenty years after Astracan had been annexed to the Russian empire, a new acquisition of territory accrued to it from the conquests of a private adventurer, in the unknown regions of Siberia. A merchant named Stroganof, who was proprietor of some salt-works on the confines of Siberia, perceiving among the persons who came to him on affairs of trade men who belonged to no nation with which he was acquainted

he questioned them concerning the place whence they came, and once sent a few of his people with them back to their country. These brought with them, on their return, a great quantity of valuable furs, and thus opened to their master a new road to wealth. The attention of the government was thus directed to this country, but the conquest of it was reserved for an adventurer or robber named Timoseyef Yermak. This Yermak, at the head of a gang of Don Cossacks of not fewer than 6000 men, in fleeing from a band of Russian troops, came accidentally to the dwelling of Stroganof, where, hearing much about Siberia, they resolved to seek there at once their safety and their fortune. After numerous struggles and conflicts with the natives, which greatly reduced their numbers, they at length conquered the capital, and shortly after the whole country. Yermak now presented the fruit of his toilsome and perilous victories to his czar, and thereby obtained a pardon of his former depredations. The less and the greater Kabardey were also added to Russia in the reign of Ivan.

Towards the close of Ivan's reign a prodigious army of Tartars entered Russia, with a design to subdue the whole country. But Zerebrinoff, the czar's general, having attacked them in a defile, put them to flight with considerable slaughter. They then retired towards the mouth of the Volga, where they expected a considerable re-inforcement; but being closely pursued by the Russians and the Tartars in alliance with them, they were again defeated, and forced to fly towards the Azof, where their army was almost annihilated. In 1571, instigated by the Poles, the Crim Tartars again invaded the country with an army of 70,000 men, which totally defeated the Russians in a battle fought within eighteen miles of the city of Moscow. The czar retired with his most valuable effects to a well-fortified cloister; upon which the Tartars entered the city, plundered it, and set fire to several churches. A violent storm which happened

at the same time soon spread the flames all over the city, which was entirely reduced to ashes in six hours. The fire likewise communicated itself to a powder magazine, by which upwards of fifty rods of the city wall, with all the buildings near it, were destroyed; and, according to the historians, upwards of 120,000 citizens were burned or buried in the ruins. The castle, however, which was strongly fortified, could not be taken; and the Tartars, hearing that a formidable army was coming against them under the command of Magnus, Duke of Holstein, whom Ivan had made King of Livonia, thought proper to retire. The Livonians, the Poles and the Swedes, having united in a league against the Russians, gained great advantages over them; and in 1579 Stephen Batory, who was then raised to the throne of Poland, levied an army expressly with a design of invading Russia, and of regaining all that Poland had formerly claimed, which, indeed, was little less than the whole empire. Ivan found his undisciplined multitudes unable to cope with the regular forces of his enemies; and it is possible that the number of enemies which now attacked Russia might have overcome the empire entirely, had not the allies grown jealous of each other. The consequence of this was, that in 1582, a peace was concluded; shortly after which the czar, having been worsted in an engagement with the Tartars, died in the year 1584. His eldest son Feodor Ivanovitch was by no means fitted for the government of an empire so extensive, and a people so rude and turbulent; and to obviate the effects of this incapacity, Ivan had appointed three of his principal nobles as administrators of the empire, whilst to a fourth he committed the charge of his younger son Dmitri or Demetrius. This expedient, however, failed of success, partly from the mutual jealousy of the administrators, and partly from the envy which their exaltation had excited in the other nobles. The weak Feodor had married a sister of Boris Gudonof, a man of great ambition, immense riches and toler

able abilities. He had long directed his wishes towards the imperial dignity, and began to prepare the way for its attainment by removing Dmitri. This young prince suddenly disappeared; and there is every reason to believe that he was assassinated by the order of Boris. Feodor did not long survive his brother, but died in 1598, not without suspicion of his having been poisoned by his brother-in-law.

With Feodor ended the family of Ruric, a dynasty which had enjoyed the supreme power in Russia for more than seven hundred years. On the death of Feodor, as there was no hereditary successor to the vacant throne, the nobles assembled to elect a new czar; and Boris having, through the interest of the patriarch, procured a majority in his favor, was declared sovereign. Notwithstanding the means that he had used to obtain imperial power, Boris seems to have employed it in advancing the interest of the nation, and in improving the circumstances of his people. He was extremely active in his endeavors to extend the commerce and improve the arts and manufactures of the Russian empire; and for this purpose he invited many foreigners into his dominions. Soon after the commencement of his reign the city of Moscow was desolated by one of the most dreadful famines recorded in history. This dreadful calamity lasted three years, notwithstanding all the exertions of Boris to mitigate its severity. During these distresses the power of Boris was threatened by an adventurer who pretended to be the young Prince Dmitri, whom he had caused to be assassinated. This adventurer was a monk named Otrepiief. He retired from Russia into Poland, where he had the dexterity to ingratiate himself with some of the principal nobles, and at length even the King of Poland was brought over to his party. The Cossacks of the Don also, who were oppressed by Boris, eagerly embraced the opportunity of declaring in his favor; and, although Boris did all in his power to destroy the illusion, by prohibiting all intercourse between

his subjects and the Poles, the cause of the pretender rapidly gained ground in Russia. He soon made his appearance on the frontiers with a regiment of Polish troops and a body of Cossacks, and signally defeated an army sent by Boris to oppose him. He greatly strengthened his cause by treating his prisoners with the utmost humanity, and strictly enjoining his troops not to molest the inhabitants passing through the country. This gentle behavior, when contrasted with the horrible excesses committed by the soldiers of Boris, gained Dmitri more adherents than even the persuasion that he was the lawful sovereign of the country. At length, Boris, unable to resist the torrent of public opinion in favor of his rival, is said to have taken poison, and thus hastened that fate which he foresaw awaited him if he should fall into the hands of his enemies.

The death of Boris took place in the year 1605; and though the principal nobility at Moscow placed his son Feodor on the throne, the party of Dmitri was so strong that Feodor was dethroned and sent to prison with his mother and sister, within six weeks after his accession. The successful monk now made his entry into Moscow with the utmost magnificence. One of his first acts was to remove the son of Boris, whom he caused to be strangled, together with one of his sisters. Though possessed of considerable abilities, he was deficient in prudence; and the partiality that he showed towards the Poles, and the contempt with which he treated the Russian nobility, so exasperated the Russians that discontents and insurrections arose in every quarter of the empire. The people were still further incensed by the clergy, who declaimed against Dmitri as a heretic, and by Schuiskoy, a nobleman who had been condemned to death by the czar, but had afterwards been pardoned. This nobleman put himself at the head of the enraged mob, and led them to attack the palace. They entered it by assault, put to the sword all the Poles whom they found within its walls, and afterwards extended their mas-

sacre to such as were discovered in other parts of the city. Dmitri himself, in attempting to escape, was overtaken by his pursuers and thrust through with a spear; and his dead body, being brought back into the city, lay three days before the palace, exposed to every outrage that malice could invent or rage inflict.

Schuiskoy was now raised to the vacant throne, but his reign was short and uninteresting; and indeed, from this time till the accession of the House of Romanof in 1613, the affairs of Russia have little to gratify our curiosity. The Russians, dissatisfied with the reigning prince, treated with several of the neighboring potentates for the disposal of the imperial crown. They offered it to Vladislaf or Uładislas, son of Sigismund, King of Poland, on condition that he should adopt the Greek religion; but as he rejected this preliminary, they turned their eyes first on a son of Charles IX. of Sweden, and then on a young native Russian, Mikhail Feodorovitch, of the House of Romanof, a family which was distantly related to their ancient czars, and of which the head was then metropolitan of Rostof, and as such held in great estimation. The influence of the clergy, who exerted themselves for Mikhail, both by personal intrigues and by the dissemination of pretended revelations from heaven, silenced the supporters of the other claimants; and, after a long series of confusion and disaster, there ascended the Russian throne a family whose descendants have raised the empire to a state of grandeur and importance unequalled in any former period.

At the accession of Mikhail, who was crowned in June, 1613, the Swedes and Poles were in possession of several parts of the empire; and to dislodge these intruders was the first object of the new czar. He began by negotiating a treaty of peace with Sweden, agreeing to give up Ingria and Karelia, and to evacuate Esthonia and Livonia. A numerous body of Poles next entered Russia, to support the claims of their king's son Vladislaf. Mikhail, however, instead of op-

posing them in the open field, entrapped them by ambuscades, or allured them into districts already desolated, where they suffered so much from cold and hunger that in 1619 they agreed to a cessation of hostilities for fourteen years and a half, on condition that the Russians should cede to Poland the government of Smolensk.

Mikhail now applied himself to arranging the internal economy of his empire, and formed treaties of alliance with the principal commercial states of Europe. He also commenced those improvements of the laws which were more fully executed by his son and successor; but the tide of party ran so high that he could effect only a very imperfect reformation. He died in 1645, and was succeeded by his son Alexei, who being then only fifteen years of age, a nobleman named Morosof was appointed his governor and regent of the empire. This man possessed all the ambition of Boris, without his prudence and address; and in attempting to raise himself and his adherents to the highest posts in the state, he incurred the hatred of all ranks of the people. Though, by properly organizing the army, he provided for the defence of the empire against external enemies, he shamefully neglected internal policy, and connived at the most flagrant enormities in the administration of justice. The populace at length rebelled against these abuses, and were only pacified by the execution of one of the most nefarious of the judges, Morosof's life being spared at the earnest entreaty of the czar.

Similar disturbances had broken out at Novgorod and Pscov; but they were happily terminated, chiefly through the exertions of the metropolitan Nikon, a man who, though of low birth, by his reputation for extraordinary piety and holiness, had raised himself to the patriarchal dignity, and was high in favor with Alexei. The pacific conduct of the neighboring states did not long continue, though, indeed, we may attribute the renewal of hostilities to the ambition of the czar.

The war with Poland was occasioned by

Alexei's supporting the Cossacks, a military horde, who, after the subjugation of the Tartars, had put themselves under the guardianship of Poland. As the Polish clergy, however, attempted to impose on them the Catholic faith, they threw off their allegiance, and claimed the patronage of Russia. Alexei gladly received them as his subjects, hoping by their assistance to recover the territories which had been ceded to Poland by his father. The Russians, assisted by the Cossacks, were so successful in this contest that the King of Sweden became jealous of Alexei's good fortune, and determined to take a very active part in the war, especially as the Lithuanians, who were extremely averse to the Russian dominion, had sought his protection. The war with Sweden commenced in 1656, and lasted for two years, without any important advantage being gained by either party. A truce was concluded in 1658 for three years, and at the termination of this period a solid peace was established. In the mean time, the war with Poland continued, but was at length terminated by an armistice, which was prolonged from time to time during the remainder of Alexei's life.

The authority which Alexei had obtained over the Don Cossacks excited the jealousy of the Sublime Porte, and after a successful attempt on the frontiers of Poland, a Turkish army entered the Ukraine. Alexei endeavored to form a confederacy against the infidels among the Christian potentates of Europe; but the age of crusading chivalry was over, and the czar was obliged to make head against the Turks with no assistance but that of the King of Poland. The Turkish arms were for some years victorious, especially on the side of Poland; but at length a check was given to their successes by the Polish general Sobieski, who afterwards ascended the throne of that kingdom. Hostilities between the Turks and Russians were not, however, terminated during the reign of Alexei, and the czar left to his successor the prosecution of the war.

Alexei died in 1676, leaving three sons and six daughters. Two of these sons, Feodor and Ivan, were by a first marriage; the third, Peter, by a second. The two former, particularly Ivan, were of a delicate constitution, and some attempts were made by the relations of Peter to set them aside. These attempts, however, proved unsuccessful, and Feodor became the successor of Alexei.

The reign of this prince was short, and distinguished rather for the happiness which the nation then experienced than for the importance of the transactions which took place. One important service he rendered to his country places his energy and talent in a very favorable light, and that was his causing the destruction of the family registers of the nobility, and thus removing an endless source of contention in the kingdom. The Russian noble placed the highest value upon his ancestry; and to such an extent was this carried that no one would take an office under one with a shorter or less distinguished pedigree than himself. All these registers Feodor ordered to be brought to Moscow, under the pretence of adjusting certain errors that had crept into them, and then caused them to be burned. He continued the war with the Turks for four years after his father's death, and at length brought it to an honorable conclusion by a truce for twenty years, the Turks acknowledging the Russian right of sovereignty over the Cossacks. Feodor died in 1682, having nominated his half-brother Peter his successor.

The succession of Peter, though appointed by their favorite czar Feodor, was by no means pleasing to the majority of the Russian nobles, and it was particularly opposed by Galitzin, the prime minister of the late czar. This able man had espoused the interest of Sophia, the sister of Feodor and Ivan, a young woman of eminent abilities and the most insinuating address. Sophia, upon pretence of asserting the claims of her brother Ivan, who, though of a feeble body and weak intellect, was considered as the lawful heir of the crown, had really formed a design of

securing the succession to herself; and with that view, had not only insinuated herself into the confidence and good graces of Galitzin, but had brought over to her interests the Strelitzes, who were the body-guard of the czars, and at this time were about fourteen thousand in number. These licentious soldiers assembled for the purpose, as was pretended, of placing on the throne Prince Ivan, whom they proclaimed czar by acclamation. During three days they roved about the city of Moscow, committing the greatest excesses, and putting to death several of the chief officers of state who were suspected of being hostile to the designs of Sophia. Their employer did not, however, entirely gain her point; for as the new czar entertained a sincere affection for his half-brother Peter, he insisted that this prince should share with him the imperial dignity. This was at length agreed to; and on the 6th of May, 1682, Ivan and Peter were solemnly crowned joint emperors of all the Russias, while the Princess Sophia was nominated their copartner in the government.

From the imbecility of Ivan and the youth of Peter, who was now only ten years of age, the whole power of the government rested with Sophia and her minister Galitzin, although till the year 1687, the names of Ivan and Peter only were annexed to the imperial decrees. Scarcely had Sophia established her authority when she was threatened with deposition, from an alarming insurrection of the Strelitzes. This was excited by their commander Prince Kovanskoi, who had demanded of Sophia that she should marry one of her sisters to his son, but had met with a mortifying refusal. In consequence of this insurrection, which threw the whole city of Moscow into terror and consternation, Sophia and the two young czars took refuge in a monastery about twelve leagues from the capital; and a considerable body of soldiers, principally foreigners, was assembled in their defence. It is related that two of the Strelitzes dashed after the fugitives into the monastery, and that one of them with uplifted

sword was about to strike young Peter, when his mother threw herself before him and pointed to the picture of the Virgin. The other Strelitz, moved by her entreaties, or struck by the sacredness of the place, caught his arm and saved the prince. Kovanskoi was taken prisoner, and instantly beheaded; and though his followers at first threatened dreadful vengeance on his executioners, they soon found themselves obliged to submit. From every regiment was selected the tenth man, who was to suffer as an atonement for the rest; but this cruel punishment was remitted, and only the most guilty among the ringleaders suffered death.

The quelling of these disturbances gave leisure to the friends of Peter to pursue the plans which they had formed for subverting the authority of Sophia; and about this time a favorable opportunity offered, in consequence of a rupture with Turkey. The Porte was now engaged in a war with Poland and the German empire, and both these latter powers had solicited the assistance of Russia against the common enemy. Sophia and her party were averse to the alliance; but as there were in the council many secret friends of Peter, these had sufficient influence to persuade the majority that a Turkish war would be of advantage to the state. They even prevailed on Galitzin to put himself at the head of the army, and thus removed their principal opponent. It is difficult to conceive how a man, so able in the cabinet as Galitzin, could have suffered his vanity so far to get the better of his good sense, as to accept a military command, for which he certainly had no talents. Assembling an army of nearly three hundred thousand men, he marched towards the confines of Turkey, and there consumed two campaigns in marches and countermarches, and lost nearly forty thousand men, partly in unsuccessful skirmishes with the enemy, but chiefly from disease.

While Galitzin was thus trifling away his time in the south, Peter, who already began to give proofs of those great talents which

afterwards enabled him to act so conspicuous a part in the theatre of the north, was strengthening his party among the Russians not less. His ordinary residence was at a village not far from Moscow, and here he had assembled round him a considerable number of young men of rank and influence, whom he called his play-mates. Among these were two foreigners, Lefort a Genevese, and Gordon, a Scotchman, who afterwards signalized themselves in his service. These young men had formed a sort of military company, of which Lefort was captain; and the young czar, beginning with the situation of drummer, gradually rose through every subordinate office. Under this appearance of a military game, Peter was secretly establishing himself in the affections of his young companions, and effectually lulled the suspicions of Sophia, till it was too late for her to oppose his machinations.

About the middle of the year 1689, Peter, who had now attained his seventeenth year, determined to make an effort to deprive Sophia of all share in the government, and to secure himself the undivided sovereignty. On the occasion of a solemn religious meeting that was held, Sophia had claimed the principal place, as regent of the empire; but this claim was strenuously opposed by Peter, who, rather than fill a subordinate situation, quitted the place of assembly, and, with his friends and adherents, withdrew to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, which had formerly sheltered him and his copartners from the fury of the Strelitzes. This was the signal for an open rupture. Sophia, finding that she could not openly oppose the party of the czar, attempted to procure his assassination; but as her design was discovered, she thought proper to solicit an accommodation. This was agreed to, on condition that she would give up all claim to the regency, and retire to a nunnery. The commander of the Strelitzes, her agent in the intended assassination of Peter, was beheaded, and the minister Galitzin sent into banishment to Archangel.

Peter now saw himself in undisputed possession of the imperial throne; for, though Ivan was still nominally czar, he had voluntarily resigned all share in the administration of affairs, and retired to a life of obscurity. The first object to which the czar directed his attention was the establishment of a regular and well-disciplined military force. He had learned by experience how little dependence was to be placed on the Strelitzes; and these regiments he determined to disband. He commissioned Lefort and Gordon to levy new regiments, which, in their whole constitution, dress and military exercises, should be formed on the model of other European troops. He next resolved to carry into execution the design which had been formed by his father, of constructing a navy. For this purpose he first took a journey to Archangel, where he employed himself examining the operations of the shipwrights, and occasionally taking a part in their labors; but as he learned that the art of ship-building was practised in greater perfection in Holland, and some other maritime countries of Europe, he sent thither several young Russians to be initiated into the best methods of constructing ships of war.

The war with Turkey still languished, but Peter was resolved to prosecute it with vigor, hoping to get possession of the town of Azof, and thus open a passage to the Black Sea. He placed Gordon, Lefort and two of his nobles, at the head of the forces destined for this expedition, and himself attended the army as a private volunteer. The success of the first campaign was but trifling; and Peter learned that his deficiency of artillery and his want of transports prevented him from making an effectual attack on Azof. These difficulties, however, were soon surmounted. He procured a supply of artillery and engineers from the emperor and the Dutch, and found means to provide a number of transports. With these auxiliaries he opened the second campaign, defeated the Turks on the Sea of Azof, and made himself master of the town. Peter was so elated



Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1854, by J. H. Johnson, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York.



with these successes, that on his return from the seat of war he marched his troops into Moscow in a triumphal procession, in which Lefort as admiral of the transports, and Schein as commander of the land forces, bore the most conspicuous parts, while Peter himself was lost without distinction in the crowd of subaltern officers.

He now resolved to form a fleet in the Black Sea; but as his own revenues were insufficient for this purpose, he issued a ukase, commanding the patriarch and other dignified clergy, the nobility and the merchants, to contribute a part of their income towards fitting out a certain number of ships. This proclamation was extremely unpopular, and, together with the numerous innovations which Peter was every day introducing, especially his sending the young nobles to visit foreign countries, and his own avowed intention of making the tour of Europe, contributed to raise against him a formidable party. The vigilance and prudence of the czar, however, extricated him from the dangers with which he was threatened, and enabled him to carry into execution his proposed journey.

In returning to his own dominions, Peter passed through Rawa, where Augustus King of Poland then was. The czar had determined, in conjunction with Augustus and the King of Denmark, to take advantage of the youth and inexperience of Charles XII., who had just succeeded to the Swedish throne; and in this interview with Augustus, he made the final arrangements for the part which each was to take in the war. Augustus was to receive Livonia as his part of the spoil, while Frederick King of Denmark had his eye on Holstein, and Peter had formed designs on Ingria, formerly a province of the Russian empire.

In the middle of the year 1700, Charles had left his capital to oppose these united enemies. He soon compelled the King of Denmark to give up his designs on Holstein, and sign a treaty of peace; and being thus at liberty to turn his arms against the other members of the confederacy, he resolved first

to lead his army against the King of Poland; but on his way he received intelligence that the czar had laid siege to Narva with an army which some authorities calculate at 100,000 men. On this he immediately embarked at Carlserona, though it was then the depth of winter, and the Baltic was scarcely navigable; and soon landed at Pernaw in Livonia with part of his forces, having ordered the rest to Revel. His army did not exceed 20,000 men, but it was composed of the best soldiers in Europe, while that of the Russians was little better than an undisciplined multitude. Every possible obstruction, however, had been thrown in the way of the Swedes. 30,000 Russians were posted in a defile on the road, and this corps was sustained by another body of 20,000 drawn up some leagues nearer Narva. Peter himself had set out to hasten the march of a reinforcement of 40,000 men, with whom he intended to attack the Swedes in flank and rear; but the celerity and valor of Charles baffled every attempt to oppose him. He set out with 4000 foot and an equal number of cavalry, leaving the rest of the army to follow at their leisure. With this small body he attacked and defeated the Russian armies successively, and pushed his way to Peter's camp, for the attack of which he gave immediate orders. This camp was fortified by lines of circumvallation and contravallation, by redoubts, and by a line of 150 brass cannons placed in front; and it was defended by an army of 80,000 men; yet so violent was the attack of the Swedes, that in three hours the intrenchments were carried, and Charles, with only 4000 men, that composed the wing which he commanded, pursued the flying enemy, amounting to 50,000, to the river Narva. Here the bridge broke down with the weight of the fugitives, and the river was filled with their bodies. Great numbers returned in despair to their camp, where they defended themselves for a short time, but were at last obliged to surrender. In this battle, 30,000 were killed in the intrenchments and the pursuit, or drowned in

the river ; 20,000 surrendered at discretion, and were dismissed unarmed, while the rest were totally dispersed.

Peter was advancing with 40,000 men to surround the Swedes, when he received intelligence of the dreadful defeat at Narva. He was greatly chagrined ; but comforting himself with the hopes that the Swedes would in time teach the Russians to beat them, he returned to his own dominions, where he applied himself with the utmost diligence to the raising of another army. He evacuated all the provinces which he had invaded, and for a time abandoned all his great projects, thus leaving Charles at liberty to prosecute the war against Poland.

As Augustus had expected an attack, he endeavored to draw the czar into a close alliance with him. The two monarchs had an interview at Birzen, where it was agreed that Augustus should lend the czar 50,000 German soldiers, to be paid by Russia ; that the czar should send an equal number of his troops to be trained to the art of war in Poland ; and that he should pay the king three millions of rix-dollars in the space of two years. Of this treaty Charles had notice, and, by means of his minister, Count Piper, entirely frustrated the scheme.

After the battle of Narva, Charles became confident and negligent, while the activity of Peter increased with his losses. He supplied his want of artillery by melting down the bells of the churches, and constructed numerous small vessels on the lake of Ladoga to oppose the entrance of the Swedes into his dominions. He took every advantage of Charles's negligence, and engaged in frequent skirmishes, in which, though often beaten, he was sometimes victorious. He contrived to make himself master of the river Neva, and captured Nyenschantz, a fortress at the mouth of that river. Here he laid the foundation of that city which he had long projected, and which was to become the metropolis of his empire. At length, in 1704, he became master of Ingria, and appointed his favorite, Prince Menzi-

koff, to be viceroy of that province, with strict orders to make the building of the new city his principal business. Here edifices were already rising in every quarter, and navigation and commerce were increasing in vigor and extent.

In the meantime Augustus King of Poland, though treating with Charles for the surrender of his dominions, was obliged to keep up the appearance of war, which he had neither the ability nor inclination to conduct. He had been lately joined by Prince Menzikoff with 30,000 Russians ; and this obliged him, contrary to his inclination, to hazard an engagement with Meyerfeldt, who commanded 10,000 men, one-half of whom were Swedes. As at this time no disparity of numbers whatever was reckoned an equivalent to the valor of the Swedes, Meyerfeldt did not decline the combat, though the army of the enemy was four times as numerous as his own. Menzikoff, with his own countrymen, defeated the enemy's first line, and was on the point of defeating the second, when Stanislas, with the Poles and the Lithuanians, gave way. Meyerfeldt then perceived that the battle was lost ; but he fought desperately, that he might avoid the disgrace of a defeat. At last, however, he was oppressed by numbers, and forced to surrender ; suffering the Swedes for the first time to be conquered by their enemies. The whole army were taken prisoners, excepting Major-Gen. Krassau, who having repeatedly rallied a body of horse formed into a brigade, at last broke through the enemy, and escaped to Posnania. Augustus had scarcely sung *Te Deum* for this victory, when his plenipotentiary returned from Saxony with the articles of the treaty, by which he was to renounce all claim to the crown of Poland in favor of his rival Stanislas. The king hesitated and scrupled, but at last signed them ; after which he set out for Saxony, glad at any expense to be freed from such an enemy as the King of Sweden, and from such allies as the Russians.

The czar Peter was no sooner informed

of this extraordinary treaty, then he learned also the cruel fate of his plenipotentiary Patkul, a Livonian emigrant, whom Charles, claiming as a subject, seized and executed. Peter immediately sent letters to every court in Christendom, complaining of this breach of the law of nations. He entreated the emperor, the Queen of Britain and the States-General, to revenge this insult on humanity. He stigmatized the compliance of Augustus with the opprobrious name of pusillanimity; and exhorted them not to guarantee a treaty so unjust, but to despise the menaces of the Swedish bully. So well, however, was the prowess of the King of Sweden known, that none of the allies thought proper to irritate him, by refusing to guarantee any treaty which he thought proper to accept. At first, Peter thought of revenging Patkul's death by massacring the Swedish prisoners at Moscow; but from this he was deterred, by remembering that Charles had many more Russian prisoners than he himself had of Swedes. In the year 1707, however, he entered Poland at the head of 60,000 men, and, assembling a diet, solemnly deposed Stanislas, with the same ceremonies which had been used with regard to Augustus. The appearance of a Swedish army under King Stanislas and General Lewenhaupt put a stop to this invasion, and the czar retired into Lithuania, giving out as the cause of his retreat, that the country could not supply him with the provisions and forage necessary for so great an army.

During these transactions Charles had taken up his residence in Saxony, where he gave laws to the Court of Vienna, and in a manner intimidated all Europe. At last, satiated with the glory of having dethroned one king, set up another, and struck all Europe with terror and admiration, he began to evacuate Saxony in pursuit of his great plan, the dethroning of Czar Peter, and conquering the vast empire of Russia. While the army was on full march in the neighborhood of Dresden, he took the extraordinary resolution of visiting King Augustus with

no more than five attendants. Although he had no reason to imagine that Augustus either did or could entertain any friendship for him, he was not uneasy at the consequences of thus putting himself entirely in his power. He reached the palace door of Augustus before it was known that he was in the city; and he entered the elector's chamber in his boots before the latter had time to recover from his surprise. He breakfasted with him in a friendly manner, and then expressed a desire of viewing the fortifications. While he was walking round them, a Livonian, who had formerly been condemned in Sweden, and served in the troops of Saxony, thought he could never have a more favorable opportunity of obtaining pardon. He, therefore, begged of King Augustus to intercede for him, being fully assured that his majesty could not refuse so small a favor to a prince in whose power he then was. Augustus accordingly made the request, but Charles refused it in such a manner that he did not think proper to ask it a second time. Having passed some hours in this extraordinary visit, he returned to his army, after having embraced and taken leave of the king he had dethroned.

The armies of Sweden, in Saxony, Poland and Finland, now exceeded 70,000 men; while the available force of Russia amounted to about 100,000. Peter, who had his army dispersed in small parties, instantly assembled it on receiving notice of the king of Sweden's march, was making all possible preparations for a vigorous resistance, and was on the point of attacking Stanislas, when the approach of Charles struck his whole army with terror. In the month of January, 1708, Charles passed the Niemen, and entered the south gate of Grodno just as Peter was quitting the place by the north gate. Charles at this time had advanced some distance before the army, at the head of 600 horse.

The czar having received intelligence of his situation, sent back a detachment of 2000 men to attack him; but these were

entirely defeated, and thus Charles became possessed of the whole province of Lithuania. The king pursued his flying enemies in the midst of ice and snow, over mountains, rivers and morasses, and through obstacles which appeared to be insurmountable. These difficulties, however, he had foreseen, and had prepared to meet them. As he knew that the country could not furnish provisions sufficient for the subsistence of his army, he had provided a large quantity of biscuit, and on this his troops chiefly subsisted, till they came to the banks of the Beresina, in view of Borisow. Here the czar was posted, and Charles intended to give him battle, after which he could the more easily penetrate into Russia. Peter, however, did not think proper to come to an action, but retreated towards the Dnieper, whither he was pursued by Charles, as soon as he had refreshed his army. The Russians had destroyed the roads and desolated the country, yet the Swedish army advanced with great celerity, and in their march defeated 20,000 Russians, though intrenched to the very teeth. This victory, from the circumstances in which it was gained, was one of the most glorious that ever Charles had achieved. The memory of it was preserved by a medal struck in Sweden with this inscription: *Sylvæ, paludes, aggeres, hostes, victi.*

When the Russians had repassed the Dnieper, the czar, finding himself pursued by an enemy with whom he could not cope, resolved to make proposals for an accommodation. Charles made only this arrogant reply, "I will treat with the czar at Moscow;" a taunt which was received by Peter with the coolness of a hero. "My brother Charles," said he, "affects to play the Alexander, but he shall not find in me a Darius." He still, however, continued his retreat, and Charles pursued so closely that daily skirmishes took place between his advanced guard and the rear of the Russians. In these actions the Swedes had generally the advantage, though their petty victories cost them dear, by contributing to weaken their

force in a country where it could not be recruited. The two armies came so close to each other at Smolensk, that an engagement took place between a body of Russians composed of 10,000 cavalry and 6000 Kalmuks, and the Swedish vanguard, composed of only six regiments, but commanded by the king in person. Here the Russians were again defeated; but Charles, having been separated from the main body of his detachment, was exposed to great danger. With one regiment only he fought with such fury as to drive the enemy before him, when they thought themselves sure of making him prisoner.

By the 3d of October, 1708, Charles had approached within a hundred leagues of Moscow; but Peter had rendered the roads completely impassable, and had destroyed the villages on every side, so as to cut off every possibility of subsistence to the enemy, while the season was far advanced, and the severity of winter was approaching. In these circumstances, the king, at length sensible that he had committed a perilous mistake, endeavored to retrieve it by a step which proved yet more calamitous. He resolved, before attacking the Russian capital, to achieve the conquest of the Ukraine, where Mazeppa, a Polish gentleman, was general and chief of the Cossacks. Mazeppa having been affronted by the czar, readily entered into a treaty with Charles, whom he promised to assist with 30,000 men, great quantities of provisions and ammunition, and with all his treasures, which were falsely stated to be immense. The Swedish army advanced towards the river Disna, where they had to encounter the greatest difficulties; a forest above forty leagues in extent, filled with rocks, mountains and morasses. To complete their misfortunes, they were led thirty leagues out of the right way; all the artillery was sunk in bogs and marshes; the provision of the soldiers, which consisted of biscuit, was exhausted; and the whole army were spent and emaciated when they arrived at the Disna. Here they ex-

pected to have met Mazeppa with his reinforcements; but instead of that, they perceived the opposite banks of the river covered with a hostile army, and the passage itself rendered almost impracticable. Charles, however, was still undaunted; he let his soldiers by ropes down the steep banks; they crossed the river either by swimming, or on rafts hastily put together, drove the Russians from their post, and continued their march. Mazeppa soon after appeared, having with him about 6,000 men, the broken remains of the army he had promised. The Russians had got intelligence of his designs, defeated and dispersed his adherents, laid his town in ashes, and taken all the stores collected for the Swedish army. However, he still hoped to be useful by his intelligence in an unknown country; and the Cossacks, out of revenge, crowded daily to the camp with provisions.

Greater misfortunes still awaited the Swedes. When Charles entered the Ukraine, he had sent orders to General Lewenhaupt to meet him with 15,000 men, 6,000 of whom were Swedes, and a large convoy of provisions. Against this detachment Peter now bent his whole force, and marched against him with an army of 65,000 men. Lewenhaupt had received intelligence that the Russian army consisted of only 24,000, a force to which he thought 6000 Swedes superior, and therefore disdained to entrench himself. A furious contest ensued, in which the Russians were defeated with the loss of 15,000 men. Now, however, affairs began to take another turn. The Swedes, elated with victory, prosecuted their march into the interior; but, from the ignorance or treachery of their guides, they were led into a marshy country, where the roads were made impassable by felled trees and deep ditches. Here they were attacked by the czar with his whole army. Lewenhaupt had sent a detachment to dispute the passage of a body of Russians over a morass; but finding his detachment likely to be overpowered, he marched to support them with all his in-

fantry. Another desperate battle ensued. The Russians were once more thrown into disorder, and were just on the point of being totally defeated, when Peter gave orders to the Cossacks and Kalmucks to fire upon all that fled; "Even kill me," said he, "if I should be so cowardly as to turn my back." The battle was now renewed with great vigor; but notwithstanding the czar's positive orders, and his own example, the day would have been lost had not General Bauer arrived with a strong reinforcement of fresh Russian troops. The engagement was once more renewed, and continued without intermission till night. The Swedes then took possession of an advantageous post, but were next morning attacked by the Russians. Lewenhaupt had formed a sort of rampart with his wagons, but was obliged to set fire to them to prevent their falling into the hands of the Russians, while he retreated under cover of the smoke. The czar's troops, however, arrived in time to save 500 of these wagons, filled with provisions destined for the distressed Swedes. A strong detachment was sent to pursue Lewenhaupt; but so terrible did he now appear, that the Russian general offered him an honorable capitulation. This was rejected with disdain, and a fresh engagement took place in which the Swedes, now reduced to 4000, again defeated their enemies, and killed 5000 on the spot. After this Lewenhaupt was allowed to pursue his retreat without molestation, though deprived of all his cannon and provisions. Prince Menzikoff was indeed detached with a body of forces to harass him on his march; but the Swedes were now so formidable, even in their extremity, that Menzikoff dared not to attack them, so that Lewenhaupt with his 4000 men arrived safe in the camp of Charles, after having destroyed nearly 30,000 of the Russians.

This may be said to have been the last successful effort of Swedish valor against the troops of Peter. The difficulties which Charles's army had now to undergo exceeded what human nature could support; yet still

They hoped by constancy and courage to subdue them. In the severest winter known for a long time, even in Russia, they made long marches, clothed like savages in the skins of wild beasts. All the draught-horses perished; thousands of soldiers dropt down dead through cold and hunger; and by the month of February, 1709, the whole army was reduced to 18,000. Amidst numberless difficulties these penetrated to Pultava, a town on the eastern frontier of the Ukraine, where the czar had laid up magazines, of which Charles resolved to obtain possession. Mazeppa advised the king to invest the place, in consequence of his having correspondence with some of the inhabitants, by whose means he hoped it would be surrendered. He was, however, deceived. The besieged made an obstinate defence; the Swedes were repulsed in every assault, and 3000 of them were defeated, and almost entirely cut off, in an engagement with a party of Russians. To complete his misfortunes, Charles received a shot in his heel from a carabine, which shattered the bone. For six hours afterwards, he continued calmly on horseback, giving orders, till he fainted with the loss of blood; after which he was carried into his tent.

For some days the czar, with an army of 70,000 men, had lain at a small distance, harassing the Swedish camp, and cutting off the convoys of provision; but now intelligence was received that he was advancing as if with a design of attacking the lines. In this situation, Charles, wounded, distressed and almost surrounded by enemies, is said to have, for the first time, assembled a grand council of war, the result of which was, that it was determined to march out and attack the Russians. Voltaire, however, asserts that the king did not relax one iota of his wonted obstinacy and arbitrary temper; but that, on the 7th of July, he sent for General Renschild, and told him, without any emotion, to prepare for attacking the enemy the next morning.

The 8th of July, 1709, is remarkable for

the battle which decided the fate of Sweden. Charles, having left 8000 men in the camp to defend the works and repel the sallies of the besiegers, began by break of day to march against his enemies with the rest of the army, consisting of 26,000 men, of whom 18,000 were Cossacks. The Russians were drawn up in two lines behind their entrenchments, the horse in front, and the foot in the rear, with chasms to suffer the horse to fall back in case of necessity. General Slippenbach was dispatched to attack the cavalry, which he did with such impetuosity that they were broken in an instant. They, however, rallied behind the infantry, and returned to the charge with so much vigor, that the Swedes were disordered in their turn, and Slippenbach was made prisoner. Charles was now carried in his litter to the scene of confusion. His troops, reanimated by the presence of their leader, returned to the charge, and the battle became doubtful, when a blunder of General Creuk, who had been despatched by Charles to take the enemy in flank, and a successful manœuvre of Prince Menzikoff, decided the fortune of the day in favor of the Russians. Creuk's detachment was defeated, and Menzikoff who had been sent by Peter with a strong body to post himself between the Swedes and Pultava, so as to cut off the communication of the enemy with their camp, and fall upon their rear, executed his orders with so much success as to intercept a corps de reserve of three thousand men. Charles had ranged his remaining troops in two lines, with the infantry in the centre, and the horse on the two wings. They had already twice rallied, and were now again attacked on all sides with the utmost fury. Charles in his litter, with a drawn sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other, seemed to be everywhere present; but new misfortunes awaited him. A cannon-ball killed both horses in the litter; and scarcely were these replaced by a fresh pair, when a second ball struck the litter in pieces, and overturned the king. The Swedish soldiers, believing him killed, fell back in con-

sternation. The first line was completely broken, and the second fled. Charles, though disabled, did every thing in his power to restore order; but the Russians, emboldened by success, pressed so hard on the flying foe, that it was impossible to rally them. Renschild and several other general officers were taken prisoners, and Charles himself would have shared the same fate, had not Count Poniatowski, father of the future favorite of Catherine II., with five hundred horse, surrounded the royal person, and with desperate fury cut his way through ten regiments of the Russians. With this small guard the king arrived on the banks of the Dnieper, and was followed by Lewenhaupt with four thousand foot and all the remaining cavalry. The Russians took possession of the Swedish camp, where they found a prodigious sum in specie; while Prince Menzikoff pursued the flying Swedes, and, as they were in want of boats to cross the Dnieper, obliged them to surrender at discretion. Charles escaped with the utmost difficulty, but at length reached Otchakof, on the frontiers of Turkey.

By this decisive victory, Peter remained in quiet possession of his new acquisitions on the Baltic, and was enabled to carry on, without molestation, the improvements which he had projected at the mouth of the Neva. His haughty rival, so long and so justly dreaded, was now completely humbled, and his ally the king of Poland was again established on his throne. During the eight years that had elapsed from the battle of Narva to that of Pultava, the Russian troops had acquired the discipline and steadiness of veterans, and had at length learned to beat their former conquerors. If Peter had decreed triumphal processions for his trifling successes at Azof, it is not surprising that he should commemorate by similar pageants a victory so glorious and so important as that of Pultava. He made his triumphal entry into Moscow for the third time, and the public rejoicings on this occasion far exceeded all that had before been witnessed in the Russian empire.

The vanquished Charles had, in the mean-

time, found a valuable friend in the monarch in whose territories he had taken refuge. Achmet II. who then filled the Ottoman throne, had beheld with admiration the warlike achievements of the Swedish hero; and, alarmed at the late successes of his rival, determined to afford Charles the most effectual aid. In 1711, the Turkish emperor assembled an immense army, and was preparing to invade the Russian territories, when the czar, having intimation of his design, and expecting powerful support from Cantemir, hospodar of Moldavia, a vassal of the Porte, resolved to anticipate the Turks, and to make an inroad into Moldavia. Forgetting his usual prudence and circumspection, Peter crossed the Dnieper, and advanced by rapid marches as far as Yassy or Jassy, the capital of that province, which is situated on the river Pruth; but his temerity had nearly cost him his liberty, if not his life. From this dangerous situation he was extricated by the tact of his consort the Czarina Catherine, who by a liberal bribe succeeded in gaining over the grand vizier to her interests, and thus brought about the treaty of the Pruth.

By this treaty, in which the interests of Charles had been almost abandoned, Peter saw himself delivered from a dangerous enemy, and returned to his capital to prosecute those plans for the internal improvement of his empire which justly entitled him to the appellation of Great. Before we enumerate these improvements, however, we must bring the Swedish war to a conclusion. The death of Charles, in 1718, had left the Swedish government deplorably weakened, by the continual drains of men and money occasioned by his mad enterprises, and little able to carry on a war with a monarch so powerful as Peter. At length, therefore, in 1721, this ruinous contest, which had continued ever since the commencement of the century, was brought to a conclusion by the treaty of Nystadt, by which the Swedes were obliged to cede to Russia, Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, a part of Karelia, the territory of Vyborg, the isle of Oesel and all the other islands in

the Baltic, from Courland to Vyborg; for which concessions they received back Finland, that had been conquered by Peter, together with two millions of dollars, and the liberty of exporting duty free, from Riga, Revel and Arensburg, corn to the annual amount of fifty thousand roubles. In consequence of this great accession to the Russian empire, Peter received from his senate the title of Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, and the ancient title of czar fell into disuse.

The improvements introduced by Peter into the internal policy of the empire must be acknowledged to have been numerous and important. He organized anew the legislative assembly of the state; he greatly ameliorated the administration of justice; he new-modelled the national army; he entirely created the Russian navy; he rendered the ecclesiastical government milder and less intolerant; he zealously patronized the arts and sciences; he erected an observatory at St. Petersburg, and by publicly proclaiming the approach of an eclipse and the precise time at which it was to take place, taught his subjects no longer to consider such a phenomenon as an omen of disaster, or an awful menace of divine judgment. He enlarged the commerce of his empire, and gave every encouragement to trade and manufactures. He formed canals, repaired the roads, instituted regular posts, and laid down regulations for a uniformity of weights and measures. Lastly, he in some measure civilized his subjects, though it is evident that he could not civilize himself.

Various have been the estimates formed of the character of Peter by those who have detailed the events of his reign. It is certain that to him the Russian empire is greatly indebted for the position which she now occupies among the nations of Europe. As a monarch, therefore, he is entitled to our admiration; but as a private individual we must consider him as an object of detestation and abhorrence. His tyranny and his cruelty admit of no excuse; and if we were to suppose, that in sacrificing the heir of his crown

he emulated the patriotism of the elder Brutus, we must remember that the same hand which signed the death-warrant of his son, could with pleasure execute the sentence of the law, or rather of his own caprice, and, in the moments of dissipation and revelry, could make the axe of justice an instrument of diabolical vengeance or of cool brutality.

Peter was succeeded by his consort Catherine, in whose favor he had, some years before his death, altered, the order of succession. From the commencement of her reign, Catherine conducted herself with the greatest benignity and gentleness, and thus secured the love and veneration of her subjects, which she had acquired during the life of the emperor. She reduced the annual capitation tax; ordered the numerous gibbets which Peter had erected in various parts of the country to be cut down; and caused the bodies of those who had fallen victims to his tyranny to be decently interred. She recalled the greater part of those whom Peter had exiled to Siberia; paid the troops their arrears; and restored to the Cossacks those privileges and immunities of which they had been deprived during the late reign, while she continued in office most of the servants of Peter, both civil and military. In her reign the boundaries of the empire were extended by the submission of a Georgian prince, and the voluntary homage of the Kubinskian Tartars. She died on the 17th of May, 1727, having reigned about two years. She had settled the crown on Peter the son of the Czarovitch Alexei, who succeeded by the title of Peter II.

Peter was only twelve years of age when he ascended the imperial throne, and his reign was short and uninteresting. He was guided chiefly by Prince Menzikoff, whose daughter Catherine had decreed him to marry. This ambitious man, who, from the mean condition of a pie-boy, had risen to the first offices of the state, and had, during the late reign, principally conducted the administration of the government, was now, however, drawing towards the end of his career. The

number of his enemies had greatly increased, and their attempts to work his downfall at last succeeded. A young nobleman of the family of the Dolgoruki, who was one of Peter's chief companions, was excited by his relations, and the other enemies of Menzikoff, to instill into the mind of the young prince feelings hostile to that minister. In this commission he succeeded so well, that Menzikoff and his whole family, not excepting the young empress, were banished to Siberia, and the Dolgorukis took into their hands the management of affairs. These artful counsellors, instead of cultivating the naturally good abilities of Peter, encouraged him to waste his time and exhaust his strength in hunting and other athletic exercises, for which his tender years were by no means calculated. It is supposed that the debility consequent on such fatigue increased the natural danger of the small-pox, of which he died in January, 1730.

Notwithstanding the absolute power with which Peter I. and the Empress Catherine had settled by will the title to the throne, the Russian senate and nobility, upon the death of Peter II. ventured to set aside the order of succession which those sovereigns had established. The male issue of Peter was now extinct; and the Duke of Holstein son of Peter's eldest daughter, was by the destination of the late empress entitled to the crown; but the Russians, for political reasons, filled the throne with Anne duchess of Courland, second daughter to Ivan, the eldest brother of Peter, though her eldest sister, the Duchess of Mecklenburg, was still alive. Anne's reign was extremely prosperous; and though she accepted the crown under limitations which some thought derogatory to her dignity, yet she broke them all, asserted the prerogative of her ancestors, and punished the aspiring Dolgoruki family, who had imposed those restrictions, with a view, as it is said, that they themselves might govern. She raised her favorite Biren to the duchy of Courland; and was obliged to give way to many severe executions on his account. Few

transactions of any importance took place during the reign of Anne. She followed the example of her great predecessor Peter, by interposing in the affairs of Poland, where she had sufficient interest to establish on the throne Augustus III. She entered into a treaty with the Shah of Persia, by which she agreed to give up all title to the territories that had been seized by Peter I. on the shores of the Caspian, in consideration of certain privileges to be granted to the Russian merchants.

In 1735, a rupture took place between Russia and Turkey, occasioned partly by the mutual jealousies that had subsisted between these powers ever since the treaty on the Pruth, and partly by the depredations of the Tartars of the Crimea, then under the dominion of the Porte. A Russian army entered the Crimea, ravaged part of the country, and killed a considerable number of Tartars; but having ventured too far, without a sufficient supply of provisions, it was obliged to retreat, after sustaining a loss of nearly ten thousand men. This ill success did not discourage the court of St. Petersburg; and in the following year another armament was sent into the Ukraine, under the command of Marshal Munnich, while another army under Lasey proceeded against Azof. Both these generals met with considerable success; the Tartars were defeated, and the fort of Azof once more submitted to the Russian arms. A third campaign took place in 1737, and the Russians were now assisted by a body of Austrian troops. Munnich laid siege to Otechakof, which soon surrendered, while Lasey desolated the Crimea.

No material advantages were, however, gained upon either side; and disputes arose between the Austrian and Russian generals. At length, in 1739, Marshal Munnich, having crossed the Bog at the head of a considerable army, defeated the Turks in a pitched battle near Stavutshan; made himself master of Yassy, the capital of Moldavia; and before the end of the campaign reduced the whole of that province under his subjection.

These successes of the Russian arms induced the Porte to propose terms of accommodation; and in the end of 1739 a treaty was concluded, by which Russia again gave up Azof and Moldavia, and, to compensate the loss of above a hundred thousand men, and vast sums of money, gained nothing but permission to build a fortress on the Don.

Upon the death of Anne, which took place in 1740, Ivan, the son of her niece the Princess of Mecklenburg, was, by her will, entitled to the succession; but as he was no more than two years old, Biren was appointed to be administrator of the empire during his minority. This nomination was disagreeable to the emperor's father and mother, and unpopular among the Russians. Count Munich was employed by the princess to arrest Biren, who was tried and condemned to die, but was sent into exile to Siberia.

The administration of the Princess Anne of Mecklenburg and her husband was upon many accounts disagreeable, not only to the Russians, but to the other powers of Europe; and the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great by Catherine, formed such a party, that in one night's time she was proclaimed empress of the Russias, and the Princess of Mecklenburg, her husband, and son, were made prisoners. The fate of this unhappy family was peculiarly severe. All but Ivan were sent into banishment, to an island at the mouth of the Dvina, in the White Sea, where the Princess Anne died in childbed in the year 1747. Ivan's father survived till 1775, and at last ended his miserable career in prison. The young emperor Ivan was for some time shut up in a monastery at Oranienburg, when, on attempting to escape, he was removed to the castle of Schlusselfurg, where he was cruelly put to death.

The chief instrument in rousing the ambition of Elizabeth, and procuring her elevation to the throne, was her physician and favorite Lestocq, who, partly by his insinuating address, and partly by the assistance of French gold, brought over to Elizabeth's in-

terest most of the royal guards. During the short regency of Anne of Mecklenburg, a new war had commenced between Russia and Sweden; and this war was carried on with considerable acrimony and some success by Elizabeth. The Russian forces took possession of Abo, and made themselves masters of nearly all Finland. But at length, in 1743, in consequence of the negotiations that were carrying on regarding the succession to the Swedish crown, a peace was concluded between the two powers, on the condition that Elizabeth should restore the greater part of Finland.

Soon after her accession, Elizabeth determined to nominate her successor to the imperial throne, and had fixed her eyes on Charles Peter Ulric, son of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, by Anne, daughter of Peter the Great. This prince was accordingly invited into Russia, persuaded to become a member of the Greek church, and proclaimed Grand Duke of Russia, and heir of the empire. The ceremony of his baptism was performed on the 18th of November, 1742, when he received the name of Peter Feodorovitch. He was at this time only fourteen years of age; but before he had attained his sixteenth year, his aunt had destined him a consort in the person of Sophia Augusta Frederica, daughter of Christian Augustus, prince of Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg. This princess, on entering the Greek church, took the name of Catherine which she afterwards bore on the throne.

Having thus settled the order of succession, Elizabeth began to take an active part in the politics of Europe. The death of Charles VI., emperor of Germany, had left his daughter, Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, at the mercy of the enterprising king of Prussia, till a formidable party was organized in her behalf. To this confederacy the empress of Russia acceded, and in 1747 sent a considerable body of troops into Germany to the assistance of the empress-queen. The events of this long and bloody contest have been fully detailed in the article PRUSSIA

The more private transactions of the court of St. Petersburg, as far as are connected with the intrigues of her niece Catherine and the follies of the Grand Duke Peter, will be found at greater length in the published *Memoirs of Catherine II.*, said with every appearance of truth to have been written by herself, and extending from her birth in 1729 to 1759. Elizabeth died on the 5th of January, 1762, the victim of disease brought on by intemperance.

The grand duke ascended the throne by the name of Peter III. He entered on the government possessed of an enthusiastic admiration of the virtues of the King of Prussia, with whom he immediately made peace. He is said to have aimed at reforms which Peter the Great durst not attempt; and to have even ventured to cut off the beards of his clergy. He was certainly a weak man, who had no opinions of his own, but childishly adopted the sentiments of any person who took the trouble to teach him. His chief amusement was buffoonery; and he would sit for hours looking with pleasure at a merry-andrew singing drunken and vulgar songs. He was a stranger to the country, its inhabitants, and their manners; and suffered himself to be persuaded by those about him that the Russians were fools and beasts unworthy of his attention, except to make them, by means of the Prussian discipline, good fighting machines.

Becoming attached to a lady of the noble family of Vorontzoff, he disgusted his wife, who was then a beautiful woman in the prime of life, of great natural talents and great acquired accomplishments; whilst the lady whom he preferred to her was but one degree above an idiot. The Princess Dashkoff, the favorite's sister who was married to a man whose genius was not superior to that of the emperor, being *dame d'honneur* and lady of the bed-chamber, had of course much of the empress's company. Similarity of situations knit these two illustrious personages in the closest friendship. The princess, being a zealous admirer of the French *économistes*,

could make her conversation both amusing and instructive. She retailed all her statistical knowledge; and finding the empress a willing hearer, she spoke of her in every company as a prodigy of knowledge, judgment, and philanthropy. Whilst the emperor, by his buffoonery and attachment to foreign manners, was daily incurring more and more the hatred of his subjects, the popularity of his wife was rapidly increasing; and some persons about the court expressed their regret that so much knowledge of government, such love of humanity, and such ardent wishes for the prosperity of Russia, should only furnish conversations with Catharina Romanovna (the Princess Dashkoff). The empress and her favorite did not let these expressions pass unobserved, but continued their studies in concert: and whilst the former was employed on her famous code of laws for a great empire, the latter always reported progress, till the middling circles of Moscow and St. Petersburg began to speak familiarly of the blessings which they might enjoy if these speculations could be realized.

Meanwhile Peter III. was giving fresh cause for discontent. He had recalled from Siberia Count Munnich, who was indeed a sensible, brave and worthy man; but Munnich, as he was smarting under the effects of Russian despotism, and had grounds of resentment against most of the great families, did not much discourage the emperor's unpopular conduct, trying only to moderate it and give it a system. Peter, however, was impatient. He publicly ridiculed the exercise and evolutions of the Russian troops; and hastily adopting the Prussian discipline, without digesting and fitting it for the constitution of his own forces, he completely ruined himself by disgusting the army.

In the midst of these imprudences, indeed, Peter was sometimes disturbed by the advice of virtuous counsellors. But these remonstrances produced only a temporary gleam of reformation, and he soon relapsed into his accustomed sensuality. What he lost in popularity was gained by the emissaries of Cath-

erine. Four regiments of guards, amounting to eight thousand men, were speedily brought over by the three brothers Orlof, who had contrived to ingratiate themselves with their officers. The people at large were in a state of indifference, out of which they were partially roused by the following means. A little manuscript was handed about, containing principles of legislation for Russia, founded on natural rights, and on the claims of the different classes of people, which insensibly formed, became so familiar as to appear natural. In that composition was proposed a convention of deputies from all the classes, and from every part of the empire, to discuss, but without authority, the subjects of which it treated, and to inform the senate of the result of their deliberation. It passed for the work of her majesty, and was much admired.

While Catherine was thus high in the public esteem and affection, the emperor took the alarm at her popularity, and in a few days came to the resolution of confining her for life, and then of marrying his favorite. The servants of that lady betrayed her to her sister, who imparted the intelligence to the empress. Catherine saw her danger, and instantly formed her resolution. She must either tamely submit to perpetual imprisonment, and perhaps a cruel and ignominious death, or contrive to hurl her husband from his throne. No other alternative was left her, and the consequence was what was undoubtedly expected. The proper steps were taken. Folly fell before abilities and address, and in three days the revolution was accomplished.

When the emperor saw that all was lost, he attempted to enter Cronstadt and Oranienbaum, a town on the Gulf of Finland, thirty versts, or nearly twenty-six miles, from St. Petersburg. The sentinels at the harbor presented their muskets at the barge; and though they were not loaded, and the men had no cartridges, he drew back. Munnich received him again, and exhorted him to mount his horse and head his guards, swear-

ing to live and die with him. He said, "No, I see it cannot be done without shedding much of the blood of my brave Holsteiners. I am not worthy of the sacrifice."

Six days had already elapsed since the revolution, and that great event had been apparently terminated without any violence that might leave odious impressions upon the mind of the public. Peter had been removed from Peterhof to a pleasant retreat called Ropscha, about thirty miles from St. Petersburg; and here he supposed he should be detained but a short time previous to his being sent into Germany. He therefore transmitted a message to Catherine, desiring permission to have for his attendant a favorite negro, and that she would send him a dog, of which he was very fond, together with his violin, a bible and a few romances; telling her that, disgusted with the wickedness of mankind, he was resolved henceforth to devote himself to a philosophical life. However reasonable these requests, not one of them was granted, and his plans of wisdom were turned into ridicule.

In the mean time the soldiers were amazed at what they had done. They could not conceive by what fascination they had been hurried so far as to dethrone the grandson of Peter the Great, in order to give his crown to a German woman. The majority, without plan or consciousness of what they were doing, had been mechanically led on by the movements of others; and each individual now reflecting on his baseness, after the pleasure of disposing of a crown had vanished, was filled only with remorse. The sailors, who had never been engaged in the insurrection, openly reproached the guards in the tippling-houses with having sold their emperor for beer. One night a band of soldiers attached to the empress took the alarm, from an idle fear, and exclaimed that their mother was in danger, and that she must be awaked, that they might see her. During the next night there was a fresh commotion more serious than the former. So long as the life of the emperor left a pretext for inquietude,

it was thought that no tranquillity was to be expected.

On the sixth day of the emperor's imprisonment at Ropselia, Alexei Orlof, accompanied by an officer named Teploff, came to him with the news of his speedy deliverance, and asked permission to dine with him. According to the custom of that country, wine glasses and brandy were brought previous to dinner; and while the officer amused the czar with some trifling discourse, his chief filled the glasses, and poured a poisonous mixture into that which he intended for the prince. The czar, without any distrust, swallowed the potion, on which he immediately experienced the most severe pains; and on his being offered a second glass, on pretence of its giving him relief, he refused it, with reproaches against him that offered it. He called aloud for milk, but the two monsters offered him poison again, and pressed him to take it. A French valet-de-chambre, greatly attached to him, now ran in. Peter threw himself into his arms, saying in a faint tone of voice, "It was not enough, then, to prevent me from reigning in Sweden, and to deprive me of the crown of Russia. I must also be put to death."

The valet-de-chambre presumed to intercede for his master; but the two miscreants forced this dangerous witness out of the room, and continued their ill treatment of the czar. In the midst of this tumult the younger of the Princes Baratinsky came in, and joined the two former. Orlof, who had already thrown down the emperor, was pressing upon his breast with his knees, and firmly gripping his throat with his hand. The unhappy monarch now struggling with that strength which arises from despair, the two other assassins threw a napkin round his neck, and put an end to his life by suffocation.

It is not known with certainty what share the empress had in this event; but it is affirmed that on the very day on which it happened, while the empress was beginning her dinner with much gaiety, an officer, supposed to be one of the assassins, precipitately en-

tered the apartment with his hair dishevelled, his face covered with sweat and dust, his clothes torn and his countenance agitated with horror and dismay. On entering, his eyes, sparkling and confused, met those of the empress. She arose in silence, and went into a closet, whither he followed her. A few moments afterwards she sent for Count Panin, the former governor of Pöder, who was already appointed her minister, and, informing him that the emperor was dead, consulted him on the manner of announcing his death to the public. Panin advised her to let one night pass over, and spread the news next day, as if they had received it during the night. This counsel being approved, the empress returned with the same countenance and continued her dinner with the same gaiety. On the day following, when it was published that Peter had died of an hæmorrhoidal colic, she appeared bathed in tears, and proclaimed her grief by an edict.

The corpse was brought to St. Petersburg, there to be exposed. The face was black, and the neck excoriated. Notwithstanding these horrible marks, in order to assuage the commotions, which began to excite apprehension, and to prevent impostors from hereafter disturbing the empire, it was left three days exposed to all the people, with only the ornaments of a Holstein officer. The soldiers, disbanded and disarmed, mingled with the crowd, and as they beheld their sovereign, their countenances indicated a mixture of compassion, contempt and shame. They were soon afterwards embarked for their country; but, as the sequel of their cruel destiny, almost all of these unfortunate men perished in a storm. Some of them had saved themselves on the rocks adjacent to the coast; but they again fell a prey to the waves, while the commandant of Cronstadt despatched a messenger to St. Petersburg to know whether he might be permitted to assist them. Thus fell the unhappy Peter III. in 1762, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after having enjoyed the imperial dignity only six months.

On her accession, Catherine behaved with great magnanimity and forbearance towards those who had opposed her elevation, or were the declared friends of the deceased emperor. She gave to Prince George, in exchange for his title of Duke of Courland, conferred on him by Peter, the government of Holstein. She reinstated Biren in his dukedom of Courland, received into favor Marshal Munnich, who had readily transferred his fidelity from the dead to the living, and even pardoned her rival the Countess Vorontzoff, and permitted her to retain the tokens of her lover's munificence. She permitted Gudovitch, who was high in the confidence of Peter, and had incurred her particular displeasure, to retire to his native country. Perhaps the most unexpected part of her conduct towards the friends of Peter, was her adhering to the treaty of peace which that monarch had concluded with the king of Prussia six months before. The death of his inveterate enemy Elizabeth had relieved Frederick from a load of solicitude, and had extricated him from his dangerous situation. He now, as he thought, saw himself again involved in a war with the same formidable power; but, to his great joy, he found that Catherine, from motives of policy, declined entering on a war at the commencement of her reign.

In one particular the empress showed her jealousy and her fears. She increased the vigilance with which the young prince Ivan was confined in the castle of Schlussemburg, from which Peter III. had expressed a resolution to release him. Not long after her accession, this unfortunate prince was assassinated, though whether this event was to be imputed to the empress or her counsellors, cannot be positively determined. But a manifesto published by the court of St. Petersburg, and supposed to have been written by the empress herself, admitted that the prince was put to death by the officers of his guard, alleging that this was necessary, in consequence of an attempt to carry him off.

Catherine being now firmly seated on the throne, wisely determined to divert the

thoughts of the nation from the late horrid scenes, and fix them upon more agreeable objects. Having soothed Prussia, acquired a preponderance in the cabinet of Denmark, which had for some time been an absolute monarchy, and entered into a league with the popular party in Sweden, not yet bereft of its liberties; she cast her eyes on Courland, then governed by Prince Charles of Saxony, the second son of Augustus III., king of Poland, and, finding that country admirably situated for the increase of her present and the extension of her future power, she in 1762, expelled the lawful sovereign, and invested Biren, a creature of her own, with the ducal cap. Nor was she content with this; for the new duke, soon reduced to the most abject dependence, was prevented from resigning his precarious power, and the states assembled at Mittau were actually interdicted from nominating a successor. This, however, was only a prelude to scenes of greater importance; for she had scarcely dethroned one sovereign before she undertook to create another. Augustus II., or, as he is called by some, Augustus III., of Poland, having died at Dresden in 1763, her imperial majesty did not let slip so favorable an opportunity for interfering in the appointment to the vacant throne, and even placing upon it one of her own dependents. Count Poniatowski, on the elevation of Catherine, had sent a friend to St. Petersburg to sound the disposition of the empress about his return to that capital, where he naturally hoped to participate in her power, and bask in the sunshine of the imperial smiles. But the more prudent German, who was at this very moment meditating a splendid provision for him elsewhere, prohibited the journey from political motives. Accordingly, notwithstanding the opposition of the grand chancellor Bestuchef, and indeed of all her ministers, she determined to invest him with the ensigns of royalty. The head of the house of Brandenburg, being swayed by his hatred to Saxony and Austria; or, what is still more likely, the Prussian eagle having perhaps, even now, scented his

future prey; Catherine was enabled to send into Poland 10,000 men, who, encamping on the banks of the Vistula, overawed the deliberations of the diet, assembled on the 9th of May, 1764, and placed Stanislaus Augustus on the throne.

Having thus conferred the crown of Poland on an amiable and accomplished prince, who, on account of his youth, his poverty, and even his dependence on Russia, would have been excluded from that painful pre-eminence had the free suffrages of the nation been collected, and who, in consequence of the hatred of his countrymen, was still more subjected to the dominion of the empress, she began to prepare for a war against the Turks, which was accordingly declared in 1768. During this contest the Greek cross was triumphant both by sea and land.

In the mean time a dangerous insurrection broke out in the very heart of her dominions, instigated by a Cossack of the name of Pugatschef, who pretended to be Peter III. After displaying great valor and considerable talents, which had enabled him, at the head of raw and undisciplined levies, to contend against veteran troops and experienced generals, this unfortunate man was at length seized, inclosed in an iron cage, and beheaded at Moscow on the 21st of July, 1775.

On the 21st of July in the preceding year, a peace had been concluded with the porte, which proved highly honorable to Russia; but it was productive of little benefit to the latter; for the liberty of navigating the Black Sea, and a free trade with all the ports of the Turkish empire, which would have afforded inestimable advantages to a civilized people, proved of but little consequence to a nation unacquainted alike with commerce and manufactures.

Accordingly, we find her imperial majesty still unsatisfied. Scarcely had four years elapsed, when, after an armed negotiation, a new treaty of pacification was agreed to by the reluctant sultan, on the 21st of March, 1789, by which the Crimea was declared independent; an event not calculated to allay

ancient jealousies, but, on the contrary, to produce fresh dissensions, as it afforded an opening into the very heart of the Turkish empire, and a ready pretext for future interference. New claims and new concessions immediately followed. Russia insisted on establishing consuls in the three provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia; which she was accordingly permitted to do by the treaty of 1781. But mortifying as this compliance was, it produced only a short respite. The emperor Joseph was now brought upon the political stage, and the Roman and Russian eagles, after hovering over the carcass of the Turkish empire, and meditating to devour the whole, were at last content with part of the prey. The empress, as it may be readily believed, was not inattentive to her own interests; and by the treaty of Constantinople, signed on the 9th of January, 1784, the entire sovereignty of the Crimea, which then received its ancient name of Taurica, the isle of Taman, and part of Cuban, were ceded to Russia.

Thus, in the fifty-eighth year of her age, and the twenty-fifth of her reign, Catherine may be said to have attained the very summit of her wishes. Knowing the effect of splendor upon ignorance, she ushered in the year 1787 with a brilliant journey to Cherson. Accompanied thither at once by a court and an army, with foreign ambassadors, an emperor and a king, in her train, she intended to have assumed the high-sounding titles of Empress of the East, and Liberator of Greece. At Kiow, where she remained during three months, she was received under triumphal arches; and, having heard the petitions of the deputies from distant nations, and extended the walls of that city, she inscribed in Greek characters, on the quarter next to Constantinople, "Through this gate lies the road to Byzantium."

Scarcely, however, had the empress, after visiting Moscow, returned to her capital, when the Porte thought proper to declare war. Her majesty, long prepared for an event which was far from being displeasing,

called forth the stipulated succors of her ally the emperor; and the combined army under the Prince de Cobourg made itself master of Choczyn after a siege of three months. Oczakow, after a still more obstinate resistance, was assaulted and taken by the Russians alone. Having concluded a final treaty of peace with the Turk on the 9th of January, 1792, by which the river Dniester became the boundary of the two empires, and was to be navigated by both, the empress had more time to apply her mind to European politics. Part of Poland had been dismembered and partitioned during the year 1792; not only in contravention of the unalienable rights of nations, but in direct opposition to the most solemn treaties on the part of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The revolution which took place in that ill-fated country on the 3d of May, 1791, and which afforded the prospect of a happy and stable government to the remains of the republic, was the signal of its annihilation. The imperial and royal spoilers seized this opportunity to fall once more in concert on their prey, which was in no condition to resist this detestable confederacy; and they shared it at their pleasure. Another great object had for some time engaged the attention of Catherine. This was the French revolution. With a treasury nearly exhausted by the war with the Ottoman porte, which had not then terminated, and at a distance from the scene of action, the empress could not well engage in the contest; but she readily entered into the coalition, and soon afterwards subsidized the king of Sweden. She also launched forth a menacing manifesto against France, and prepared for a new war. Afterwards, at the instigation of Zuboff, she formed the design of giving effectual assistance to the confederated kings; and, as a proof of her intentions, issued orders for a squadron of men-of-war to join the English fleet, and commanded a levy of 60,000 troops. But she at the same time prosecuted a war on the frontiers of Persia, where her army, under the command of a near relation of the grand master of the

artillery, had experienced a most humiliating defeat; and she was now preparing to send fresh succors to his assistance.

But while the mind of Catherine was occupied with projects for the overthrow of the French republic, and the subjugation of the distant Persians, she was smitten by the hand of death. On the morning of the 9th of November she rose at her usual hour, and breakfasted, according to custom, on coffee. Some time afterwards she retired to her closet; and her long absence exciting the suspicion of her attendants, they entered the apartment and found her lying speechless. Dr. Rogerson, her physician, being sent for, treated her disease as apoplexy, and considerable relief seemed to ensue after the application of the lancet. But the empress never entirely recovered her senses, and did not utter a single word during the remainder of her life, which was prolonged till ten o'clock in the evening of the 10th of November, 1797.

Paul Petrovitch had attained his forty-second year before the death of his mother placed him on the imperial throne; but for many years before her death he had lived in a state of comparative obscurity and retirement, and had apparently been considered by the empress as incapable of taking any active part in the administration of affairs. It is well known that Catherine never admitted him to any participation of power, and kept him in a state of the most abject and mortifying separation from court, and in almost total ignorance of the affairs of the empire. Although by his birth he was generalissimo of the armies, president of the admiralty, and grand admiral of the Baltic, he was never permitted to head even a regiment, and was interdicted from visiting the fleet at Cronstadt. From these circumstances, it is evident that the empress either had conceived some jealousy of her son, or saw in him some imbecility, which appeared to her to disqualify him for the arduous concerns of government.

It is generally believed that, a short time

before her death, Catherine committed to Plato Zuboff, her last favorite, a declaration of her will, addressed to the senate, desiring that Paul should be passed over in the succession, and that on her death the Grand Duke Alexander should ascend the vacant throne. As soon as Zuboff was made acquainted with the sudden death of the empress, he flew to Pavlovsk, about twenty-three miles from St. Petersburg, where Paul occasionally resided; but meeting the grand duke on the road, he, after a short explanation, delivered up the important document. Paul, charmed with his zeal and loyalty, rewarded the favorite, by permitting him to retain the wealth and honors which had been heaped on him by his mistress, while a general and rapid dispersion soon took place among the other adherents of the late sovereign. On the day following the death of his mother, Paul made his public entry into St. Petersburg, amidst the acclamations of all ranks of the people.

One of the first measures adopted by the new emperor excited considerable surprise. He ordered the corpse of Peter III. to be removed from the sepulchre in which it had been deposited in the church of St. Alexander Nefsky, solemnly crowned it, and caused it to lie in state for three weeks, while it was watched day and night by the only two remaining conspirators who had assisted at his assassination. After this dreadful mark of his justice on the murderers of his father, surely more terrible to the guilty mind than death itself, he consigned the ashes to the sepulchre of Catherine II. in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, obliging the assassins to walk in the procession as chief mourners.

Few political events of any importance marked the reign of Paul previously to the year 1798, when, in consequence of a treaty between him and the emperor of Germany, a Russian army of forty-five thousand men, under Field-Marshal Suwaroff, joined the imperialists in the Austrian territories in Italy. The progress of Suwaroff, his successes over

Moreau, and final recall by his master, will be related in the article FRANCE.

In 1790, Paul entered into a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with his Britannic majesty. This treaty was signed at St. Petersburg on the 22d of June, having been preceded by a provisional treaty between the same powers at the end of the year 1798. By the latter, which was fortified by a relative treaty with Austria, it had been stipulated that Paul should assist the king of Prussia, if the latter could be persuaded to join his arms to the allied powers against France, with forty-five thousand men, and that the king of Great Britain should pay to Russia a subsidy of £75,000 sterling per month; and in case the king of Prussia should refuse to join the coalition, the same number of troops, in consideration of the same subsidy, should be employed, as occasion might require, to assist the common cause. By the new treaty, the emperor of Russia, instead of the forty-five thousand troops, engaged to furnish seventeen thousand five hundred and ninety-three, with the necessary artillery, to be employed in an expedition against Holland; and six ships, five frigates and two transports, for the purpose of transporting part of the invading army from Britain to the continent. In consideration of these succors, the court of London engaged to advance to Russia a subsidy of £44,000 sterling per month; to pay the sum of £58,929. 10s. sterling for the expenses of equipping the fleet; and after the period of three months had elapsed from such equipment, to pay a further subsidy of £19,642. 10s. sterling per month, as long as the fleet should remain under the command of his Britannic majesty.

In consequence of this treaty, a Russian fleet joined that of Britain in Yarmouth Roads, and took part in the unfortunate expedition to the coast of Holland, which was undertaken in the summer of 1799. The military fame of Russia was more augmented by the share which its army under Suwaroff took in the campaign of Italy during the

same year, although the victories which won for the veteran his name of Italinski were far more than overbalanced by the misfortunes which ensued in Switzerland under the emperor's favorite Korsakoff. But in December, 1800, Paul after having laid an embargo on British shipping which lay in his ports, openly abandoned his relations with England, and proclaimed, in confederacy with Sweden and Denmark, to whom Prussia afterwards added herself, the great Northern Coalition with France against Great Britain.

Paul's mental derangement showed itself in all his actions. The army, which formed his favorite employment, was tormented by incessant caprices affecting its discipline; and the press, the native Russians and the resident foreigners, suffered tyrannical and unaccountable restrictions. His favors and his displeasure were alternately experienced by some of his most distinguished courtiers and adherents. Stanislas, the deposed king of Poland, partook by turns of his beneficence and his severity; and at length on the death of that monarch, Paul assisted at his funeral, commanded in person the guards that attended on the ceremony, and uncovering himself with the utmost emotion, saluted the coffin as it passed. To the memory of the aged Suwaroff, who is said to have fallen a broken-hearted victim to the distraction of his imperial master, he raised a colossal statue of bronze; and on the days when he reviewed his troops in the square where the figure had been erected, he used to command them to march by it open order, and face the monument. Notwithstanding the important service that had been rendered him by Zuboff, the emperor soon became disgusted with him; spoke of him to his friends with great asperity; at length denounced him as a defaulter to the imperial treasury of half a million of roubles; and, convinced of the justice of the allegation, proceeded to sequester the vast estates which belonged to him and his two brothers. Driven to desperation by such conduct, the second brother of the favorite one day walked up boldly to the emperor

upon the parade, and with manly eloquence represented the injustice of his measures. Paul received him without anger, heard him without interruption and restored the property; but soon afterwards he ordered Plato Zuboff to reside on his estate, though he again restored him to favor.

It is not surprising that these instances of folly and caprice should alarm and disgust many of the nobles. In particular, Count Pahlen, the governor of St. Petersburg, with some other men of rank, entered into a confederacy with Zuboff and his brothers for removing the emperor. In their conferences, which were managed with great prudence and discretion, it was resolved that Paul should die, and that the day of the festival called Maslaintza, the 11th of March, O. S., 1801, should be the day for executing the awful deed. At the time of this plot, the emperor and his family resided in the new palace of St. Michael, an enormous quadrangular pile standing at the bottom of the summer gardens.

It was the custom of the emperor to sleep in an apartment next to the empress's upon a sofa, in his regimentals and boots, whilst the grand duke and duchess, and the rest of the imperial family, were lodged at various distances, in apartments below the story which he occupied. On the 10th March, the day preceeding the fatal night, whether Paul's apprehension, or anonymous information, suggested the idea, is not known; but conceiving that a storm was ready to burst upon him, he sent for Count Pahlen: "I am informed," said the emperor, "that there is a conspiracy on foot against me; do you think it necessary to take any precaution?" The count, without betraying the least emotion, replied, "Sire, do not suffer such apprehensions to haunt your mind; if there were any combinations forming against your majesty's person, I am sure I should be acquainted with it." "Then I am satisfied," said the emperor; and the governor withdrew. Before Paul retired to rest, he beyond his usual custom, expressed the most tender solicitude

for the empress and his children, kissed them with all the warmth of farewell fondness, and remained with them for a considerable time. He afterwards visited the sentinels at their different posts, and then retired to his chamber. Soon after the emperor had retired, the guard that was always placed at his chamber door was, on some pretext, changed by the officers who had command for the night, and who were engaged in the conspiracy. One man only remained. This was a hussar whom the emperor had honored with particular marks of attention, and who always slept at night in the antechamber, at his sovereign's bed-room door. This faithful soldier it was found impossible to remove, except by force, which at that time the conspirators did not think proper to employ. In the dead of night, Zuboff and his friends, amounting to eight or nine persons, passed the draw-bridge, ascended the staircase that led to the emperor's apartments, and met with no opposition till they reached the antechamber, where the faithful hussar, awakened by the noise, challenged them and presented his fusée. Zuboff drew his sabre and cut the poor fellow down. In the mean time, Paul, roused by the unusual noise, sprang from his couch. At this moment the whole party rushed into his chamber. The unhappy sovereign, anticipating their design, at first endeavored to intrench himself behind the chairs and tables; but soon recovering some share of his natural courage, he assumed a high tone, told them they were his prisoners, and required them to surrender. Finding that they fixed their eyes steadily and fiercely upon him, and continued to advance, he implored them to spare his life, declared his willingness instantly to relinquish the sceptre, and to accept of any terms which they might dictate. Regardless alike of his threats and promises, they now began to press on him, when he made a convulsive effort to reach the window, but failed in the attempt. As the conspirators drew him back, he grasped a chair, with which he knocked down one of the assailants, and a desperate conflict now

took place. So great was the noise, that notwithstanding the massive walls and double folding-doors that divided Paul's apartment from those of the empress, she was disturbed and began to call for help, when a voice whispered in her ear, commanding her to remain quiet, and threatening that if she uttered another word she should instantly be put to death.

Paul was now making his last struggle, when one of the party struck him on the temple with his fist, and laid him prostrate on the floor. Recovering from the blow, the unhappy monarch again implored his life. At this moment the heart of one of the conspirators relented, and he was observed to hesitate and tremble, when a young Hanoverian who was present exclaimed, "We have passed the Rubicon; if we spare his life, we shall, before the setting of to-morrow's sun, become his victims;" on saying which he took off his sash, turned it twice round the naked neck of the emperor, and giving one end to Zuboff, he himself drew the other, till the object of their attack expired.

The Emperor Alexander, Paul's eldest son, was in his twenty-fourth year when he ascended the throne, and from his amiable disposition had acquired the love and respect of all his subjects. The first measure which he adopted, his proclamation, and his first imperial orders, all tended to encourage and confirm the confidence with which the people beheld him ascend the throne of his forefathers. He even extended his mercy to the assassins of the late emperor. Zuboff was ordered not to approach the imperial residence, and the governor of the city was transferred to Riga.

Alexander on his accession to the throne, appeared desirous to cultivate the friendship of the neighboring states, and especially that of Great Britain. His late father, among other projects, had procured himself to be elected grand master of the knights of Malta, and had laid claim to the sovereignty of that island. This claim, which had nearly produced a rupture between the courts of Lon-

don and St. Petersburg, Alexander consented to abandon, though he expressed a wish to be elected grand-master of the order, by the free suffrages of the knights. A confederacy, as we have seen, had been formed among the northern powers of Europe, with a view to oppose the British claim to the sovereignty of the seas; but by the spirited interference of the British court, especially with the cabinet of St. Petersburg, the good understanding between Britain and the northern states was re-established, and the embargo which had been laid on British vessels in the Russian ports was taken off. Alexander, however, earnestly desired to maintain peaceful relations with France; and expressed this wish, both in public manifestos, and in private communications addressed to the First Consul.

On the 25th of March, 1802, was signed at Amiens the definitive treaty of peace between the belligerent powers of Europe, by one material article of which the islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino, were to be restored to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia and Prussia; and his Sicilian majesty was invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his states, to serve in garrisons at the different fortresses of the said islands, for one year after their restitution to the knights, or until they should be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the guaranteeing powers. Some time after the conclusion of this treaty, disputes arose among the contracting powers relative to the sovereignty of Malta, which the emperor of Russia insisted should be yielded to Naples, otherwise he would not undertake to guarantee the order, and would separate from it the priories of Russia. The result of these disputes is well known, as they afforded a reason for renewing the bloody contest which so long desolated Europe.

For some time the Russian empire had now been at peace; but it was scarcely possible that the emperor should long remain an impartial spectator of the renewed disputes

between his more powerful neighbors. Alexander appeared to view with a jealous eye the presumption and violence exercised by France among the German states, and the encroachments which she appeared desirous of making on the freedom of the Baltic. Alexander had offered his mediation between Great Britain and France, but without effect; and both these parties strove to bring over the Russian emperor to their alliance. France seems to have held out to the ambition of Alexander the bait of a partition of the Turkish territories, the dismemberment of which had long been a favorite object with his predecessors. At length, however, the court of London prevailed, and the Russian ambassador, by his master's orders, took leave of the First Consul of the French republic, though without demonstrating any intentions of immediate hostility.

On the 11th of April, 1805, a treaty of alliance was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, in which the two governments agreed to adopt the most efficacious means for forming a general league of the states of Europe, to be directed against the power of France.

About this time the occupation of Genoa by the French, on the pretence that that republic was too feeble to support itself against the attacks of Great Britain, was communicated to the different courts of Europe, and excited in every quarter the highest indignation. The emperor Alexander, in particular was incensed at this new outrage. He issued immediate orders for the recall of M. Novosiltzoff; and the messenger despatched upon this occasion was commanded to repair with the utmost diligence to Berlin. M. Novosiltzoff had not yet left that city; he immediately therefore returned his passports to the Prussian minister of state, Baron de Hardenberg, and at the same time delivered, by order of his court, a spirited memorial explanatory of the object of his mission, and of the circumstances which had led to its termination.

The recall of the Russian envoy appeared

to be the signal of hostilities on the part of Russia and Austria against France. These hostilities may be said to have commenced and terminated in the autumn of this year. The military operations that distinguished this short but bloody conflict, the rapid successes of the French, the capitulation of Ulm on the 17th of October, the occupation of Vienna by the French on the 12th of the same month, and the sanguinary battle of Austerlitz on the 27th of November, will be noticed under the head of FRANCE. The consequences of these disastrous events were, first a cessation of hostilities, and at length a treaty of firm alliance between France and Russia.

But before Alexander finally stooped to the imperial eagles of Napoleon, he was determined to make one more effort to preserve his independence. The Russian envoy at Paris, D'Oubril, had hastily concluded a preliminary treaty of peace between his master and the emperor of the French, which he signed at Paris on the 8th of July, 1806, and instantly set out for St. Petersburg to procure the ratification of his master. When the terms of this convention were laid before the privy council by Alexander, they appeared so derogatory to the interests of Russia, that the emperor refused them his sanction, and declared that the counsellor of state, D'Oubril, when he signed the convention, had not only departed from the instructions he had received, but had acted directly contrary to the sense and intention of the commission with which he had been intrusted. His imperial majesty, however, signified his willingness to renew the regulations for peace, but only on such terms as were consistent with the dignity of his crown and the interests of his empire.

In the meantime the king of Prussia began, when it was too late, to see the folly and imprudence of the neutrality which he had so long maintained, and he at length prepared to oppose his now feeble efforts to the growing power of France. Previously to the commencement of hostilities, his Prus-

sian majesty issued a spirited manifesto, in which he explained his motives for abandoning his plan of neutrality, and appealed to Europe for the justice of his cause. He entered into an alliance with the Emperor Alexander, and with the king of Sweden; and it was expected that these united forces would at length hurl Napoleon from his throne, or at least compel him to listen to terms of pacification. These expectations were, however, miserably disappointed. The same extraordinary success was still to attend the arms of France, and the north of Europe was again condemned to submit in silence to her yoke.

On the 13th of October, 1806, the Prussians received a dreadful check at the battle of Jena; and on the 27th of the same month Napoleon entered Berlin. While the French were thus successful, the troops of the Emperor Alexander occupied Prussian Poland, and took up their residence at Warsaw; but they were soon attacked by the French under Murat, who on the 28th entered Warsaw with his cavalry, on which the Russians retreated across the Vistula, burning the bridge over which they had passed. On the 26th of December, a dreadful engagement took place between the Russians commanded by General Benningsen, and the French under Generals Murat, Davoust and Lannes. The scene of action was at Ostralenka, about sixty miles from Warsaw, and the fighting continued for three days. The loss was immense on both sides, though the advantage appears to have been on the side of the French. According to French accounts, the Russian army lost twelve thousand men in killed and wounded, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and all its ammunition wagons; while the Russian account states the loss of the French at five thousand men.

In the beginning of February, 1807, the Russians obtained a partial advantage in the battle of Eylau. This was the last important stand made by the Russian army. In May, Dantzic, defended by eighteen thousand Russians and Prussians, surrendered to the

French. Several actions succeeded at Spanden, at Lamitten, at Guttotadt and at Heilsberg, in all of which the French had the advantage, till at length, on the 14th of June, the Russians appeared in considerable force upon the bridge of Friedland, whither the French army under Napoleon was advancing. At three in the morning the report of cannon was first heard, and at this time Marshals Lannes and Mortier were engaged with the Russians. After various manœuvres, the Russian troops received a check, and filed off towards Königsberg. In the afternoon the French army drew up in order of battle, having Marshal Ney on the right, Lannes in the centre, and Mortier on the left, while Victor commanded a corps de reserve, consisting of the guards. At half-past five the attack began on the side of Marshal Ney; and notwithstanding the different movements of the Russians to effect a diversion, the French soon carried all before them. In consequence of this victory the French became masters of all the country round Königsberg, and Marshal Soult entered that city in triumph. Thus concluded the campaign in Germany, in which the Russians sustained a loss of at least thirty thousand of their choicest troops.

While these military operations were going forward on the continent of Europe, the emissaries of France were busily employed at Constantinople in exciting the divan to declare against their ancient enemies. They at length succeeded; for on the 30th of December, 1806, war with Russia was proclaimed, and twenty-eight regiments of janissaries assembled under the command of the grand vizir. But the disturbances which broke out in the latter end of May, 1807, prevented any operations of importance from taking place; and the pacification which was soon concluded between Russia and France, though it did not entirely put a stop to the war between the former power and Turkey, in some measure diminished their hostile preparations.

The defeats which the allied armies had

sustained in Prussia and Poland rendered peace, on almost any terms, a desirable object; and Alexander found himself constrained to meet, at least with the appearance of friendship, the conqueror of his armies. Propositions for an armistice had been made by the Prussian general to Murat near Tilsit, and after the battle of Friedland the Russian prince Labanoff had a conference, on similar views, with the prince of Neufchatel, soon after which an armistice was concluded between the French and Russians. On the 25th of June an amicable meeting took place on the river Niemen, between the emperors of France and Russia, and adjoining apartments were fitted up for the reception of both courts in the town of Tilsit. This political friendship was soon after cemented by the treaty of Tilsit, concluded between the emperor of the French on the one part, and the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia (whom it despoiled of a fourth of his dominions) on the other, on the 7th and 12th of July in this year. Thenceforth, until Napoleon's star began to wane, Alexander was his firm partisan; and his faithlessness towards his former allies gave them no temptation to repose further confidence in him.

The conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit was notified to the court of London on the 1st of August; and at the same time a proposal was made from his imperial majesty for mediating a peace between France and Britain. This mediation, however, was declined on the part of Great Britain, until his Britannic majesty should be made acquainted with the stipulations of the treaty of Tilsit, and should find them such as might afford him a just hope of the attainment of a secure and honorable peace. This declining of the mediation of Russia was no doubt expected by the court of St. Petersburg; but it served as a pretext for binding more closely the alliance between that power and France, by breaking off her connection with Great Britain. An embargo was laid on all British vessels in the ports of Russia, and it was peremptorily required by Napoleon and Alexander that Swe-

den should abandon her alliance with Great Britain.

An additional ground of complaint against the British court was furnished by the unjustifiable attack on Copenhagen, and the seizure of the Danish fleet, in the beginning of September. A considerable Russian fleet joined the French; but the combined squadrons were compelled to seek for shelter in the Tagus, where they remained blocked up by the British, till they were surrendered by the convention of Cintra; and another fleet of fifteen sail of the line that proceeded up the Mediterranean, and advanced as far as Trieste, shared a similar fate.

In October, 1808, a meeting took place at Erfurt between the emperors of France and Russia, and a letter was drawn up under their signature, addressed to his Britannic majesty. The object of this letter was, to induce the king of Great Britain to enter into negotiations for a general peace, and with that view it was despatched by Count Romanzoff, the Russian minister at Erfurt, to Mr. Canning, the British Secretary of State for foreign affairs. It was answered by an official note, requiring the emperors, as an indispensable condition of any treaty with Britain, to receive Sweden as a party, to protect the interests of Portugal and of the ex-king of Naples, and to extend the benefits of the projected arrangements to Ferdinand VII. of Spain. These requisitions were evidently quite inconsistent with Napoleon's views; the emperors refused to accede to them; and all hope of accommodation was in the mean time at an end.

The demand of concurrence in the views of France and Russia made on Sweden was formally repeated in a declaration of the Emperor Alexander, published at St. Petersburg on the 10th of February, in this year. In this declaration his imperial majesty intimated to the king of Sweden that he was making preparations to invade his territories; but that he was ready to change the measures he was about to take, to measures of precaution only, if Sweden would, without delay,

join Russia and Denmark in shutting the Baltic against Great Britain, until the conclusion of a maritime peace.

The king of Sweden, however, determined to abide by the measures which he had for some time pursued, and to adhere to the terms of the convention which had just been concluded between him and the king of Great Britain. In consequence of this determination, a Russian army entered Finland in the beginning of March, under the command of General Buxhovden, and advanced against Helsingfors, which was occupied by a single battalion of a Swedish regiment. This small force retired into the fortress of Sveaborg, where they maintained themselves with great bravery till the 17th of April, when they were obliged to capitulate. The loss of this fortress, though inconsiderable in itself, so highly enraged the king of Sweden, that he dismissed the naval and military commanders who had been concerned in the capitulation.

On the 27th of April, some slight advantage was gained over the Russians near Rivolax, by the Swedish army under General Count Klinckspor; but this was only a partial gleam of success. The Russians soon overran almost all Finland, took possession of Wasa, Old and New Carleby, and reduced under subjection the whole province of which Wasa is the capital. The army of Field-Marshal Klinckspor, which originally consisted of sixteen thousand regulars, and many boors, was, by the end of the campaign, reduced to little more than nine thousand men.

The king of Sweden sent some reinforcements to his army in Finland; but the forces which should have supported Klinckspor were foolishly employed in a fruitless attempt to conquer Norway; and in 1809 the Swedes were compelled to cede Finland to Russia.

Russia continued to appear in the character of Napoleon's ally; and when Austria made an effort in 1809 to recover her losses, a Russian army advanced to co-operate with the French. The diversion which this produced was one cause of the final success of

Napoleon, whose situation after the battle of Aspern was extremely critical. When Austria was at last compelled to accept of peace on humiliating terms, Russia received as the reward of her services the district of Tarnopol in Galicia, with a population of four hundred thousand souls. This district was restored to Austria in 1815.

In 1811, hostilities commenced between Russia and the Porte. It is of little consequence to inquire into the causes of this rupture; a powerful and ambitious government in the neighborhood of a weak one never wants pretexts for war. The result might have been serious, if not fatal to the Porte, had not the prospect of a more arduous struggle induced Russia to suspend her efforts in that quarter, and conclude a peace on condition of receiving a part of Moldavia and Bessarabia.

The great contest was now approaching which was to try the resources of Russia, and ultimately to raise her to unexampled greatness. The seizure by France of the territories of the Prince of Oldenburg, who was the emperor of Russia's brother-in-law, on the one hand, and the admission of British produce into the Russian harbors on the other, furnished the ostensible grounds of the quarrel. After some fruitless negotiations, Napoleon dismissed the Russian ambassador, and left Paris to join the army on the 9th of May, 1812. The events of this disastrous expedition into Russia, are related in the article FRANCE. The spirited resistance of Russia now roused Prussia and Austria; and early in 1813 a league was formed between these powers, to which Bavaria and other small states acceded. The battle of Leipsic, fought on the 18th of October, led to the final overthrow of the French domination. In all the transactions which followed, Russia bore a leading part. At the congress of Vienna in 1814, the duchy of Warsaw, consisting of part of the original conquests of Austria and Prussia in Poland, was assigned to Russia, which thus ultimately obtained about four fifths of the territory and three

fourths of the population of that ancient kingdom.

We must pause here for a moment to remark the accessions of territory which the empire had made during the half century which preceded that epoch. The reign of Catharine II. had, as we have seen, been by far the most fertile in foreign acquisitions. Her conquests included the Crimea, which was an incorporated portion of Russia since 1783, Georgia, gained in 1785, though, as we have observed, not formally annexed till 1801; Bessarabia, with a part of Moldavia, and other Turkish possessions, finally secured to Russia by the treaty of Bukarescht in 1812; Courland, acquired in 1795; and the extensive spoils of Poland in 1793 and 1794. Paul's reign made no permanent addition of importance, except some districts within the Persian frontier. Alexander's gave to Russia in the first years of the present century several of the tribes of the Caucasus; Finland in 1809; Daghestan and other large territories ceded by Persia in 1813; and in 1814, Napoleon's grand duchy of Warsaw, which was erected into a kingdom of Poland. The total population of these new Russian provinces cannot at the very least be estimated under fifteen millions, and probably exceeds that number.

During the last few years of Alexander's life he appears to have been completely miserable. To family misfortunes, religious despondency, and disappointment in political schemes, was added the continual terror of conspiracies in the heart of the empire, which were said to have ramifications everywhere, and to aim at nothing less than a total revolution, and the assassination of the whole royal family. Those constant travels through the several Russian provinces in which Alexander was engaged for two or three years before his death, have been mainly attributed by some writers to his dread of poison or the dagger. In the course of one of these journeys he died at Taganrog, on the Sea of Azof, on the 1st day of December, 1825.

Alexander's brother, the Grand Duke Con

stantine, whose conduct as governor of Poland has been described in our article on the history of that country, was immediately proclaimed emperor at St. Petersburg; and whatever may have been the feelings of the Russians themselves, foreigners who were acquainted with the new sovereign by his general reputation, looked on his accession with pity for his subjects and alarm for the peace of Europe. But the danger had been foreseen and averted by Alexander and the rest of the family. Constantine had been induced to resign his claims to the crown by a formal deed executed in 1822. The senate on opening the will of Alexander, found it to contain a nomination of his second brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, as his successor in the empire. The act of resignation was at the same time discovered, and in a few days there arrived from Warsaw a communication from Constantine, in which he acknowledged the existence and validity of the deed, and anew waived his right of succession.

Accordingly Nicholas I. ascended the throne, announcing the event by a proclamation of the 23d of December, 1825. The disturbance of the natural order of succession was seized by the discontented as a favorable pretext for insurrection; and the reign of the new emperor was opened by a military mutiny in St. Petersburg, which after having been suppressed with bloodshed, was followed by several executions, and many imprisonments and banishments to Siberia. Nicholas and his spouse, the princess-royal of Prussia, were crowned at Moscow in 1826, and at Warsaw in 1829. Scarcely had Nicholas ascended the throne when war was declared against Persia. It originated in a dispute respecting the boundaries between the two countries, and was continued till 1828, when the Persians were obliged to sue for peace. This was granted them only on condition of their yielding up the provinces of Erivan and Nakshivan, and paying about £3,000,000 sterling to account of the war. The peace of Turkmanchai was concluded in February 1828, and in May of the same year the war

with Turkey broke out. In that month a Russian force of about 150,000 men under command of General Wittgenstein, crossed the Pruth at three different points, took possession of Jassy, Bucharest, and Galatz, and in a few weeks occupied the whole of the left bank of the Danube. It was resolved to cross the river at Braila; and in order to accomplish this, the army was formed into two divisions, one of which invested the town, while the other successfully crossed the river and continued its march southward. In the meantime, the siege of Braila continued, and after a series of sanguinary assaults the garrison capitulated. The besieging force then crossed the Danube, and in a short time all the Dobroudsha was in the possession of the Russians. An attempt upon Shumla failed, though in the first instance directed by the czar in person. They were more successful, however with Varna, which surrendered on 10th October, after a vigorous defence of more than two months. The utmost efforts were now made to reduce Silistria; but from the advanced state of the season, and the difficulties of the attempt, nothing of importance could be effected; and the Russians retired beyond the Danube to winter in Wallachia. Notwithstanding the success of this campaign, it had been attended with a great loss of life to the Russians. A number had fallen by the hands of the Turks, but many more fell by disease; so that of the number that crossed the Danube not more than one half remained.

Meanwhile, in Asia operations had been carried on with equal vigor, and with even a greater measure of success, under General Paskievitch. In the brief space of a week he invested and took Kars, on the 15th of July; and Poti, a fortress on the east coast of the Black Sea, surrendered on the 26th. The general now resolved to attack the town and fortress of Akhalzik, a place strongly fortified both by nature and art, and defended by a garrison of 10,000 men. A battle was fought under the walls of the town the 4th September, when the Turkish army, though

greatly inferior in numbers, fought with great bravery, but was defeated with much slaughter. The Russians now prosecuted the siege with vigor, and a breach was at length effected in the walls. The assault was made on the 7th of September, but such was the desperate valor of the Turks, that not till the city was reduced to a heap of ashes, and a great number of its defenders destroyed, could the survivors be brought to capitulate. The surrender of Akhalzik was followed by that of other important fortresses in Asia before the close of the campaign of 1828.

Both sides now made vigorous exertions for the renewal of hostilities in the following spring. Troops were summoned from various parts of the Turkish empire, and the garrison of Shumla was augmented from 10,000 to 40,000. The Russian force was strengthened by an addition of 70,000, and the command entrusted to Count Diebitsch, an officer of high military attainments, General Wittgenstein having retired from active service. On the 10th of May, 1829, the Russians again crossed the Danube, and immediately besieged Silistria, while General Kouprianoff was stationed with a force at Pravadi, a fortress on the east of Shumla, and important as lying in the line of communication between Silistria and Varna. Redschid Pasha, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, perceiving the position of the invading army, formed the design of attacking Pravadi and Varna, which would also have the effect of drawing off the troops from Silistria. He accordingly set out from Shumla at the head of 36,000 men, leaving only a small garrison behind him under Ibrahim Pasha, and advanced rapidly on Pravadi. General Diebitsch, however, on being informed of his design, instead of advancing to meet him at Pravadi resolved to cut off his communication with Shumla; and accordingly, leaving one of his generals to continue the siege, he hastened southward at the head of 20,000 men to put his design in execution, and sent word to General Roth at Varna to co-operate

with him. He took up a favorable position near Koulevscha, a village between Pravadi and Shumla, scarcely three miles from the latter. His army was posted on the hills on each side of the road through which the Turkish army had to pass on their return to Shumla, and so concealed that only a very small portion of them were visible. Redschid, not knowing that Diebitsch had quitted Silistria, and believing that his opponents were only a portion of the army at Varna, did not hesitate to force his passage, sending a body of cavalry to disperse the enemy. He soon found out his mistake, for the Russian army rushing down upon them in a body, instantly put them to flight. Every attempt to bring them to a stand proved abortive, and Redschid himself escaped with difficulty. Had Count Diebitsch immediately on this victory attacked Shumla, he would in all probability have taken it; but instead of this, he contented himself with some minor operations, till the grand vizier, with the scattered remains of his army, had thrown himself into the town. After the battle of Koulevscha, the siege of Silistria was carried on with redoubled vigor; and on the 30th of June the fortress surrendered, when the whole garrison, amounting to 8,000 men, were made prisoners of war. The fall of Silistria now determined the Russian general to cross the Balkans. Leaving, therefore, a body of troops before Shumla, he set out for Aidos on the 17th of July. The town of Sizeboli, on the other side of the Balkan, having one of the best and safest harbors on the western shores of the Black Sea, had been already seized by a naval *coup de main* to form a depôt where the troops might refresh themselves for a short time after their arduous undertaking. The Russians crossed the Balkans without opposition, the Turks everywhere fleeing before them. Towards the end of July, when General Rudiger, with his division, was advancing on Aidos, a body of 10,000 or 12,000 men were sent out to attack him, but as soon as their skirmishers were beaten back, the Turks fled in precipitation, passing

through the town, which they left to the enemy without firing a shot. Here the Russians obtained an immense booty of ammunition and military stores. After this it is not to be wondered at that the Russians soon found themselves within sight of Adrianople. During their progress they had scarcely met with an appearance of opposition, whereas had only a feeble stand been made at some of the Balkan passes, or even afterwards, it would have been impossible for the Russians to have advanced. Even had they been harassed by small parties of the enemy during their march, they could not have ventured to Adrianople. As it was, they were now unable to attempt any active operations. Their force, originally small, was now weakened by sickness and fatigue, while hundreds of them were dying daily. Diebitsch, however, carefully concealed his real condition from the Turks, and by acting on their fear and ignorance he was able to obtain terms of peace as a conqueror.

In the meantime, General Paskievitch was following up his brilliant successes in the Asiatic portion of the sultan's dominions. One of the first operations of the Turkish army was an attempt to recover the fortress of Akhalzik, which, notwithstanding the valor displayed by the sultan's forces, was in vain. General Paskievitch anticipated every movement and defeated every attack. On the 1st of July, anticipating the junction of the seraskier of Erzeroom with Hagki Pasha in the valley of Zevine, he marched first against the former, whom he put to flight, and on the next day defeated the latter, whom he made prisoner. In these two actions the Russians took about 1500 prisoners, with a large quantity of artillery, ammunition, and provisions. Paskievitch now pushed on with all possible rapidity to Erzeroom; and on the 5th of July took the strong fortress of Hassan Kale, the key of that capital. After a feeble resistance, Erzeroom surrendered on the 9th of July, and in it was found 150 cannon, and large magazines of ammunition and provisions. The seras-

kier himself and four of his pashas were made prisoners. The Russian commander next directed his movements towards Trebizond, and on the 19th of July took Baibout, a fortified town on the road to Trebizond. The pasha of Trebizond having collected a body of troops, set out to attack the Russians; and General Bursov, who commanded in Baibout, marched out to meet him, and attacked him on the 30th July near the village of Chart. The Russians being greatly inferior in numbers, were repulsed with the loss of their commander. On learning of this reverse, Count Paskievitch brought up the main body of his army and attacked the Turkish camp on the 8th of August. A series of severe engagements took place on that and the following day, which terminated in the Russians carrying the entrenched camp of the enemy, who fell back in confusion upon Trebizond. It was at this stage of his victorious course that Paskievitch received intelligence that the war was at an end.

The celebrated treaty of Adrianople, which concluded the war of 1828-9, was signed 14th September, 1829, and contained sixteen distinct articles, the substance of which was as follows:—The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the conquered places in Bulgaria and Roumelia were to be restored to the Porte, with the exception of the islands at the mouth of the Danube which were to remain in possession of Russia, the Pruth continuing to form the boundary of the two empires, from the point where that river touches the territory of Moldavia to its mouth in the Danube, and thence the boundary-line was to be the Danube and its southernmost mouth, St. George. In Asia the boundary between the two countries was to be the line which, following the present boundary of the province of Gouriel from the Black Sea, ascends to that of Imeritia, and thence in the most direct line to the point where the frontiers of the pashalics of Akhalzik and of Kars unite with those of Georgia, Russia thus acquiring that portion of the coast of the Black Sea lying between the mouth of the Kouban and

the port of St. Nicholas inclusively, comprising a considerable extent of country, and the forts of Anapa, Akhalzik, and others. The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to enjoy the free exercise of their worship, perfect security, an independent national government, and full liberty of commerce; and the conditions of previous treaties were to be implemented regarding Servia. An indemnity of £750,000 was to be paid to the Russian government for losses incurred at various times by Russian merchants and others. The Russian government was also to receive a sum of money, the amount of which was to be afterwards fixed, as indemnification for the expenses of the war. To this treaty two separate acts were annexed, explanatory of some of its most important conditions, which bore much harder upon Turkey and betrayed a much more grasping and insidious disposition on the part of Russia than the treaty itself. By these the possession of the Principalities was secured to her for at least ten years, and the treaty had already provided that while she remained in possession the order of things established by her could not be interfered with. By the other supplementary article alterations of great importance, and permanent in their nature, were introduced into the administration of the Principalities themselves.

Nicholas was crowned at Warsaw on the 24th of May, 1829; and on the 29th of November, 1830, the Polish insurrection broke out, an account of which has already been given. (See POLAND.) The Poles stood unaided and alone, and displayed bravery worthy of any age or country. General Diebitsch perished in the struggle, the victim of disease, chagrin, and fatigue, and was succeeded in the command by Paskievitch. The war was brought to an end by the celebrated battle of Warsaw, fought on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of September, 1831. The Poles submitted; and fearful was the vengeance taken by Nicholas upon his prostrate foe.

The territory ceded to Russia by the treaty of Adrianople included the Caucasus, a

mountainous region inhabited by several independent races who owed no allegiance to the sultan, and who therefore refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Russia. Nicholas at first endeavoured to gain over the chiefs of the various tribes by means of military appointments, decorations, and pensions, but these being ineffectual, he at length had recourse to arms. The two tribes who have come most prominently forward in this struggle are the Lesghians and the Circassians; and though the contest has been going on with little intermission for nearly thirty years, at an enormous expense of men and money, the Russians have been able to effect little of permanent advantage.

The revolt of the Pasha of Egypt, and the series of successes that attended the advance of his son Ibrahim Pasha, rendered it necessary for the sultan to apply for aid to his old enemy the czar. This was readily granted; and on peace being established, the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was entered into between the sultan and the Emperor of Russia. This treaty, which was signed at Constantinople on the 8th of July, 1833, purported to be a defensive alliance between the two contracting powers; but its real import was expressed in a separate and secret article, which provided that, as the Emperor of Russia was willing to spare his ally the expense and inconvenience of affording him military aid, "the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in place of the aid which it is bound to furnish in case of need, according to the principle of reciprocity of the patent treaty, shall confine its action in favor of the imperial court of Russia to closing the Strait of the Dardanelles; that is to say, to not allowing any foreign vessels of war to enter therein under any pretext whatsoever." In 1834 another treaty was entered into between these two powers, by which the sultan ceded to the czar an extensive district in Asia, in consideration of which the czar relinquished his right to three-fourths of what remained to be paid of the indemnities fixed by the treaty of Adrianople, and agreed to leave the Principalities

as soon as hospodars shall be chosen, the Sublime Porte formally recognising the regulations made, while the Russian troops occupied these provinces, by the principal inhabitants for their internal administration. In addition to these stipulations, the free passage of the Dardanelles was permitted to Russian ships. Silistria, however, still remained in the hands of Russia; and it was not till 1836, when it was agreed that it should be given up upon payment of one-half of the balance still remaining due to the czar, that the Turks obtained possession of this important fortress.

The peace between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt was not of long duration, and the war broke out afresh in 1839. (See *TURKEY*.) At length England and France interfered in behalf of the Sultan; and on the 27th of July, 1839, a note was signed, by which the Ottoman empire was placed under the common safeguard of the five great European powers,—England, France, Prussia, Russia and Austria, instead of exclusively under the protectorate of Russia. This was followed by a convention, signed at London on the 15th of July, 1840, for “maintaining the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, as a security for the peace of Europe.” The allies bound themselves to unite their efforts in order to bring about peace; and the Sultan, on his part, declared it to be his firm resolution to adhere to the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire, which prohibited ships of war of foreign powers from entering the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus,—thus virtually setting aside the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.

In 1840 an expedition was fitted out against Kkiva; but after encountering numerous obstacles and suffering many disasters, it was obliged to return without being able to get beyond the Russian frontier. In the beginning of June, 1844, the emperor spent eight days in England. In February, 1846, an insurrection broke out in Cracow, which had been established as an independent state under the protection of Russia, Prussia and Aus-

tria by the treaty of Vienna in 1815. The town was immediately seized upon by the allied troops, and by agreement between the three powers it was annexed to Austria; and thus this last remnant of independent Poland was abolished. Soon after, the Russian portion of Poland was entirely incorporated with the empire, and made a Russian province. During the time of the revolution in Germany in 1848 Russia stood quite aloof, and the emperor contented himself with strengthening his army at all points, and watching, without taking part in the events that filled all Europe with astonishment. In 1849, however, she readily responded to the call of Austria for aid against the Hungarians, and sent a powerful army into the country. This turned the scale in favor of Austria, whose forces had previously been several times beaten and driven out of the country. (See *HUNGARY*.) After the fall of Hungary a number of the civil and military leaders, and others, took refuge in Turkey. Russia and Austria demanded the expulsion of the refugees, but this was peremptorily refused by the sultan. The Emperor of Russia attempted to threaten him into compliance, and even suspended all diplomatic intercourse between the two countries; but the appearance of a British fleet in the Dardanelles induced him to lower his tone, and he contented himself with requiring that they should be removed to a distant part of the empire.

Russia had been looking for an occasion of quarrel with Turkey long before the outbreak of the late war, and there can be little doubt that a chief object of his imperial majesty's visit to England in 1844 was to come to some arrangement with the British government as to the Turkish empire. On that occasion he had several conversations with the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Aberdeen, who was then foreign secretary, relative to the state of Turkey; and on his return to Russia his views on that subject were embodied in a memorandum, drawn up by his chancellor Count Nesselrode, and forwarded to the British government. This

document, read in the light which subsequent events have thrown upon it, shows clearly that even at that time the czar had been looking forward to a war with Turkey at no distant period, and was endeavoring to obtain the countenance, or at least to lull the suspicions, of England in such a case. It concludes as follows:—"The object for which Russia and England will have to come to an understanding may be expressed in the following manner: (1.) to seek to maintain the existence of the Ottoman empire in its present state so long as that political combination shall be possible. (2.) If we foresee that it must crumble to pieces, to enter into previous concert as to every thing relating to the establishment of a new order of things intended to replace that which now exists, and in conjunction with each other to see that the change which may have occurred in the internal situation of that empire shall not injuriously affect either the security of their own state, and the rights which the treaties assure to them respectively, or the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe." In the early part of 1853, his imperial majesty had several interviews with the British ambassador at his court, which plainly showed his intentions with regard to Turkey, and that he thought the time of her dissolution had arrived. "If your government," he said, "has been led to believe that Turkey retains any elements of existence, your government must have received incorrect information. I repeat to you that the sick man is dying, and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise." "I am not so eager about what shall be done when the sick man dies as I am to determine with England what shall not be done upon that event taking place." When requested to explain his own ideas upon this negative policy, he for some time declined doing so; but at length said, "Well, there are several things which I never will tolerate; I will begin by ourselves. I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. Having said this, I will say that it shall never be

held by the English or French, or any other great nation. Again, I never will permit an attempt at the re-construction of a Byzantine empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state; still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics, asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis and other revolutionists of Europe. Rather than submit to any of these arrangements I would go to war; and as long as I have a man and a musket left, would carry it on." The emperor went on to say that, in the event of a dissolution of the Ottoman empire, he thought it might be less difficult to arrive at a satisfactory territorial arrangement than was commonly believed. "The Principalities are," he said, "in fact an independent state under my protection; this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of government. So again with Bulgaria. There seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent state. As to Egypt, I quite understand the importance to England of that territory. I can then only say that, if in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objection to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia; that island might suit you, and I do not know why it should not become an English possession."

At this time a dispute was going on between the Greek and Latin churches relative to the guardianship of the holy places in Palestine, and Russia warmly espoused the cause of the former. At length, however, this question was brought to an apparent settlement, chiefly through the unremitting efforts of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, her British Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople. But while the Russian government was holding out that the mission of Menschikoff to Constantinople was exclusively for the purpose of effecting a settlement of the dispute regarding the holy places, that minister was pressing upon the Porte other demands of a far more serious and important charac-

ter, which, if complied with, would have had the effect of virtually admitting the sovereignty of the emperor over the Greek Church in Turkey. This the sultan refused to do; and Prince Menschikoff quitted Constantinople on the 21st of May, 1853, declaring that the refusal of his demands would impose upon his government the necessity of seeking a guarantee by its own power.

The emperor based his claim to interpose himself as protector of the Greek Church in Turkey on the treaty of Kainardji, concluded in 1774; but the only parts of that treaty bearing upon the Christian religion are contained in the 7th and 14th articles, and they do not afford the smallest countenance to the claim of the emperor to interfere in behalf of the religious privileges of the Christians throughout the Ottoman empire. In a note of the 31st of May, Count Nesselrode intimated to Reschid Pasha that in a few weeks the Russian forces would receive orders to cross the frontier and occupy the Principalities, not to wage war, but until the Ottoman government should give to Russia the moral securities she had in vain demanded. No time was lost in putting this threat into execution; and on the 2d and 3d of July, two divisions of Russian troops, amounting to 80,000 men, under the command of Prince Gortschakoff, crossed the Pruth, one at Skoaliani and the other at Leovd. The news of this proceeding caused great excitement at Constantinople; and a formal protest against the invasion of the Moldo-Wallachian provinces was drawn up by the Ottoman Porte, and issued on the 14th of July. Its tone was conciliatory, but at the same time firm. On the 1st of June, a despatch was forwarded by her majesty's government to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, authorizing him in certain specific contingencies to send for the fleet; and instructions were also sent to Admiral Dundas to proceed to the neighborhood of the Dardanelles, and there to place himself in communication with her Majesty's ambassador. Similar orders were about the same time issued by the French government to their fleet,

and they both anchored in Besika Bay about the middle of June. Soon after, a conference of the representatives of the four great powers was held at Vienna, and by the end of July, a note, originally drawn up by the French government, and sanctioned, with some modifications, by those of Britain and Austria, was finally adopted by the conference, and submitted for acceptance to Russia and Turkey. It was immediately acceded to by the former, but the latter declined doing so until some alterations were made in the wording of the Note, which might be misconstrued. At first the conduct of the Porte was disapproved by the four powers, but they afterwards admitted that the objections were well-founded. The czar, however, refused to receive the Note as altered, and would only accept of it in its original form. That the objections of the Porte were valid, was evinced by the fact, that the interpretation which in subsequent communications Russia insisted on putting upon it was just that which was not intended.

On the 5th of October, the Porte issued a formal declaration of war, and on receiving intimation thereof, Omar Pasha, the Turkish general, who was then at Shumla, despatched a letter to Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian commander-in-chief in the Principalities, offering him fifteen days to evacuate that territory before commencing hostilities. To this the Russian general replied, that he "had no orders to commence hostilities, nor to conclude peace, nor to evacuate the Principalities." On the 14th of October the combined fleets of England and France, which had been for some time lying at Besika Bay, entered the Straits of the Dardanelles at the request of the sultan; and on the 1st of November the czar issued his manifesto of war.

In the beginning of November the Turks crossed the Danube at four places. The first passage was effected at Widdin, a place far up near the frontier of Servia, from which they pushed on to Kalafat, and occupied it with a force of 12,000 men. Lower

down the river at Rustchuk a body of 2000 or 3000 men crossed, and entrenched themselves at Giurgevo. At Turtukai, still lower down, a large Turkish force crossed over to Oltenitza, where they established themselves, although they were vigorously attacked by the Russians. On the 2d and 3d of November the attacks of the Russians were repulsed with loss. On the 4th they mustered to the amount of 30,000 strong, and attacked the Turks, who numbered only about 18,000. A desperate engagement ensued in which the Russians were defeated with a loss of about 1000 killed and twice that number wounded. Several spirited engagements subsequently took place at Kalafat and its neighborhood, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the Russians, the Turks effectually made good their position there. Towards the end of November Omar Pasha, not deeming it prudent to expose his troops to attack during the winter, withdrew across the Danube, only retaining possession of the works at Kalafat, on the left bank of the river.

An event now happened that filled Europe with horror, and gave a new character to the war. This was the unprovoked attack on, and the total destruction of, the Turkish fleet in the harbor of Sinope. On the 30th November the Turkish fleet consisting of seven frigates, three corvettes, and two smaller vessels, were lying at anchor in that harbor, when a Russian squadron composed of six sail of the line, three of which were three deckers, two sailing frigates and three steamers, entered the bay, the frigates and steamers remaining outside the heavy ships. The action immediately commenced, and though the Turks fought with the courage of desperation, in the short space of two or three hours the whole of their vessels were burned or sunk, except one small steamer which got out and made for sea during the heat of the conflict. About 5000 of the Turks were killed, and only a very few escaped by swimming to land. The Czar having, as we have seen, announced his determination to act only on the defensive, and to repel the ad-

vance of the Turks into the Principalities, this blow was totally unexpected on the part of the allies, whose representatives at Vienna were still exerting themselves to bring about a peace, and had just prepared a protocol, which the Ottoman Porte had agreed to receive as a basis of negotiation, when the news of this disaster reached them. The English and French fleets, too instead of taking possession of the Black Sea for the protection of the Turks, were lying in the Bosphorus, while the Russians were actively using that sea for the conveyance of troops, arms, and ammunition to their various military posts. When the news reached St. Petersburg the czar ordered a solemn "Te Deum" in the churches, and published an exulting manifesto. The English and French, who may be said to have hitherto acted only as spectators of the war, now saw that it was necessary to have recourse to more active measures. The combined fleet was immediately ordered into the Black Sea, and though negotiations were carried on for some time after, it could not be with any sanguine hope of a peaceful termination to the war.

Diplomatic relations between France and England and Russia ceased in February. On the 12th of March a treaty or convention between England, France, and the Porte was signed, regulating the terms on which the two former were to assist the latter. On the 27th and 28th of March the French and English respectively declared war. A portion of the French army sailed from Marseilles on the 19th of March, and on the 30th arrived at Gallipoli, a seaport of European Turkey, near the place where the Dardanelles expand into the Sea of Marmora; and on the 5th of April they were joined by the English detachment from Malta. Powerful works were constructed here, extending from the Gulf of Saros to the sea of Marmora, so that in case of necessity, the allied armies might have a safe place of retreat. Afterwards the allied forces were removed to the neighborhood of Constantinople, the English occupying Scutari. Lord Raglan, who was

appointed commander-in-chief of the English troops, arrived at Constantinople on the 29th of April, and Marshal St. Arnaud, the French commander-in-chief on the 8th of May.

The campaign on the Danube opened on the 6th of January with a vigorous engagement between the Turks and Russians in the neighborhood of Citate a village where the Russians had established themselves. The Turks were victorious, and completely dislodged the enemy from the village. Attempts were made the next day, and for several succeeding days, with fresh troops, to re-take the place, but without success. A Russian report states that, in January, 1854, 35,000 Russian soldiers had already perished in the Principalities. Besides those slain in battle, many had died from disease, want, and fatigue. For about a month after the battle of Citate both armies on the Danube were chiefly occupied in making preparations for fighting. About the 13th of February the Russians collected in considerable force against Giurgevo, and attacked it, so far successfully that the Turks, after an obstinate resistance of two or three days, evacuated the place, and retreated in perfect order across the Danube to Rustchuk. On the 23d of March the Russians, having been considerably re-inforced, crossed the Danube at three points, Ismael, Galatz, and Matchin, and entered the Dobrudscha with artillery and a siege train, for the purpose of storming Silistria and attacking Omar Pasha at Shumla before the allied armies could come to his assistance. Silistria was invested on the 17th of May, and gallantly resisted for six weeks every effort of the enemy to take it. Among the besieged were two British officers, Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth, who greatly contributed to the success of the defence. The bombardment of Odessa took place on the 22d of April, that town having fired upon an English flag of truce. The firing lasted for about ten hours, and did not cease till most of the batteries had been destroyed or silenced.

The attack, however, was strictly confined to the forts, batteries, and military store houses. On the 12th of May the *Tiger*, an English steam-frigate, ran aground near Odessa, and being attacked by artillery from the town, she surrendered after a short fight, her guns having been thrown overboard to lighten her. The crew were made prisoners and taken to Odessa, where they were well treated. About the same time a squadron dislodged the Russians from their stronghold of Redoubt Kaleh, on the coast of Circassia.

By the middle of May the French and English armies were in sufficient force and organization to take the field; and on the 19th of that month a council of war was held at Varna, at which Lord Raglan, Marshal St. Arnaud, and Omar Pasha were present. It was then decided to bring up all the disposable forces to Varna; and accordingly, on the 29th of May the greater portion of the French and English troops disembarked at that place.

The raising of the siege of Silistria, and the retreat of the Russians, were the signal for the general advance of the Turkish army. They re-crossed the Danube in the beginning of July; and on the 8th of that month an action was fought at Giurgevo, very creditable to the Turkish arms. At night the Russians abandoned their camp leaving an immense quantity of stores, and retreated to Bucharest. They soon afterwards quitted the latter city, and retired beyond the Sereth. Towards the end of August the Austrian troops took possession of the Principalities, in terms of a convention concluded between the Emperor of Austria and the Porte. During this time the fleet in the Black Sea was doing good service by destroying the Russian batteries at the Sulina mouth of the Danube.

Meanwhile the allied fleets were cruising about the Baltic. A detachment of the English fleet under Admiral Plumridge, cruising in the Gulf of Bothnia during May and the early part of June, took and destroyed forty-six merchant vessels, with from 40,000

to 50,000 barrels of pitch and tar, and an immense quantity of naval stores. The only proceeding that was attended by loss of life was an attempt upon Gamle Karleby, a small seaport town of Finland. The vessels *Odin* and *Vulture* were dispatched to that place to take possession of any vessels or naval stores that might be found there, but the water off the port was so shallow that they were obliged to anchor five miles from the town. Four boats were therefore manned, and sent in to destroy the stores. Hoisting a flag of truce, they first demanded the surrender of the place; and this having been refused, the flag was hauled down, and the *Odin's* cutter was proceeding to reconnoitre when it was fired upon from an ambuscade, and eleven of its men killed and wounded. The firing was kept up with vigor on both sides, and the *Vulture's* paddle-box boat became so unmanageable, and her crew were so much cut up, that she drifted on shore, and became the prize of the enemy, who made prisoners of all that remained alive. The English lost fifty-four officers and men killed, wounded, and missing. In the month of May the *Hecla* and *Arrogant* proceeded by night from Hango roads up seven miles of a narrow river to Eknaes, destroyed a powerful battery which opened fire upon them, put to flight a large troop of horse artillery and a large body of infantry, and cut out a large merchantman laden with a valuable cargo, returning in safety with the prize. A day or two after this the large fort of *Gustavus Varn* in Hango Roads was shelled, and great loss inflicted upon the Russians. About the end of June the allied fleet amounting to fifty one sail proceeded to reconnoitre Cronstadt, anchoring about eight miles from that fortress, and sending forward six steam-vessels to take soundings, and to make a closer inspection with orders to keep out of cannon range. The two main divisions of the allied fleets subsequently proceeded to the Bay of Ledsund, to the south of the Aland Islands, in the Gulf of Bothnia. On the 15th of July

10,000 French troops were embarked at Boulogne on board of English vessels for the Baltic. These were disembarked in the morning of the 8th of August in the vicinity of Bomarsund, a strong fortress on one of the Aland Islands. The chief fortress was a structure of granite about forty feet in height, and mounting about eighty cannon. The land rose above this fort, and on the crests of the low hills were two granite towers, each surrounded by a broad ditch. There was also an earth work of five pieces of artillery. About 1200 marines of both nations were landed on the north of the island, and commenced erecting a battery. On the 13th the French commenced the bombardment of the western tower, which was captured by them on the following morning. On the 15th two batteries, manned by English seamen and marines, began to play upon the eastern tower, and a complete breach having been made, and all the guns silenced, a white flag was hoisted in the evening, and the place surrendered. On the same day the bombardment of the principal fort commenced both on land and from the sea, five vessels firing shot and shell at the front of the battery from a long range. Next day the attack was renewed; but at noon a white flag was hoisted from the walls, and the garrison surrendered unconditionally. There were taken 112 mounted, 79 unmounted guns, three mortars and seven field pieces, and also 2235 prisoners. The English loss was one officer and one private killed, and seven wounded; the French loss was somewhat greater. The fortifications were subsequently reduced to a mass of ruins. After this the allied fleets effected nothing of importance in the Baltic. The French fleet returned early in the autumn, and the English fleet returned by single vessels as the winter drew on, some remaining in the Baltic till the ice began to form, and reaching England late in November. Of the French land forces about 800 perished by cholera, besides those who had fallen in action.

The months of July and August were

very calamitous for the allied armies at Varna and the neighborhood, as well as for the fleet at Baltchik Bay. The mortality was fearful, and the men were reduced to great despondency; praying to be led against the enemy at whatever risk rather than to lie the inglorious death that was so fast decimating their ranks. On the 26th of August a council of war was held at Varna by all the English and French generals; and on the 3d of September the final order for the embarkation of the British troops from Varna was issued. Their destination was the Crimea, and they were to disembark at some place not far from Sebastopol. The order of battle was formed before the landing. The troops were to enter the boats in the order in which they stood in the ranks. The boats were to form in line abreast, and to pull into the shore stoutly, steadily, and in perfect silence. On landing, they were to form in continuous columns. Three day's provisions were to be carried by each individual, both officers and men. The troops were thus ready to encounter the enemy had he met them on landing, and it is clear that such an encounter was expected. On the afternoon of the 13th of September the fleets anchored in Eupatoria Bay, and the town was summoned to surrender, which it at once did, being without the means of defence. They left early next morning, and keeping near the shore, anchored about twelve miles below Eupatoria, where they commenced to disembark, and before night they had landed without opposition 20,000 British troops, with thirty-six guns, and a large number of horses, and about an equal number of French. In the afternoon it rained, and a swell arose along the coast, which continued to increase. At night the rain came down in torrents, and the troops on the beach were drenched, being houseless and tentless. The swell next day impeded the landing of the guns and cavalry, and occasioned some loss in horses and boats; but during that and the following day the disembarkation was completed. As yet

no enemy, except a few isolated bands of Cossacks, had been seen; but the steamers sent to reconnoitre the coast reported that the Russians had formed a strong camp on the heights to the south of the River Alma. The troops commenced their march in the morning of the 19th, and halted for the night on the left bank of a small stream called the Bulganac. On that day there was a skirmish between the English light cavalry and a party of Russian dragoons. At daybreak the following morning the Agamemnon, with the inshore squadrons moved along the coast, and took up a position off the Alma. A column of French infantry, preceded by skirmishers, now descended from the heights about the Bulganac, and boldly advanced by the sea side. It was soon followed, more inland, by the main body of the French army. When within a mile of the Alma the French halted. They were then joined by the English, who formed into line with their allies. Both armies then moved forward and again they halted. Before them, on the lofty cliffs and precipitous slopes on the other side of the Alma, were the enemy. Their position was well chosen, and seemed to defy attack. Running closely along the left bank of the Alma for about two miles from the sea, is a bold and almost precipitous range of heights of from 350 to 400 feet in height. It then makes a long sweep, forming a great amphitheatre about two miles in width at its mouth. Across this great opening, running parallel to the river, and at distances of from 600 to 800 yards from it, is a low ridge of heights varying from 60 to 150 feet. Across a part of the slope was a trench deep enough to protect the Russian marksmen, and to impede the progress of the assailants. On the right, and a little retired, was a powerful covered battery armed with heavy guns, which flanked the whole of the right of the position; whilst artillery were stationed on almost every eminence commanding the open ground over which the English troops must advance. On the slopes of these hills,

which formed a sort of table-land, were placed dense masses of the enemy's infantry, whilst on the heights above was his great reserve; the whole amounting, it is supposed, to between 45,000 and 50,000 men. The banks of the river were extremely rugged, and for the most part steep, and the willows along it were cut down to prevent them from affording shelter to the attacking party. The attack was commenced by the French division of troops under General Bosquet, which was nearest the shore. He first detached a regiment of Zouaves and a body of sharpshooters, who crossed the river near its mouth without being perceived by the enemy. Presently they were seen "swarming like ants," with extraordinary agility, up the almost perpendicular face of the cliff, and they soon reached the summit. On reaching the plateau they immediately formed into line under a deadly fire of musketry and artillery. General Bosquet now brought up the remainder of his division; and at the same time the main body of the French army, under Prince Napoleon and General Canrobert, advanced through the village of Alma-tomak, and fording the river, gained a pathway which led up to the plateau. It was only with the greatest difficulty that the French artillery could be dragged up these rough passes; but at length one battery gained the heights, and was rapidly carried to the assistance of the Zouaves. The Zouaves and the few troops that had joined them held their ground with admirable courage and steadiness until other French corps came up. Some regiments of the line were foiled in an attempt to force the Russian position to the left of the Zouaves; but the most deadly contest took place near a tumulus on which stood an unfinished tower. Here the main body of the enemy was collected, and to dislodge them the Zouaves, with some regiments of the line, charged with the bayonet. The Russians made a most determined stand, but after sustaining repeated and impetuous charges, they fell back apparently in good order. Seeing his left about

to be turned, Prince Menschikoff now sent a considerable mass of infantry and artillery to its support. Up to this time the English had remained inactive, the arrangements being that they were to wait until the French should have gained the heights and turned the Russian left. But Marshal St. Arnaud, seeing that fresh columns of infantry and more batteries of heavy artillery were being brought against him, sent to request Lord Raglan to advance without further delay. The command was accordingly given to advance, and as they approached the bank of the river the Russian batteries on the slopes opened up a deadly fire. At the same time sharpshooters behind walls or in the vineyards harassed the English troops, but these were soon driven over the river by their rifles. The Russians had set fire to the village of Burliuk, lying between the English troops and the river, but as soon as the artillery got beyond the smoke they began to play upon the enemy, and inflicted considerable damage. Partly under cover of this fire, Lord Raglan, at the head of his staff, plunged into the ford, and amidst a thick shower of shot and shell, gained the opposite bank, close to the left of the French. In consequence of the burning of the village two regiments of Brigadier-General Adams's brigade, being part of Sir De Lacy Evans's division, had to pass the river at a deep and difficult ford to the right under a sharp fire; whilst his first brigade, under Major-General Pennefather, and the remaining regiment of Brigadier Adams, crossed to the left of the conflagration, opposed by the enemy's artillery from the heights above. In the meantime, the light division, under Sir George Brown, which was to be the first to attack, effected the passage of the Alma in their immediate front. The banks of the river, from their rugged and broken nature, were serious obstacles to their advance; while the vineyards through which they had to pass, and the trees which had been felled, created additional impediments, and rendered every attempt to form under a galling fire almost

an impossibility. Nevertheless, Sir George nobly persevered. The first brigade under Major-Gen. Codrington, composed of the 7th, 23d, and 33d regiments, rushed up the slope in the teeth of the heavy guns placed in the earth work, and with a courage that has never been surpassed, in spite of ball and grape-shot, drove the enemy before them. Some of the English soldiers even leaped into the redoubt, but these were soon driven out by the awful fire of the Russian infantry. "Sir George Brown," says an eyewitness (the *Times*' correspondent), "conspicuous on a grey horse, rode in front of his light division, urging them with voice and gesture. The 7th, diminished by one-half, fell back to reform their columns, lost for the time; the 23d, with eight officers dead and four wounded, were still rushing to the front, aided by the 19th, 33d, 77th, and 88th. Down went Sir George in a cloud of dust in front of the battery. He was soon up, and shouted '23d, I'm all right; be sure I'll remember this day,' and led them on again; but in the shock produced by the fall of their chief the gallant regiment suffered terribly while paralysed for a moment. Meanwhile, the Guards on the right of the light division, and the brigade of Highlanders were storming the heights on the left. Their line was almost as regular as though they were in Hyde Park. Suddenly a tornado of round and grape rushed through from the terrible battery, and a roar of musketry from behind, thinned their front ranks by dozens. It was evident that we were just able to contend against the Russians, favored as they were by a great position. At this very time an immense mass of Russian infantry were seen moving down towards the battery. They halted. It was the crisis of the day. Sharp, angular, and solid, they looked as if they were cut out of solid rock. It was beyond all doubt that, if our infantry, harassed and thinned as they were, got into the battery, they would have to encounter again a formidable fire, which they were but ill calculated to bear. Lord Raglan saw the difficul-

ties of the situation. He asked if it would be possible to get a couple of guns to bear upon these masses. The reply was 'Yes;' and an artillery officer, whose name I do not know, brought up two guns to fire on the Russian squares. The first shot missed, but the next, and the next, and the next cut through the ranks so cleanly and so keenly, that a clear line could be seen for a moment through the square. After a few rounds the columns of the square became broken, wavered to and fro, broke, and fled over the brow of the hill, leaving behind them six or seven distinct lines of dead lying as close as possible to each other, marking the passage of the fatal messengers. This act relieved our infantry of a deadly incubus, and they continued their magnificent and fearful progress up the hill. The duke encouraged his men by voice and example, and proved himself worthy of his proud command and of the royal race from which he comes. 'Highlanders,' said Sir C. Campbell, ere they came to the charge, 'I am going to ask a favor of you; it is that you will act so as to justify me in asking permission of the Queen for you to wear a bonnet! Don't pull a trigger till you're within a yard of the Russians.' They charged, and well they obeyed their chieftain's wish; Sir Colin had his horse shot under him; but his men took the battery at a bound. The Russians rushed out, and left multitudes of dead behind them. The guards had stormed the right of the battery ere the Highlanders got into the left, and it is said the Scots Fusilier Guards were the first to enter. The second and light division crowned the heights. The French now turned the guns on the hill against the flying masses, which the cavalry in vain tried to cover. A few faint struggles from the scattered infantry, a few rounds of cannon and musketry, and the enemy fled to the south-east leaving three generals, drums, three guns, 700 prisoners, and 4000 wounded behind them. The battle of the Alma was won. It was won with a loss of nearly 3000 killed and wounded on our side. The

Russians' retreat was covered by their cavalry; but if we had had an adequate force we could have captured many guns and multitudes of prisoners." The total loss of the allies was 619 killed and 2860 wounded, of which the British counted 362 killed and 1640 wounded. The loss of the Russians is stated at somewhat less than 8000 men, besides nearly 900 prisoners. The allies had in the field about 50,000 men, but of this number 20,000 were not engaged. The entire force of the Russians amounted to about 40,000 men.

For the next two days the allies were busy in burying the dead and taking care of the wounded, and on the 23d they commenced their march towards Sevastopol. Learning that the enemy occupied a formidable position on the left bank of the Belbek, and that this river could not readily be rendered a means of communication with the fleet, and calculating that the chief preparations for defence would be made on the north side of the town, the commanders altered their original intention of making their attack on that side; and after their first night's bivouac they made a flank movement, and striking across a woody country, through which they had to steer their way by the compass, they reached an open road leading from Baktchiserai to Balaklava. At a place called Mackenzie's Farm the English advanced guard encountered a part of the Russian army, which fled in consternation at the unexpected meeting. On the 26th they obtained possession of Balaklava without opposition. The harbor is commodious and secure, but the entrance is narrow and somewhat difficult of access. The next day the allied armies took up their positions in the valley to the north of Balaklava and on the bleak heights above Sevastopol. The allies now suffered a severe loss in the departure and death of Marshal St. Arnaud. He had left France in bad health, and finding himself quite overcome by acute and severe illness, he resigned his command to General Canrobert, and died on the 29th, on his way down to Constantinople.

The position taken up by the English before Sevastopol was to the right of the French, at a distance of six miles from their ships; while the French on the left, rested on Cape Chersonese, and were within three miles of their ships. The ground in front of the French being soft, permitted the usual process of sapping and trenching to be carried on quickly, while the ground in front of the English was hard and rocky, and moreover broken by so many chasms or ravines that regular approaches were almost impracticable. The attack both by sea and land was opened on the 17th of October. Seven large Russian ships had been sunk at the mouth of the harbour, so that the ships could only fire at long range, and so produced very little effect. During this time the Russians had been exerting every effort to strengthen their position. A round stone tower at their extreme left was rapidly surrounded by strong, thick earth works, upon which none but the heaviest artillery could make an impression; while the tower itself, originally white, was painted of the colour of the earth, so as to be a less conspicuous mark. This round tower was by a line of earthworks connected with a formidable redoubt on the right known as the "Redan." Between the Redan and the arsenal at the head of Dockyard Creek were the "Barrack" batteries, and to the west of the Creek, facing the French line, was the Flagstaff Battery, united by a wall and strong defences to the Quarantine Fort and the sea. The average distance of the English batteries from the Russian lines was about 1500 yards. The French works, from the causes already mentioned, were considerably nearer than the English, but they had not so many guns in position. The attack opened early in the morning of the 17th, but the result proved that the French batteries were not strong enough, neither were their magazines well placed. About two hours after the commencement of the bombardment a French powder magazine blew up, doing considerable damage; and at 1.30 p.m. a more destructive explosion took place in

their lines, rendering it necessary for their artillery to suspend its fire during the rest of the day. Between 2 and 3 P.M. a terrific explosion took place in the Redan Battery, which it was thought would have rendered this work untenable; but the Russians, with unflinching bravery, continued at their guns, and kept up the fire until nightfall, when both sides ceased. The Round Tower, being of stone, was soon knocked to pieces by the heavy guns, and completely silenced, while the Redan, which was of earth, was not materially injured. The siege was proceeding steadily, when, early in the morning of the 25th, the Russians made an attack upon the position in front of Balaklava. A low range of heights that runs across the plain, at the bottom of which the town stands, was protected by four small redoubts hastily constructed. Three of these had guns in them; and on a higher hill in front of the village of Camera, in advance of the British right flank, was established a work of somewhat more importance. These redoubts were garrisoned by Turkish troops. The 93d Highlanders was the only British regiment in the plain, with the exception of a part of a battalion of detachments composed of weakly men, and a battery of artillery belonging to the third division; and on the heights behind their right were placed the marines. At day-break in the morning of the 25th the enemy were seen in great force advancing up the valley of the Tchernaya. This was indeed a new army, under the command of General Liprandi, which had just arrived from the Danubian Principalities. Austria having taken upon herself the occupation of the Principalities, and thus set free both the Russian and Turkish armies. Redoubt No. 1 was carried after a feeble resistance by the Turks, and Nos. 2 and 3 were evacuated without an attempt at defence. When the news reached Balaklava, Sir Colin Campbell, who commanded there, sent the 93d Highlanders, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ainslie, to draw up in line in front of the road leading to the own. Lord Raglan also, as soon as he was

apprised of this movement of the enemy, withdrew from before Sevastopol the 1st and 4th divisions, and brought them down into the plain. After the three redoubts had been carried, the Russian cavalry at once advanced, supported by artillery and dividing into two bodies, the smaller of which charged down the slope upon the 93d, whose vigorous and steady fire instantly carried death into their ranks and threw them back in disorder. The other and larger mass turned to the right to attack the heavy cavalry, advancing straight towards the camp of the Scots Greys and the Enniskillen Dragoons, whose united number did not amount to 400 men. Their first line was at least double the length of the English, and it was three times as deep; while behind them was a similar line equally strong and compact. Though the ground was very unfavorable, it presented no check to the British soldiers, who charged into the Russian column with the utmost fury. As the enemy withdrew from the ground which they had momentarily occupied, and seemed to be removing the captured guns, the Earl of Lucan was desired to advance and try to prevent them from effecting their object. From some misconception of the instructions, the lieutenant-general considered that he was bound to attack at all hazards; and he accordingly ordered Major-General the Earl of Cardigan to move forward with the Light Brigade. By this time the Russians had reformed their own ground, with artillery in front and upon their flanks. According to the graphic account of the *Times* correspondent—"They advanced in two lines, quickening their pace as they closed towards the enemy. A more fearful spectacle was never witnessed than by those who, without the power of aid, beheld their heroic countrymen rush to the arms of death. At the distance of 1200 yards the whole line of the enemy belched forth from thirty iron mouths a flood of smoke and flame, through which hissed the deadly balls. Their flight was marked by instant gaps in our ranks, by dead men and horses, by steeds flying wounded or

riderless across the plain. The first line is broken ; it is joined by the second ; they never halt or check their speed one instant ; with diminished ranks thinned by those thirty guns which the Russians had laid with the most deadly accuracy, with a halo of flashing steel above their heads, and with a cheer which was many a noble fellow's death-cry, they flew into the smoke of the batteries, but ere they were lost from view the plain was strewn with their bodies and with the carcasses of horses. They were exposed to an oblique fire from the batteries on the hills on both sides, as well as to a direct fire of musketry. Through the clouds of smoke we could see their sabres flashing as they rode up to the guns, and dashed between them, cutting down the gunners as they stood. We saw them riding through the guns, as I have said ; to our delight we saw them returning, after breaking through a column of Russian infantry, and scattering them like chaff, when the flank fire of the battery on the hill swept them down, scattered and broken as they were. Wounded men and dismounted troopers flying towards us told the sad tale : demi-gods could not have done what we had failed to do. At the very moment when they were about to retreat an enormous mass of lancers was hurled on their flank. Colonel Shewell of the 8th Hussars saw the danger, and rode his few men straight at them, cutting his way through with fearful loss. The other regiments turned and engaged in a desperate encounter. With courage too great almost for credence, they were breaking their way through the columns which enveloped them, when there took place an act of atrocity without parallel in the modern warfare of civilized nations. The Russian gunners, when the storm of cavalry had passed, returned to their guns. They saw their own cavalry mingled with the troops who had just ridden over them, and to the eternal disgrace of the Russian name, the miscreants poured a murderous volley of grape and canister on the mass of struggling men and horses, mingling friend and foe in one common ruin. It

was as much as our heavy cavalry brigade could do to cover the retreat of the miserable remnants of that band of heroes as they returned to the place they had so lately quitted in all the pride of life." The brigade numbered only 607 men, and of these only 198 returned. The enemy made no further movement in advance ; and at the close of the day the brigade of Guards of the first division and the fourth division returned to their original encampment.

The next morning several columns of infantry, accompanied by artillery, were seen issuing out of Sevastopol, to the number of 6000 or 7000, it was thought, on their way to join Liprandi's corps. Turning to the right, however, they ascended the hills, and suddenly appeared on a crest which commanded the second division under Sir De Lacy Evans. These withstood the attack with great bravery, and having at length received assistance, succeeded in putting the enemy to flight with the loss of about 600 killed and wounded, and 80 prisoners. During all this time the siege was steadily progressing, but large re-inforcements were joining the Russian camp to the north of Sevastopol, while supplies and other re-inforcements were poured into the town itself.

On the 5th of November the Russian army, augmented by reinforcements from the north, and animated by the presence of the Grand Dukes Michael and Nicholas, attacked the position of the allies overlooking the ruins of Inkermann. Shortly before daylight strong columns of the Russians came upon the advanced pickets covering the right of the English position. These defended the ground foot by foot with the utmost gallantry, until the 2d division, with its field guns, was got into position. The morning was extremely dark and drizzly ; but it soon became apparent that the enemy had advanced numerous batteries of large calibre to the high grounds to the left and front of the 2d division, while powerful columns of infantry attacked with great vigor the brigade of guards. Additional batteries of heavy ar

tillery were also placed on the slopes whence they could best tell upon them, until the guns in the field actually amounted to 90 pieces, independently of the ships' guns and the guns of Sevastopol. Protected by a tremendous fire of shot, shell, and grape, the Russian columns advanced in great force, requiring every effort to resist them. Two battalions of French infantry now joined the English right, and contributed materially to their success. About the same time a determined assault was made on the extreme left, and for a moment the Russians possessed themselves of four guns, but these were speedily re-captured. In the opposite direction the brigade of Guards was engaged in a severe conflict. The enemy advanced in two heavy bodies under cover of a thick brushwood, and assaulted with great determination a small unarmed redoubt. The combat here was most arduous, and the brigade, after displaying the utmost bravery and gallantry, was obliged to retire. Again and again they advanced to the charge, and again and again were driven back. At length a body of French troops came to their assistance, and occupied the redoubt, while the Guards speedily reformed in rear of the right flank of the 2d division. Subsequently to this the battle continued with unabated vigor, and with no positive result, till towards the afternoon, when symptoms of giving way first became apparent; and shortly after, although the fire did not cease, the retreat became general. Thus for more than six hours 8000 English and 6000 French sustained a hand-to-hand fight against 50,000 Russians.

On the 14th of November a terrible hurricane occurred on the Black Sea, and did great damage both on sea and shore. The tempest commenced at Balaklava about seven o'clock in the morning, and in less than two hours eleven transports had been wrecked, and six more dismantled and rendered unfit for service. The steamship *Prince*, a magnificent vessel of 2700 tons, which had arrived only a few days before, and had a valuable

cargo of stores and necessaries for the war, was driven on the rocks with such force that hardly a piece of her was left. Of a crew of 150 men only six were saved. The French vessels suffered equally with the English. The total loss of men was estimated at about 1000, besides about 400 or 500 more who were taken prisoners and carried into Sevastopol. On land the tents of the soldiers were torn up and blown about in all directions. Snow also fell in abundance; and before the tempest had ceased, which was not till the afternoon of the 16th, the island hills and ridges were deeply covered by it. After Inkermann the Russians did not for a long time make any grand attack upon the allies. The latter also contented themselves with remaining on the defensive till the arrival of reinforcements should enable them to take more active measures. They too were besieged as well as being besiegers, having on their flank a force far superior to their own, and in front an irregular fortress of great strength, and an arsenal with almost unlimited resources. Re-inforcements and supplies were also constantly pouring into the place, which, with the limited forces of the allies it was impossible to check. The allies were now suffering severely from disease and the want of necessaries, which became more felt as the winter set in. These pressed less heavily on the French than on the English, their medical and commissariat departments being much better managed. Not the least culpable part of the business was, that abundant supplies had been provided by the government, most of which were lying at Balaklava, but from a blind adherence to form could not be removed, or were stowed away where they could not be reached or could not be found. It is well known that articles sent out for the army in the Crimea were brought back in the same vessels, and articles intended for the sick at Scutari were carried to Balaklava. The road, too, between the camp and Balaklava soon became such a wilderness of mud as to be almost impassable.

During the last three months of the year

1854, 9000 English reinforcements were landed in the Crimea, but these being chiefly raw recruits, many of them, by the hardships which they had to endure, were soon rendered unfit for duty. Meanwhile the Russians, under the direction of General Todleben, were incessantly employed in improving their position, by strengthening their old fortifications and by the addition of new works.

In the beginning of the year an insurrection broke out among the Greek subjects of the sultan, at the instigation of Russia, and aided and abetted by the Greek nation. A series of early successes emboldened the insurgents, and the movement was rapidly gaining ground. Ineffectual remonstrances with King Otho led to an open rupture between Turkey and Greece, and on the 28th of March the Greek ambassador quitted Constantinople. Turkish troops were now poured into the disaffected districts, and their arms were generally successful; but still the rebels held out, encouraged by the free Greeks, and confidently relying on the speedy advance of the Russians to their assistance. On the 18th May the allies declared the whole of Greece to be in a state of blockade, and about the same time a body of French and English troops were landed at the Piræus. These energetic measures speedily brought King Otho to submit to the terms imposed upon him, and to engage to maintain a strict neutrality towards Turkey. Many of the insurgents now submitted, and one or two successes over the remainder speedily put an end to the insurrection. Early in summer a small squadron, was despatched to the White Sea to blockade Archangel. Leaving the Eurydice at the mouth of the Dwina, the bar at which they were unable to cross, to maintain the blockade, the other vessels attacked and destroyed several places in that quarter. Kola, the capital of Russian Lapland, they took and destroyed, as also the town of Novitska. They also landed and destroyed all the public buildings and government stores at Shayley Island.

An attack on the town of Solovetskoi, however, was unsuccessful, and they retired after twelve hours' firing. The squadron thereafter returned to England.

In the Pacific a fleet of the allies suffered a severe check before the town of Petropawlski. It consisted of three French and three English ships of war, carrying in all 194 guns; and was on the outlook for two Russian war frigates that had caused some alarm in these seas. This town is the principal seaport of Kamschatka, and was strongly fortified by nature and art. The firing of the ships commenced on the 28th of August, and was kept up for some days, and a partial landing did some damage, but a subsequent attempt to storm the town was unsuccessful. The English admiral Price fell by a pistol-shot from his own hand on the first day of the attack, and survived only a few hours.

The war in Asia was maintained by Turkish troops, but with them were a considerable number of European officers to aid and counsel them. In July a body of 8000 Turks, under Selim Pascha, were totally defeated at Bayazid by a detachment of General Bebutoff's army. When news of this reached the Turkish army, which was lying 40,000 strong in a position of considerable strength a few miles in advance of Kars, Mr. Guyon an English gentleman, advised an immediate attack on the main body of Bebutoff's army before it could be joined by the other portion or receive further assistance. Instead of this, however, several days were allowed to elapse before the attack was made, and by that time the Russian army was increased from 12,000 to 20,000 men, and was prepared to receive them. The 6th of August was the day of attack, but before the battle was well begun many of the Turks were fleeing, and the others were speedily put to flight. Had the Russian general marched directly upon Kars it is believed that he would have taken it without striking a blow; as it was, the defeated Turks got time to recover from their consternation and to gather

strength; so that, as will be subsequently noticed, they made a most heroic defence. On the 20th of August Schamyl suddenly appeared before Tiflis, and did considerable damage, carrying off a large booty and a number of prisoners. This compelled the Russian general Bebutoff to send a portion of his troops to defend that place.

In the beginning of 1855 the allies received an accession of strength in the King of Sardinia. On the 26th of January Victor Emmanuel II. acceded to the convention concluded between Great Britain and France, and agreed to furnish and keep up for the war a body of 15,000 men, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery; France and England guaranteeing the integrity of his dominions during the period of the war. England also undertook to furnish gratuitously the means of transport to the Sardinian troops, and also to recommend to Parliament to advance in loan to the King of Sardinia £1,000,000 sterling, the interest to be at the rate of four per cent., of which one per cent., was to form a sinking-fund.

At daybreak on the 17th of February, a strong body of the Russians made an attack upon Eupatoria, which was defended by Omer Pacha at the head of a Turkish body of troops, and a French detachment. After a cannonade of some duration, the Russians advanced to the assault. Three times they attempted to carry the town, but were as often driven back, and were at length obliged to retire with considerable loss. Their great superiority in cavalry and artillery prevented the garrison from molesting them on their retreat. The Turks behaved admirably on this occasion, and made a most gallant defence.

On the afternoon of the 2nd of March, all Europe was startled by the intelligence that the Emperor of Russia was dead. He was attacked by influenza on the 14th of February, but persisted in going out as usual, and on the 22nd held a review of a corps of infantry of the Guards. After this he became much worse, but continued working as usual

in his cabinet. On the 1st of March, however, soon after hearing of the unsuccessful attack upon Eupatoria, he became slightly delirious, and expired about noon of the 2nd. He was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son Alexander II.

On the 15th of March a conference of plenipotentiaries of the five states (England, France, Austria, Russia, and Turkey) was opened at Vienna, with the view of coming to some arrangement regarding the points in dispute, based upon certain preliminaries that had been previously communicated by the allies to the Russian government and accepted by it. These preliminaries consisted of four articles, the substance of which was as follows:—*1st*, To abolish the exclusive protectorate exercised by Russia over Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, and henceforward to place the privileges accorded by the sultan to these principalities under the collective guarantee of the five powers; *2nd*, To give all the development possible to the free navigation of the Danube, for which purpose it would be necessary to place it under the control of a syndicate authority, invested with powers necessary to destroy the obstructions existing at the mouth of that river. *3rd*, To revise the treaty of July 13th, 1841, with the object of connecting the existence of the Ottoman empire more completely with the European equilibrium, and to put an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea; *4th*, Russia to renounce any official protectorate of the Christian subjects of the sultan, the allies affording their mutual co-operation in obtaining from the Ottoman government the confirmation and the observance of the religious privileges of the different Christian communities, without distinction of sect. The conference, after sitting for about six weeks, dissolved, having been unable to come to any satisfactory arrangement on the third point. Afterwards Count Buol-Schauenstein, the Austrian plenipotentiary, summoned the members to meet again on the 4th of June, to consider a proposition which it was believed might lead to an

amicable settlement of the point in dispute. This was, instead of a mere one-sided limitation of the power of Russia in the Black Sea, to have an equality of the naval forces which each of the two coast powers should keep up in the Black Sea, and which should not exceed the actual number of Russian ships in that sea. This arrangement was to be entered into by the two powers between themselves, but was, nevertheless, to form an integral part of the general treaty. The French and English plenipotentiaries, M. Drouyn de Lhuys and Lord John Russell, had both left Vienna, but they had expressed themselves favorable this arrangement. The proposal, however, did not meet with the favorable consideration of their governments, which saw no likelihood of a satisfactory peace being arrived at in that way. M. Drouyn de Lhuys accordingly resigned or was deprived of his office; and the conduct of Lord John Russell having given rise to a vote of censure being moved, that minister resigned his seat in the cabinet on the 16th of July.

During this time war continued to be actively prosecuted. In front of the Malakoff, and between it and the trenches of the allies, was a slight elevation, the possession of which was of great importance to either party. This the besieged succeeded in taking possession of on the night of the 9th of March, unknown to the allies, who were next morning disagreeably surprised to see it occupied by works which were hourly gaining strength. This was afterwards known to the allies as the Mamelon. On the second night after its occupation a vigorous attempt was made by the French to dislodge the enemy but without success. The Russians lost no time in sinking a number of pits before and on each side of their new acquisition, to serve as cover for riflemen, who became a source of great annoyance to the French. On the night of the 17th of March, the French made another attempt to take the Mamelon. They succeeded in carrying the first and part of the second line of pits

but the heavy fire of the Russian musketry forced them to retire. On the night of the 22d of March,—a dark and windy night,—a large body of the Russians issued silently from the Mamelon, and reached the advanced parallel of the French unobserved. After a short but severe struggle, the French were obliged to fall back on their reserves. The Russians then marched rapidly along the parallel to attack the English trenches. Here they were met by detachments of the 97th and 77th regiments, which gallantly stood their ground, and drove back the Russians at the point of the bayonet. At the same time, the French, having rallied, fell upon them, and pursued them so far that they were enabled to level and destroy a number of the rifle-pits along their front.

At daybreak on the morning of the 9th of April, the second bombardment of Sevastopol commenced, and was continued for several days, but without any decisive result. In the beginning of May the Sardinian troops began to arrive at Balaklava, and considerably strengthened the hands of the allies. About the middle of this month a change took place in the command of the French Army, and General Canrobert was succeeded by General Pelissier, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in the Algerine wars. General Canrobert, with true soldier spirit, requested to be still permitted to take part in the war, and obtained the command of a division. On the night of the 2d of May the French had taken by storm the Russian counter-approaches in front of the central bastion, and the enemy then, to impede their progress and take their attacks in flank, began to construct new lines of counter approach on the Quarantine side, connecting by a gabionnade their ambuscades at the extremity of the bay with those of the cemetery, and forming a continuous covered way between this work and the right lunette of the central bastion. This would have enabled them to make powerful sorties by assorting large bodies of men behind the defences. The French general therefore de

terminated to carry these works; and accordingly an assault was arranged to take place on the night of the 22d of May. Two simultaneous attacks were organized,—one on the ambuscades at the bottom of the bay, the other on the ambuscades of the cemetery, by the south-east angle of that inclosure. The Russians seemed quite prepared for the attack, and were awaiting it in great force. The first time the French were repulsed with great loss, but a second attack on the following night dislodged the Russians from their trenches and sent them flying in all directions.

On the 22d of May an expedition, comprising 3800 English, under Sir George Brown, 7500 French, under General d'Aumaire, and about 5000 Turks, was despatched for Kertch and the Straits of Yenikale, whence large supplies were constantly pouring into Sevastopol. As soon as they made their appearance before Kertch the enemy fled, blowing up their fortifications and destroying immense stores of provisions. Anapa was also abandoned; and large stores of provisions were destroyed at Genitchi, Berdiansk, Arabat, and Taganrog on the Don. The object of the expedition being thus fully accomplished, the troops were re-embarked about the 12th of June, with the exception of those left in garrison at Yenikale and Pavlovskaia, the latter commanding the entrance to the strait at a point where it is narrowed by a sandbank to about a mile and a half across.

The third bombardment of Sevastopol commenced in the afternoon of the 6th of June, and next evening simultaneous attacks were made by the French upon the Mamelon and White Works, and by the English on the Quarries. These were in each case successful. The French had to traverse a considerable extent of open space, exposed to a terrible fire of artillery and musketry, but this did not for a moment check the impetuosity of their attack. Within the redoubts a determined struggle took place, and continued for an hour before the Russians were

driven out of the works. The French pursued them as far as the Malakoff, and even made an attempt to storm that work, but this not having been previously calculated upon, their force was insufficient for that purpose, and they had to retire under a terrific fire from the enemy. In this affair they took 62 guns and 400 prisoners, of whom fourteen were officers. The English were equally successful in their attack upon the Quarries, which they carried in the most determined and gallant manner, and kept their ground in spite of repeated attacks by the Russians to dispossess them. The possession of these works materially strengthened the position of the allies; and it was resolved to follow up the success by an attack on the Malakoff and Redan. Accordingly, during the whole of the 17th a vigorous fire was kept up by the allies upon the town, and it was arranged to make the assault after a two hours' fire the following morning. At the suggestion of Pelissier, however, this part of the arrangement was departed from, and the attack was to commence at three o'clock in the morning at a signal from the French general. Unfortunately, General Mayran, who had the command of one of the divisions of the French army, mistook a blazing fuse for the rocket-signal that had been agreed upon as the notice for a general advance, and immediately gave the order for attack. They were immediately assailed by an overwhelming shower of ball and grape, not only from the works, but also from the enemy's steamers in the harbour. Advance was impossible but not one step did they retreat; while the other divisions rushed forward to support this premature movement. They reached and scaled with impetuous gallantry the entrenchment which connected the Karabelnaia ravine with the Malakoff, and succeeded in penetrating the *enceinte* itself. But in the meantime the English attack on the Redan had failed, and the French, deprived of their simultaneous support, and exposed to a crushing fire of artillery from the Redan and other works, were compelled to give way. The retrea

commenced about half-past eight o'clock, and was carried out with order and coolness, without any attempt at pursuit on the part of the enemy. In their attack upon the Redan, the English, as soon as they showed themselves beyond the trenches, were assailed by a most murderous fire of grape and musketry. General Eyre was despatched, at the head of a body of 2000 men, for the purpose of making a demonstration at the head of Dockyard Creek, and withdrawing the attention of the enemy from the real object of assault. He found the enemy strongly posted between a cemetery on their left and a mound or hillock on their right, and protected by stone walls in front. This position, however, was gallantly carried under a heavy fire. The English troops held their ground until the evening, and then retired unmolested. While the assault was going on several of the vessels of the allies opened fire upon the town and its sea defences, but with little effect. The English army now sustained a severe loss in the death of its commander, Lord Raglan, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His strength and energies had been taxed to the utmost during the whole of the Crimean war, and the failure of the attack on the 18th is believed to have preyed upon his spirit, vexed as it no doubt must have been by the previous unfavourable comments upon his conduct at home. He had been unwell for some days, but before the evening of the 28th no danger was apprehended by his medical attendants. Alarming symptoms, however, then showed themselves; he became unconscious, and sank rapidly until he expired, in the course of a few hours. He was succeeded in the command by General Simpson. On the 16th of August the Russians made another desperate effort to raise the siege. This was by the covering army under the command of General Liprandi, which had remained inactive since the battle of Inkermann, but had recently been largely augmented by re-inforcements. For some days rumors of a premeditated attack on the part of the Russians had been current,

and at daybreak on the morning of the 16th they advanced against the English lines on the Tchernaya, where the French and Sardinians were posted, to whom belongs the entire glory of the victory, though they received some assistance from an English battery.

The French lines of approach had now been advanced so near the Malakoff, and the loss of life was daily increasing to such an extent, as to render it necessary either to take the work or retire to a greater distance. Accordingly on the 5th of September a terrific cannonade was opened and kept up till noon of the 8th, the time of the attack. At noon precisely the French rushed upon the Malakoff, and by this time almost all the Russian guns that bore upon the attack had been silenced. They crossed the ditches with surprising agility, and climbing on the parapets attacked the enemy to the cry of "Vive l'Empereur." At the fort of Malakoff, the slopes on the inside being very high, they stopped for a moment in order to form, and then mounted on the parapet and leaped into the work. The contest, which had commenced by musket-shots, was continued with the bayonet, with the butt-ends, and stones; and in a quarter of an hour the French flag was floating on the conquered redoubt. This was the signal for the British troops to attack the Redan. The assaulting column consisted of only 1000 men, preceded by a covering party of 200, and a ladder party of 320 men. They had 220 yards of ground to cross under a very heavy fire of grape, and this space was soon covered with slain. Nevertheless, this did not impede their progress; and as they came nearer the salient the enemy's fire became less fatal. They crossed the abattis without difficulty, and made straight for the salient and projecting angle of the Redan. The ditch here was about fifteen feet deep, but the men, led by their officers, leaped into it, and scrambled up the other side, whence they scaled the parapet almost without opposition. The few Russians who were in front ran back and got behind their traverses and breastworks, and opened fire upon them.

On reaching the parapet, the men unfortunately began loading and file-firing, instead of following their officers and attacking the breastworks. The Russians now flocked to the traverses, whence they kept up a heavy fire on the men getting over the parapet or through the embrasures; and thus so many were killed and wounded that no sufficient force was left of the first arrivals to make a rush across the open space which lay between the salient and the traverses. For nearly two hours did the troops maintain this unequal contest before they abandoned the Redan and gave up the attempt. French attacks had also been directed against the Little Redan on the right and the central bastion on the left, but these were also unsuccessful. In both cases the French succeeded in penetrating within the works, but they found themselves exposed to such a murderous fire from all sides that they were obliged to give way. The struggle for the possession of the Malakoff was long and deadly, and again did the Russians attempt to retake it during the day, but without success. The English loss on that day amounted to 385 killed, 1886 wounded, and 176 missing; the French loss to 1489 killed, 4259 wounded, and 1400 missing. The Russians, according to their own account, loss 2684 killed, 7243 wounded, and 1763 missing. The possession of the Malakoff rendered the south side of the town quite untenable; so that the enemy, finding every effort to retake it unavailing, began in the evening to evacuate the town. During the night they exploded their magazines, blew up their fortifications, and set fire to the town. The ships, frigates, and other sailing-vessels were all sunk, with the exception of the steamers. Next morning the allies found the town deserted and in ruins. The walls of the houses attested the force and effect of the terrible bombardment, hardly a building remaining intact from shot or shell. The number of cannon and the quantity of the materials of war obtained was immense. The French took possession of the eastern and the English of the western part of the town.

On the 29th September a body of French cavalry put to flight a strong body of Russian horse at Koughell, five leagues N. E. of Eupatoria.

On the 17th of October Kinburn surrendered to the allied fleet, after a short bombardment. This fortress is situated on a low promontory at the entrance of a gulf into which flow the Boug and the Dnieper. On the opposite side of the gulf, and about two miles and a half distant, is Oczakoff, which the Russians blew up and evacuated on the allies getting possession of Kinburn. The possession of these forts was of the utmost importance to the allies, as they thus commanded the sea-approach to Kherson on the Dnieper, and Nicolaieff, the naval arsenal of the Black Sea, on the Boug. The English troops soon after embarked for the Crimea, leaving a French force to garrison the forts. Soon after, a detachment of vessels from the allied fleet lying at Kerteh took and destroyed the Russian establishments at Taman and Fanagoria.

On the 10th of November General Simpson resigned the command of the English army, and was succeeded by General Sir William Codrington. On the 15th of the same month a terrible explosion of 100,000 pounds of powder took place in the French siege-train, destroying an immense quantity of stores, and killing twenty-one and wounding 116 of the English and a still greater number of the French. On the 12th of this month the Emperor of Russia reviewed his troops in the Crimea; and soon after an imperial *ukase* was published, announcing a new Russian loan of fifty millions of silver roubles.

This year the allied fleet in the Baltic was as barren of great results as last year. The utmost indignation was excited in England by the news of a boat, landing some prisoners under a flag of truce, having been attacked, and its crew either killed or taken prisoners. The facts were these:—On the 5th of June H.M.S. *Cossack*, when off Hango Point, despatched a cutter with a flag of truce to land

some prisoners taken on board of some merchant vessels. After landing the prisoners, the officer in command, with several of the boat's crew, proceeded to communicate with the officer of the station, carrying the flag of truce along with them. They had not proceeded more than fifty yards from the boat when they were suddenly fired upon by Russian soldiers in ambush, and at the same time those in the boat were also attacked. Of the crew of eleven, six were killed and four badly wounded. The survivors were carried to Eekness (except one of the wounded, who made his escape in the boat), where they were treated with great kindness; but no satisfaction was obtained for this inhuman outrage.

The allied fleet, consisting of forty vessels, lay for more than three weeks off the north side of Cronstadt without attempting any hostile movement, and afterwards Admiral Baynes was left in command of a strong squadron there. One division of this squadron advanced along the north side of the island of Cronstadt, until it casts anchor within five miles of the town and shipping, and in view of the spires of St. Petersburg. This part of the channel was found to be thickly studded with "infernal machines," which were taken up in large numbers by the boats. The only operation of importance effected this year by the allied fleet in the Baltic was the destruction of Sweaborg, which protects the great naval station of Helsingfors. The allied fleet arrived off Sweaborg on the 6th of August, and the two following days were spent in making preparations for the attack. The French had established a siege battery of four mortars on the small island of Abraham, within 2500 yards of the forts. They opened fire on the morning of the 9th, and in less than three hours the shells were observed to cause considerable damage in the fortress. Numerous fires broke out on several points at the same time, and the flames were soon seen to rise above the dome of the church situated in the northern part of the island of Est-Swato. A monster ex-

plosion soon after took place, and was followed by three others in the course of half an hour. The bombardment was kept up till the morning of the 11th, and during that time Sweaborg presented the appearance of a vast fiery furnace. Storehouses, magazines, barracks, government establishments, and a great quantity of military stores were all destroyed. The loss on the side of the allies was confined to one English sailor killed and a few slightly wounded. Nothing further of any moment was attempted by the allied fleet; and on the approach of winter the main body returned home, leaving a flying squadron to continue the blockade until the ice rendered the sea impassable by vessels.

We now turn to the seat of war in Asia. We left the Turkish army at Kars in the end of last year, and it was not till the 16th of June that the Russians made their first attack on that town. The Russian army was now nearly 40,000 strong, including 10,000 cavalry, and was under the command of General Mouravieff. The cavalry drove in the Bashi-Bazooks, who were posted in the plain to the southeast of the city, but were checked and thrown into disorder by a well-directed fire from the batteries of the Koradah and Hafiz Pasha. They subsequently brought up their artillery and cannonaded the earthworks of those defences for some time without effect, and then retired. They, however, invested the fortress and works so as to cut off all supplies.

In the end of July Lieutenant-Colonel Williams was sent out by the English government to act as her majesty's commissioner at the headquarters of the Turkish army in Asia, and reached Kars about the middle of September. No attempt was made by the Russians to carry the place by assault until the morning of the 29th of September. At daybreak on that day they advanced in three columns, supported by twenty-four guns, and attacked three different parts of the defences. The garrison received them, as soon as they came within range, by a crushing fire of artillery from all sides, but the Russians rushed

up the hill against the redoubts and breast-works in the face of a deadly fire of musketry. After a long and desperate struggle, the left division was completely broken, and fled in disorder down the hill, leaving 850 men dead on the field, besides those carried off by their companions. The central column attacked the redoubts of Tahmasb and Yukseh, and here a sanguinary contest was maintained for several hours, the enemy being repulsed in all his attempts to enter the closed redoubts, which mutually flanked each other with their artillery and musketry, and made terrible havoc among the enemy. After a severe struggle, the right column turned the left flank of the entrenched wing of the Tahmasb defences, and penetrated to the rear of the Turkish position. They were here met by several bodies of reinforcements which immediately fired upon them, and then charged them with the bayonet. At the same moment the Turkish troops made a sortie from the Tahmasb redoubts and attacked the wavering column of the Russians, which broke and fled down the heights, under a murderous fire of artillery. Meanwhile the Russians had captured, by overwhelming numbers, that portion of the defences called the English tabias, or redoubts; but battalions of infantry were sent up, which gallantly attacked and drove them out at the point of the bayonet. The Russians now hastily retreated along the whole line, and suffered severely from the batteries, which kept up an incessant fire upon their crowded columns. The Turkish army lost 362 dead, and 631 wounded; and the towns-people, who also fought with bravery, lost 101 men.

Notwithstanding this bloody repulse the Russians continued their blockade of the town, and at length the garrison was reduced to the greatest distress. After the most dire sufferings, and seeing no appearance of relief, they at length agreed to surrender. The conditions agreed to were highly honorable to the besieged, and the whole conduct of General Mouravieff was honorable and courteous towards his unfortunate foes.

Before the close of the year 1855 Russia had given indications that she was desirous for peace; and Austria, doubtless feeling that she could not much longer remain, as she had hitherto done, an almost passive spectator of the war, strained every nerve to bring the opposing powers to terms. Accordingly, in the month of December Count Esterhazy was sent by the Court of Vienna to St. Petersburg with certain proposals for peace which would be consented to by the allies. These proposals were acceded to by Russia, and a meeting of representatives took place at Vienna on the 1st of February. It was then agreed that plenipotentiaries from each of the six states should assemble at Paris on the 26th of February. Prussia was also invited to send representatives to the conference. The conference opened on that day, and their first business was to declare an armistice, which was to cease, if not renewed, on the 31st of March next. The conference lasted until the 30th of March, on which day the treaty of peace was definitely signed, but the ratifications were not exchanged until the 27th of April following. The substance of the treaty of peace was:— That the territories conquered or occupied by the respective belligerent powers be evacuated and restored; that prisoners of war be immediately delivered up on either side, and full and entire amnesty granted to those subjects of either party that may have been compromised by connection with the enemy. Each and all of the other states engage to respect and maintain the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire, and declare the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe. In the event of a misunderstanding between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other contracting powers, each engages to submit the cause of quarrel to the others before having recourse to arms. The sultan records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire; and intimates his having issued a firman with the view to amelio-

rate the condition of his subjects, without respect to sect or race,—it being, however, clearly understood that none of the other powers shall have right to interfere in the relations of his majesty with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire. The Convention of 1841, which maintained the right of the sultan to close the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to all foreign ships of war is confirmed, reserving always to the sultan the right to grant firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war employed in the service of the missions of foreign powers; or stationed, according to treaty, at the mouths of the Danube (in number not exceeding two for each power) to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river. The waters and ports of the Black Sea are thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, the two bordering powers engaging not to establish or maintain any military-marine arsenal upon the coast. These two powers further mutually engage each not to have in that sea more ships of war than six steam vessels of fifty metres (164 feet) in length at the line of floatation, of a tonnage of 800 tons at the maximum, and four light steam or sailing vessels of a tonnage which shall not exceed 200 tons each. The navigation of the Danube shall be free to the flags of all nations, in accordance with the principles established by the act of the Congress of Vienna to regulate the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different states. The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia to continue under the suzerainty of the Porte, which engages to preserve to them an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, legislation, commerce and navigation. The laws and statutes at present in force to be revised by a special commission, to meet at Bucharest without delay; and the sultan to convoke immediately in each of the two provinces a divan *ad hoc*, representing most closely all classes of society, to express the wishes of the people in regard

to the organization of the Principalities. The report of the commission having regard to the opinions expressed by the two divans, shall be submitted to a convention to meet at Paris, and in conformity with the stipulations of that convention, a hatti-sheriff shall constitute definitively the organizations of those provinces. No exclusive protection shall, however, be exercised over them by any of the other contracting powers, nor shall there be any separate right of interference in their international affairs. If the internal tranquillity of the Principalities shall be menaced or compromised, the Sublime Porte shall come to an understanding with the other contracting powers regarding the steps to be taken to restore peace, and no armed intervention shall take place without their sanction. The principality of Servia to continue to hold of the Sublime Porte, in conformity with the imperial hattis, which fix and determine its rights and immunities, under the collective guarantee of the contracting powers. A commission, consisting of two Russian, two Turkish, one French and one English Commissioners, to be appointed to settle the boundary between Russia and Turkey in Asia, as before the war. The Emperor of Russia further engaged to France and England that the Aland Islands should not be fortified, or any military or naval establishment maintained or created there.

Several disputes subsequently arose regarding the interpretation of certain parts of this treaty, all of which, however, were at length satisfactorily arranged, and a treaty in these terms was signed at Paris, on the 19th of June, 1857, by representatives of the several powers.

The final evacuation of the Crimea took place on the 12th of July, on which day Sevastopol and Balaklava were formally given up to the Russians. The coronation of the emperor took place at Moscow on the 7th of September, under circumstances of extraordinary splendor, and was attended by special representatives from all the powers





Churcandoff
Emperor Alexander 2nd of Russia

with which Russia had been recently at war.

The war in the Caucasus, to which allusion has already been made, appeared to come to an end with the capture of the Circassian chief Schamyl, in 1859. The Russian government indeed attached so much importance to the pacification of this province, that the day on which Schamyl was taken was established as a public festival, in commemoration of the close of the war of fifty years in the Eastern Caucasus. The peace, however, was of short duration, the people soon rose again, and in the summer of 1863 inflicted some defeats upon the imperial troops.

The most important event in the recent history of Russia is the emancipation of the serfs. The abolition of serfdom, a part of the feudal system which has survived in Russia long after its extinction in the other parts of Europe, was contemplated by the later emperors, and at last consummated by Alexander II. in 1861. The Russian peasantry were thus relieved from the almost absolute slavery to the owners of the soil, which had been their former lot, and the preservation of their rights now granted to them was guaranteed by the establishment of tribunals for the judgment of their complaints. Recent travellers in Russia, however, do not speak very well of the effect of this step upon the people, they say that it has been followed by a decline in the industry of the peasants, who, now that they are no longer forced to work, have fallen into habits of idleness, and are more addicted than before to drunkenness, the prevailing vice of the lower classes in Russia; and they attribute this want of immediate good results from the measure, to the neglect of popular education.

By a treaty with China, about this time, Russia acquired possession of a large tract of land on the river Amoor, adjoining the territory already under her dominion on the Pacific. In 1860 the invasion of the empire by the Kirgheez, of the valley of the river Chui, gave an opportunity to the emperor to extend his boundaries in Asia. The in-

vaders were repulsed, and their fortresses seized and held as a basis for future advances to the south.

The year 1863 was memorable for the outbreak of another insurrection of the Polish people, or of that portion of them under the power of the czar. The immediate cause of the uprising was the merciless system of conscription introduced by the Russian government. In the beginning of that year the old plan of drawing the conscripts by lot was abandoned, and the authorities selected at their own pleasure, from the population of the cities, the men that appeared to them best fitted for the service, or most desirable to withdraw from their own country. In fact, the government had information of a conspiracy, and adopted this way of quietly banishing its leaders. This design was put into execution under the direction of the Grand-duke Constantine. When it was first threatened, a secret and invisible body, called the Central Committee, issued clandestine publications to the people urging them to resistance. At midnight, on the 14th of January, the police agents and soldiers commenced the conscription at Warsaw. They surrounded the houses noted down in their list, and a detachment entered each house to seize the men designated to serve; in the absence of the young man, his parents were seized as guarantees for his appearance. During the night, 2,500 were thus carried off. Next day thousands of young men had taken flight. The Central Committee issued a manifesto calling upon them to form themselves into armed bands in the different districts, and Russian troops were sent after them to capture or destroy them. A revolt immediately burst out in several of the principal towns. The Committee demanded the Polish Marquis Wielopolski, who was formerly governor of Warsaw, and who now supported the conscription, as a traitor to his country, and exhorted the Poles to resist Russian tyranny to the last extremity.

It is impossible to give a detailed account of the progress of the insurrection; the

whole of Russian-Poland was in a vast conspiracy against the government; and the insurgents, without plan or combination, wherever they could assemble in sufficient numbers, fought with the fury of despair against their oppressors. They sought refuge in the gloomy depths of the forests, from which they issued to cut off detachments, or engage in furious combat with far superior forces, and in some instances gained signal victories over the regular troops of Russia. The railway officials were heart and soul in the movement, and did all in their power secretly to assist it, by transporting combatants in disguise, and misleading the Russians as to the whereabouts of their enemies. And in the midst of all, and pervading all like a deadly atmosphere, was the invisible power of the Central Committee, which issued its mandates for assassination and directed the machinery of the revolt, defying all the practical vigilance of the Russian police to discover who were its members, or where they held their meetings. To induce the peasantry to join in the movement, the committee declared by a proclamation that all the land they held by rent or otherwise should become their freehold property. In the beginning of the revolt, the most distinguished leader was Langiswicz, formerly an officer in the army of Garibaldi; he was nominated by the Committee Dictator of Poland; and the Committee for a time resigned their functions to him. After a desperate encounter with the Russian army in the Spring, he suddenly disappeared, giving as his reason that the presence of the enemy's spies in the ranks of his command rendered his departure necessary. He soon after gave himself up to the Austrian authorities, and was conveyed to the citadel of Cracow. In March the Poles issued a manifesto to the European nations, calling for sympathy and help. A proclamation issued by the emperor, offering a general amnesty to all who should lay down their arms, was treated with contempt, and the Central Committee declared that even if the promises of Russia could be be-

lieved, the Poles would be satisfied with nothing less than their complete independence. The governments of England and France endeavored throughout the year to procure conciliatory measures from the Imperial government, but owing to the position taken by Poland, and the determination of the emperor, in which he was supported by his whole people, to crush out the rebellion with fire and sword, their remonstrances, confined merely to diplomatic suggestions, were of little avail.

Upon the appointment of General Bergas, military commander of Warsaw, a desperate attempt was made to assassinate him. As he was driving through the Cracow suburbs, and had reached a large building which formed part of the Zamoyski palace, shots were fired and several bombs were thrown, which burst in front of his carriage. No one was hurt, but the Zamoyski palace, (whose proprietor was absent,) was sacked, the rich furniture and valuable manuscripts which it contained were burnt, and the buildings confiscated and turned into military barracks. At the close of the year, the Grand-duke Constantine applied to be relieved from his post, on the plea of ill health. The Emperor, in his letter accepting the resignation, reproached the Polish people with ingratitude in return for the testimonial of affection which he had shown in sending his beloved brother to rule over them.

The revolution did not long survive the close of the year 1863. In the early months of that year the insurgents obtained some trifling success, but they were obliged to yield to the overpowering forces of the empire. The revolution may be said to have terminated with the discovery of the heads of the Central Committee, who were convicted, and the five leaders hanged at Warsaw on the 5th of August. The sentences upon the others were commuted to hard labor and imprisonment. Statistics published by the Russian government gave the loss of the insurgents during the whole struggle as 30,000 killed and severely wounded; 361

condemned to death by military tribunals, and 85,000 transported to Siberia. About 10,000 Poles found an asylum abroad.

The suppression of the uprising was followed by more liberal measures in regard to Poland; the peasants were emancipated, a University was established at Warsaw, and other schools were founded in different parts of the country; the use of the national language was preserved, and the severity of the penal code was somewhat mitigated.

In this same year the struggle in the Caucasus was at last brought to an end. The Circassians gave up the conflict and followed their countrymen, who during the decline of their cause, had emigrated to Turkey, where the Sultan had granted them territory near the mouth of the Danube. Another triumph was soon after added to the imperial glory by the conquest of Toorkistan in Asia. The conquered country was made a Russian province.

Several steps towards the introduction of a constitutional form of government were also taken about this time. The reforms were begun in the grand duchy of Finland, where the emperor opened the diet with a speech, expressing his intention to develop liberal institutions in his dominions, and to begin with Finland. In the following year similar diets were convoked throughout the empire. These provincial diets consist of deputies elected by the district assemblies, composed of the representatives of the landed gentry, the towns and the villages. The Diet of the province of St. Petersburg met on the 9th of December, 1865. It consisted of 60 members, of whom one third were noblemen of German families. The first subject that came up for their consideration was the complaints of the district assemblies on account of the limitation of their powers. The Diet, however, deemed it prudent not to present these petitions to the emperor. A determined resistance to these measures of reform and constitutionalism was made, as might have been expected, by the nobility. They represented these democratic tendencies as threatening the stability of the govern-

ment. These remonstrances, however, met with a severe rebuke from the czar.

The royal family of Russia was thrown into deep affliction by the death of the heir to the throne, the Grand Duke Nicholas Alexandrovitch at Nice, on the 24th of April, 1865. But a few weeks before his death his betrothal to the Princess Dagmar of Denmark, had been announced in Russia.

Meanwhile the work of reorganization went on in Poland, and the orders of the Russian government now showed the intention of the emperor to crush out, if possible, every vestige of nationality. The several local branches of the government were abolished, and the administration given over to the ministry at St. Petersburg. The office of governor of Poland was dispensed with. The schools for teaching the national languages were preserved as serving to foster the spirit of dissension among the Poles, by keeping apart the Lithuanians, Livonians, etc. An imperial decree forbade the sale of land to a Pole or a Roman Catholic. The public use of the Polish language was strictly prohibited. About the same time the laws in reference to the press were made more stringent throughout the empire, and special enactments made the censorship more rigorous in Finland than in the other provinces.

In the month of April, 1866, a Russian landowner, named Karakosoff, made an attempt to assassinate the emperor, by firing at him with a pistol, as he was about to enter his carriage after a walk in the summer garden at St. Petersburg. A peasant who was standing by saw the man raise the pistol to fire, and in the same moment struck his arm up and made him miss his aim. The assassin was seized, and with difficulty saved from the crowd who were represented as ready to tear him to pieces. The peasant who saved the emperor's life received a title of nobility. At the trial of Karakosoff, thirty-four persons were convicted of complicity in the affair, and Schuhis, who founded the society of communists in Russia, was condemned to death for having incited Kar-

akosoff to the attempt. An address of congratulation to the czar, on his fortunate escape, was voted by the congress of the United States, and Mr. Fox, the assistant secretary of the navy, was charged with the duty of presenting it. The emperor in reply sent a letter of acknowledgment to President Johnson full of the warmest protestations of sympathy with the United States.

The advance of Russia in Central Asia went on without much resistance during the year. There were outbreaks in the Caucasus and among the Polish exiles in Siberia, which were suppressed with little difficulty. The convention with Rome in 1857, was broken off by an imperial ukase, and the Catholics in Russia left to the civil authority. In this year also the sale of Russian America to the United States was effected.

Since the events that we have spoken of, little of interest has occurred in Russia. The whole force of the empire is devoted to the Russification of her provinces, that is, the suppression of every element of nationality that may have survived the centuries of oppression to which they have hitherto been

subjected. Every item of news that we now get from Russia, is merely the announcement of some old privilege abolished, and some new restriction imposed. Not only in Poland is this rigid system pursued, but even in the Baltic provinces, and in Central Asia. Wherever the Russian flag is carried, the yoke of a foreign despotism is imposed upon the people; their national privileges and languages are suppressed, and they are compelled to receive the laws and speak the tongue of their conquerors. At St. Helena Napoleon prophesied, that Europe would become either republican or Cossack. His prediction, as far as it relates to the eastern portion, now appears about to be realized. England, Austria and the powers that joined in the Holy Alliance, when they view the growing power and the threatening encroachments of Russia, may well regret the failure of the Russian campaign, and long for the return of another hero, like the victor of Austerlitz, to shatter the dark cloud of Tartar domination, that casts its suffocating gloom over half the Eastern Hemisphere.

SWEDEN.

THE early history of Sweden, like that of most other countries, is involved in fable. Some historians pretend to give regular lists of the kings who reigned over this country from very early times, but these differ so much from each other, that no degree of credit is to be given to any of them. It is generally agreed that Christianity was first established here in the beginning of the eleventh century, by Olaf, surnamed Skotkonung; but different lists of kings are given down to the twelfth century. This may be partly accounted for from there being sometimes two kings reigning in the country at the same time, one over the Goths, the other over the Swedes, and sometimes either of these races would have two kings ruling over them.

On the death of Inge II. in 1129, the Swedes conferred the royal dignity on a private individual, named Swerker I.; and to conciliate the Goths, who supported the claims of Eric, descended from a female branch of the royal family, it was agreed that Eric should succeed Swerker, and that afterward the representatives of each of the two families should reign alternately. Accordingly, on the death of Swerker in 1155, Eric ascended the throne, and signalized his reign by the subjection of the Fins and the establishment of Christianity among them, and by the compilation of a code of laws. The arrangement come to with respect to the succession led, as might have been expected, to endless disputes, but the or-

der was observed with several succeeding sovereigns. About the year 1319, Magnus Smeek, then an infant, ascended the throne, and subsequently, in right of his mother, succeeded to the crown of Norway. In 1343, he was deposed by the diet, and his son Eric raised to the throne, but on the death of the latter, in 1359, he was restored. He established his son Haquin in Norway, and induced him to marry Margaret, daughter of Waldemar IV., king of Denmark; and having strengthened himself by his connection with these states, he attempted to obtain absolute power in Sweden by abolishing the senate. The Swedes, however, immediately rose in defence of their liberties, expelled Magnus, and elected Albert, second son of the Duke of Mecklenburg, in his room. Albert soon after entered into a league, offensive and defensive, with the Earl of Holstein, the Jutland nobility, the Dukes of Schleswig, Mecklenburg and the Hanse Towns, against the Kings of Denmark and Norway. At that time he proved very successful against Waldemar, king of Denmark, driving him entirely out of his dominions; but he himself was defeated by the King of Norway, who laid siege to his capital. A new treaty was soon afterwards concluded, by which Albert was allowed to enjoy the crown of Sweden in peace. Having, however, formed a design of rendering himself absolute, he so displeased his subjects that Margaret of Norway was proclaimed queen of Sweden by the malcontents. A war immediately en-

sued, in which Albert was defeated and taken prisoner; but as the princes of Mecklenburg, the earls of Holstein and the Hanse Towns entered into a league in his favor, the war raged with more fury than ever. At length the contending parties were reconciled. Albert was set at liberty, on condition that he should in three years resign to Margaret all pretensions to the city of Stockholm; and the Hanse Towns engaged to pay the sum of 60,000 marks of silver if Albert should break that treaty. Eric, the son of Albert, died not long afterwards; and having no other child, he did not think it worth his while to contend for the kingdom of Sweden; he therefore acquiesced in the pretensions of Margaret, and passed the remainder of his days at Mecklenburg.

Margaret died in 1415, and was succeeded by Eric of Pomerania. This prince's reign was cruel and oppressive. His misdeeds produced a revolt; and Charles Canutson, grand marshal of Sweden and governor of Finland, having joined the malcontents, was declared commander-in-chief of their army. Eric was now formally deposed, and Canutson was chosen regent; but beginning to oppress the people, and aspiring openly to the crown, the Swedes and Danes revolted. This event was followed by a general revolution; and Christopher, duke of Bavaria, nephew to Eric, was chosen king of Denmark, Sweden and Norway in 1442.

On the accession of this prince, complaints against Canutson were presented from all quarters; but through the interest of his friends he escaped punishment; and in 1448, Christopher having died, after a tyrannical reign of about five years, he was raised to the throne to which he had so long aspired. The kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, however, refused allegiance to him, and a war immediately ensued. In 1454 peace was concluded, and Denmark for the time freed from the Swedish yoke. Nor did Canutson long enjoy the crown of Sweden. Having quarrelled with the magistrates and the Archbishop of Upsala, the latter formed

so strong a party that the king could not resist him. Canutson died in 1470, after a long and turbulent reign.

The affairs of Sweden continued to be involved in the utmost confusion till the year 1520, when a great revolution was effected by Gustavus Ericson, a nobleman of the first rank, who restored the kingdom to its liberty, and laid the foundation of its future grandeur. In 1518, Christiern, king of Denmark, had invaded Sweden, with a design to subdue the whole country; but being defeated with great loss by young Steen Sture, at that time regent, he set sail for Denmark. Meeting with contrary winds, he made several descents on the Swedish coast, which he ravaged with all the fury of an incensed barbarian. The inhabitants bravely defended themselves, and Christiern was reduced to the utmost distress. He then thought of a stratagem which had almost proved fatal to the regent, for having invited him to a conference, at which he designed either to assassinate or take him prisoner, Sture was about to comply, when the senate, who suspected the plot, interposed to prevent him. Christiern then offered to proceed in person to Stockholm in order to confer with Sture, on condition that six hostages should be sent to his place. They were accordingly sent; but the wind happening then to prove favorable, he set sail for Denmark with the hostages, of whom Gustavus Ericson was one. Next year he returned, and having drawn Sture into an ambush, the regent received a wound, of which he died some time after. The kingdom being thus left without a head, matters soon came to the most desperate crisis. The army disbanded itself; and the senate, instead of taking proper measures to oppose the enemy, spent their time in idle debates. Christiern in the mean time advanced into the heart of the kingdom, destroying everything with fire and sword; but on his arrival at Stragnez, he granted a suspension of arms, on condition that they would elect him king. To this condition they submitted, and Christiern proved one of the most bloody tyrants

that ever sat on the throne of any kingdom. Immediately after his coronation, he gave grand entertainments for three days; during which time he projected the diabolical design of extirpating at once all the Swedish nobility, and thus forever preventing the people from revolting, by depriving them of their proper leaders. As the tyrant had signed articles by which he promised indemnity to all who had borne arms against him, it became necessary to invent some cause of offence against those whom he intended to destroy. To accomplish his purpose, Gustavus Trolle, formerly archbishop of Upsala, but who had been degraded from that dignity, in an oration before his majesty lamented the demolition of Steeka, his place of residence, and the losses sustained by the see of Upsala, amounting to a very large sum of money. He then proceeded in a bitter accusation against the widow and the son-in-law of Sture, the late regent, comprehending in the same accusation about fifteen of the principal nobility, the whole senate and the burghers of Stockholm. In consequence of this, about eighty of the principal nobility and people of the first rank in Sweden, among whom was the father of Gustavus Vasa, were hanged as traitors. Innumerable other cruelties were committed, part of which are owned by the Danish historians, and the whole are minutely related by those of Sweden. At last he departed for Denmark, ordering gibbets to be erected, and causing the peasants to be hanged on them for the slightest offences.

This monstrous cruelty, instead of securing him on the throne, exasperated the whole nation against him. It has already been mentioned, that Gustavus Ericson, or, as he is commonly called Gustavus Vasa, was among the number of the hostages whom Christiern had perfidiously carried to Denmark in 1519. At length he escaped from confinement and fled to Lübeck, which he in vain endeavored to gain over to his aid, and afterwards he took refuge in the mountains of Dalecarlia. A price being set upon his

head, and death threatened to every one who afforded him the least assistance, he was frequently reduced to the deepest distress. He wrought for some time as a laborer in the mines of Fahlun; and on more than one occasion he narrowly escaped detection. At length he seized a favorable opportunity to reveal himself at an annual feast of the peasantry, who were soon excited to enthusiasm in his cause, and instantly resolved to throw off the Danish yoke. Gustavus did not allow their ardor to cool, but instantly led them against the governor's castle, which he took by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. This considerable enterprise was attended with the most happy consequences. Great numbers of the peasants flocked to his standard; some of the gentry openly espoused his cause, and others supplied him with money. Christiern was soon informed of what had passed; but despising such an inconsiderable enemy, he sent only a slender detachment to assist his adherents in Dalecarlia. Gustavus advanced with 5000 men, and defeated a body of Danes; but he was strenuously opposed by the Archbishop of Upsala, who raised numerous forces for Christiern. The fortune of Gustavus, however, still prevailed, for the archbishop was defeated with great loss. Gustavus then laid siege to Stockholm; but his force being unequal to such an undertaking, he was compelled to abandon it with loss.

This check did not prove in any considerable degree detrimental to the affairs of Gustavus; the peasants from all parts of the kingdom flocked to his camp, and he was joined by a reinforcement from Lübeck. Christiern, unable to suppress the revolt, wreaked his vengeance on the mother and sisters of Gustavus, whom he put to death. His barbarities served only to make his enemies more resolute. Gustavus having assembled the states at Wadstena, he was unanimously chosen regent, the Diet taking an oath of fidelity to him, and promising to assist him to the utmost. Having thus obtained the sanction of legal authority, he

pursued his advantages against the Danes. A body of troops appointed to throw succors into Stockholm was cut into pieces; and the regent sending some forces into Finland, struck the Danes with such terror, that the Archbishop of Upsala, together with the Danish governors, fled to Denmark. Christiern then sent express orders to all his governors and officers in Finland and Sweden, to massacre the Swedish gentry without distinction. The Swedes made reprisals by massacring all the Danes that they could find, so that the country was filled with slaughter.

In the mean time Gustavus had laid siege to the towns of Calmar, Abo and Stockholm; but Norby found means to oblige him to retire with loss. Gustavus, in revenge, laid siege to the capital a third time, and applied to the regency of Lübeck for a squadron of ships and other succors for carrying on the siege. This request was granted on condition that Gustavus should oblige himself, in the name of the states, to pay 60,000 marks of silver as the expense of the armament; that, until the kingdom should be in a condition to pay that sum, the Lübeck merchants trading to Sweden should be exempted from all duties on imports or exports; that all other nations should be prohibited from trading with Sweden, and that such traffic should be deemed illicit; that Gustavus should neither conclude a peace, nor even agree to a truce, with Denmark, without the concurrence of the regency of Lübeck; and that if the republic should be attacked by Christiern, he should enter Denmark at the head of 20,000 men. On these hard terms Gustavus obtained assistance from the regency of Lübeck; nor did his dear-bought allies prove very faithful. They did not indeed transfer their services to his enemy; but in a sea-fight, where the Danes were entirely in their power, they suffered them to escape, when their whole force might have been entirely destroyed. This treachery had nearly ruined the affairs of Gustavus; for Norby was now making preparations effectually to

relieve Stockholm, and would probably have succeeded in the attempt, if at this critical period news had not arrived that the Danes had revolted and driven Christiern from the throne; and that the king had retired into Germany, in hopes of being restored by the arms of his brother-in-law the emperor. On hearing this intelligence, Norby retired with his whole fleet to the island of Gothland, leaving but a slender garrison in Calmar. Gustavus did not fail to improve this opportunity to his own advantage, and quickly made himself master of the town. In the meantime Stockholm continued closely invested, but he thought proper to protract the siege till he should be elected king. Having for this purpose called a general diet, he first filled up the vacancies in the senate occasioned by the massacres of Christiern. He had the address to procure the nomination of such as were in his interest. The assembly had no sooner met, than one of his partisans made a speech, containing the highest encomiums on Gustavus, setting forth in the strongest terms the many eminent services which he had rendered to his country, and concluding that the states would show themselves equally ungrateful and blind to their own interest if they did not immediately elect him king. This proposal was acceded to by such tumultuous acclamations that it was impossible to collect the votes; so that Gustavus himself acknowledged, that their affection exceeded his merit, and was more agreeable to him than the effects of their gratitude. He was urged to have the ceremony of his coronation immediately performed; but this he delayed, in consequence of some designs which he had formed to reduce the exorbitant power of the clergy. He had himself embraced the doctrines of the reformed religion, and did all in his power to establish the reformation in his new kingdom. His design could not fail to raise against him the enmity of the clergy, and of all the more superstitious part of his subjects. The first years of his reign were accordingly embittered by internal disturbances and re-

volts, which were aided and fomented by the deposed Christiern, who was at one time very near regaining possession of the Swedish dominions.

Christiern having established a powerful interest in Norway, once made an attempt to recover his kingdoms, and was joined by the Dalecarlians; but being defeated by the Swedish forces, he was compelled to return to Norway, where, being obliged to capitulate with the Danish generals, he was detained in captivity during the remainder of his life.

In 1542, Gustavus having happily extricated himself out of all his troubles, prevailed on the states to make the crown hereditary in his family; after which he applied himself to the encouragement of learning and commerce. A treaty was set on foot for a marriage between his eldest son Eric and the Princess Elizabeth of England; but this negotiation failed of success.

Gustavus Vasa died in 1560, and was succeeded by his son Eric XIV. The new king was possessed of all the exterior ornaments which gave an air of dignity to the person, but he had neither the prudence nor the penetration of his father. He created the first nobility that were ever known in Sweden; but this he had no sooner done than he quarrelled with them, by passing some act which they thought derogatory to their honor and dignity. The whole course of his reign was disturbed by wars with Denmark and disputes with his own subjects. In the former he was unfortunate, and towards the latter he behaved with the greatest cruelty. At last, he is said to have become mad. He afterwards recovered his senses, but was soon dethroned by his brothers; one of whom, named John, succeeded him in the kingdom.

This revolution took place in the year 1568, but with no great advantage to Sweden. Disputes about religion between the king and his brothers, and wars with Russia, threw matters into the utmost confusion. Prince Sigismund, the king's son, was chosen King of Poland, which proved the source of

much trouble to the kingdom. In 1590 King John died, and as Sigismund was at a distance, public affairs fell into the utmost confusion; the treasury was plundered, and the royal wardrobe spoiled, even before Duke Charles could come to Stockholm to undertake the administration till King Sigismund should return. This, however, was far from being the greatest disaster which befell the nation at this time. It was known that the king had embraced the popish religion, and it was with good reason suspected that he would attempt to restore it upon his arrival in Sweden. Sigismund was also obliged, on leaving Poland, to promise that he would remain no longer in Sweden than was necessary to regulate his affairs. These circumstances served to alienate the minds of the Swedes from their sovereign, even before they saw him; and the universal dissatisfaction was increased by seeing him attended on his arrival in Sweden, in 1593, by the pope's nuncio, to whom he made a present of 30,000 ducats to defray the expenses of his journey to Sweden.

What the people had foreseen was too well verified. The king refused to confirm the Protestants in their religious privileges, and showed such partiality on all occasions to the papists, that a party was formed against him, at the head of which was Duke Charles, his uncle. Remonstrances, accompanied with threats, took place on both sides. Sigismund was apparently reconciled to his uncle, and promised to comply with the inclinations of the people, though without any inclination to perform what he had promised. The agreement indeed was scarcely made, before Sigismund conceived the horrid design of murdering his uncle at the Italian comedy acted the night after his coronation. The duke, however, having notice of the plot, found means to defeat it. This enraged the king so much, that he had resolved to accomplish his designs by force; and he therefore commanded a Polish army to march towards the frontiers of Sweden, where they committed all the ravages that could be ex-

pected from an enraged and cruel enemy. Complaints were made by the Protestant clergy to the Senate; but no other answer was returned than that, till the king's departure, they should abstain from those bitter invectives and reproaches, which had provoked the Catholics, and that during his absence they would be at more liberty.

In 1595 Sigismund set sail for Dantzic, leaving the administration in the hands of Duke Charles. The consequence of this was, that the dissensions which had already taken place being continually increased by the obstinacy of the king, Charles assumed the sovereign power; and in 1604 Sigismund was formally deposed, and his uncle Charles IX. raised to the throne. He proved a wise and brave prince, restoring the tranquillity of the kingdom, and carrying on a war with vigor against Poland and Denmark. He died in 1611, leaving the kingdom to his son, the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus.

Though Charles IX. by his wise and vigorous conduct had in some measure retrieved the affairs of Sweden, they were still in a very bad condition. The finances of the kingdom were entirely drained by a series of wars and revolutions; powerful armies were preparing in Denmark, Poland and Russia, while not only the Swedish troops were inferior in number to their enemies, but the government was destitute of resources for their payment. Though the Swedish laws required that the prince should have attained his eighteenth year before he was of age, yet such striking marks of the great qualities of Gustavus appeared, that he was allowed by the states to assume the administration before this early period. His first act was to resume all the crown-grants, in order that he might be enabled to carry on the wars in which he was engaged, and to fill all places, both civil and military, with persons of merit. At the head of domestic and foreign affairs was placed the Chancellor Oxenstiern, a person every way equal to the important trust, and the choosing of whom impressed Europe with the highest

opinion of the young monarch's penetration. Soon after his accession, Gustavus received an embassy from James I. of Great Britain, exhorting him to make peace with his neighbors. This was seconded by another from Holland. But as the king perceived that the Danish monarch intended to take every opportunity of crushing him, he resolved to act with such vigor as might convince him that he was not easily to be overcome. Accordingly, he invaded Denmark with three different armies at once; and though the enemy's superiority at sea gave them great advantages, and the number of the king's enemy's distracted his attention, he carried on the war with such spirit, that, in 1613, a peace was concluded on terms favorable to himself. This war being finished, Gustavus applied himself to civil polity, and made some reformation in the laws of Sweden. In 1615 hostilities were commenced against Russia, on account of the refusal of that court to repay some money which had been formerly lent. The king entered Ingria, took Kexholm by storm, and was laying siege to Plescov, when, by the mediation of James I., peace was concluded, on condition of the Russians repaying the money, and yielding to Sweden some part of their territory. In this and the former war, notwithstanding the shortness of their duration, Gustavus learned the rudiments of the military art, for which he soon became so famous. He is said to have taken every opportunity of improvement with a quickness of understanding seemingly more than human. In one campaign, he not only learned, but improved, all the military maxims of La Gardie, a celebrated general; brought the Swedish army to a more steady and regular discipline; and formed an invincible body of Finlanders, who had afterwards a very considerable share in the victories of Sweden.

Peace was no sooner concluded with Russia, than Gustavus was crowned with great solemnity at Upsala. Soon afterwards he ordered his general, La Gardie, to acquaint the Polish commander, Codekowitz, that as

the truce between the two kingdoms, which had been concluded for two years, was now expired, he desired to be certainly informed whether he was to expect peace or war from his master. In the meantime, having borrowed money of the Dutch for the redemption of a town from Denmark, he had an interview on the frontiers with Christiern, the king of that country. At this interview, the two monarchs conceived the utmost esteem and friendship for each other; and Gustavus obtained a promise, that Christiern would not assist Sigismund in any design he might form against Sweden. In the meantime, receiving no satisfactory answer from Poland, Gustavus began to prepare for war. Sigismund entered into a negotiation, and made some pretended concessions, with a view to seize Gustavus by treachery; but the latter having some intimation of his design, the whole negotiation was changed into reproaches and threats on the part of Gustavus.

Immediately after this, Gustavus made a tour in disguise through Germany, and married Eleonora, the daughter of the Elector of Brandenburg. He then resolved to enter heartily into a war with Poland; and with this view set sail for Riga with a great fleet, which carried 20,000 men. The place was well fortified, and defended by a body of veterans, enthusiastically attached to Sigismund; but after a vigorous siege, the garrison, being reduced to extremity, were obliged to capitulate, and were treated with great clemency.

After the reduction of Riga, the Swedish monarch entered Courland, where he reduced Mittau; but ceded it again on the conclusion of a truce for one year. Sigismund, however, no sooner had time to recover himself, than he began to form new enterprises against the Swedes in Prussia; but Gustavus setting sail with his whole fleet for Dantzic, where the King of Poland then resided, so defeated his measures, that he was obliged to prolong the truce for another year. Sigismund was not yet apprised of his danger, and refused to listen to any terms of accom-

modation; Gustavus entering Livonia, defeated the Polish general, and took Dorpat, Hoekenhausen, and several other places of less importance; after which, entering Lithuania, he took the city of Birsén. Notwithstanding this success, Gustavus proposed peace on the same equitable terms as before; but Sigismund was still infatuated with the hopes that, by means of the Emperor of Germany, he should be able to conquer Sweden. Gustavus finding him inflexible, resolved to push his good fortune. His generals, Horn and Thurn, defeated the Poles in Semigallia. Gustavus himself, with 150 ships, set sail for Prussia, where he landed at Pillau. This place was immediately surrendered to him, as were several other towns. Sigismund, alarmed at the great progress of Gustavus, sent a body of forces to oppose him, and to prevent Dantzic from falling into his hands. But this measure did not produce any powerful effect; and in May, 1627, Gustavus arrived with fresh forces before Dantzic, which he would probably have carried, had he not been severely wounded by a cannon-shot. The states of Holland sent ambassadors to mediate a peace between the two crowns; but Sigismund, depending on the assistance of the Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, determined to listen to no terms, and resolved to make a winter campaign. The King of Sweden was however so well intrenched, and all his forts were so strongly garrisoned, that the utmost efforts of the Poles were to no purpose. The city of Dantzic, in the meantime, made such a desperate resistance as greatly irritated him. In a sea engagement the Swedish fleet defeated that of the enemy; after which Gustavus, having blocked up the harbor with his fleet, pushed his advances on the land side with incredible vigor. He made a surprising march over a morass fifteen miles broad, assisted by bridges of a peculiar construction, over which he carried a species of light cannon invented by himself. By this unexpected manœuvre he obtained the command of the city in such a manner, that the

garrison were on the point of surrendering, when, by a sudden swell of the Vistula, the Swedish works were destroyed, and the king was obliged to raise the siege. In other respects, however, the affairs of Gustavus proceeded with their usual good fortune. His general, Wrangel, defeated the Poles before Brodnitz. At Stum the king gained another and more considerable victory in person. The emperor had sent 5000 foot and 2000 horse under Arnheim, who joined the main army commanded by the Polish general, Coniecsposki, in order to attack the Swedish army encamped at Quidzin. The enemy were so much superior in number, that the friends of Gustavus warmly dissuaded him from attacking them. But the resolution of the king was not to be shaken, and the engagement commenced. The Swedish cavalry charged with such impetuosity, contrary to their sovereign's express order, that they were almost surrounded by the enemy; but, coming up to their assistance, he pushed the enemy's infantry with so much vigor, that they gave way, and retreated to a bridge that had been thrown over the Werder. But here they were disappointed, for the Swedes had already taken possession of the bridge. A new action ensued, more bloody than the former, in which the king was exposed to great danger, and thrice narrowly escaped being taken prisoner; but at last the Poles were totally defeated, and with immense loss. The slaughter of the German auxiliaries was so great, that Arnheim scarcely carried off one-half of the troops which he brought into the field. This defeat did not hinder the Polish general from attempting the siege of Stum; but here he was as unsuccessful as in his previous enterprises. Arnheim was recalled, and was succeeded by Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg and Philip Count Mansfeldt. The change of general officers, however, produced no good consequences to the Poles; a famine and plague raged in their camp, so that they were at last obliged to consent to a truce for six years, to expire in the month of June, 1635. Gustavus kept

the port and citadel of Memel, the harbor of Pillau, the towns of Elbing, Brunsberg, and all that he had conquered in Livonia.

Gustavus having thus brought the war with Poland to an honorable conclusion, began to think of resenting the conduct of the emperor in assisting his enemies and oppressing the Protestant States. Before embarking in such an important undertaking, it was necessary that he should consult the diet. Here the propriety of engaging in a war with Germany was warmly debated; but, after much altercation, the king, in a very noble speech, determined the matter, having declared in such strong terms the virtuous motives by which he was actuated, that the whole assembly wept, and everything was granted which he could require.

It was not difficult for him to begin his expedition. His troops amounted to 60,000 men, hardened by a succession of severe campaigns in Russia, Finland, Livonia, and Prussia. His fleet exceeded seventy sail, carrying from twenty to forty guns, and manned with 6,000 seamen. Embarking his troops, he landed at Usedom on the 24th of June, 1630, the Imperialists having evacuated all the fortresses which they there possessed; and the isle of Rugen had been before reduced by General Lesley, in order to secure a retreat if fortune should prove unfavorable. Passing the strait, Gustavus stormed Wolgast, and another strong fortress in the neighborhood, leaving a garrison for the defence of these conquests. He then proceeded to Stettin, which consented to receive a Swedish garrison, and the king persuaded the Duke of Pomerania to enter into an alliance with him. In consequence of this the Swedish troops were received into several towns of Pomerania; and the most bitter enmity took place between the Imperialists and Pomeranians.

These successes of Gustavus struck the empire with consternation; for, being already overwhelmed with civil dissensions, they were in no condition to resist so impetuous an enemy. At last Count Tilly was invested with

the dignity of field-marshal. In the meantime, the king, being reinforced by a considerable body of troops in Finland and Livonia, under the conduct of Gustavus Horn, defeated the Imperialists before Griffenhagen, and soon after took the place by assault. By this and some other conquests, he opened a passage into Lusatia and Silesia; but in the meantime, Tilly cut off 2,000 Swedes at New Brandenburg. This advantage, however, was soon overbalanced by the conquest of Frankfurt on the Oder, which Gustavus took by assault, making the whole garrison prisoners. Thus he commanded the rivers Elbe and Oder on both sides, and had a fair passage, not only to the countries already mentioned, but also to Saxony and the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. He soon afterwards laid siege to Landsberg, which he took by assault.

About this time the Protestant princes held a diet at Leipzig, to which Gustavus sent deputies, and conducted his negotiations with such address as tended greatly to promote his interests. Immediately after this he reduced Griefswald, and with it all Pomerania. Having then marched to Gustrow, he restored the dukes of Mecklenburg to their dominions.

All this time Tilly was employed in the siege of Magdeburg; but being alarmed at the repeated successes of the Swedes, he now left Pappenheim with part of the army before that city, while he marched with the rest into Thuringia, to attack the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the elector of Saxony. After a most obstinate defence, Magdeburg fell into the hands of Pappenheim, who committed all imaginable cruelties. The king formed a plan of recovering the city; but was obliged to abandon it, by Pappenheim's throwing himself into the place with his whole army, and by the progress which Tilly was making in Thuringia. Relinquishing this enterprise, he ordered an attack on Havelzburg; which was conducted with such resolution, that the place was forced in a few hours, and all the garrison

made prisoners. Werben was next obliged to submit after an obstinate conflict, in which many fell on both sides. These successes obliged Tilly to attempt in person to check the progress of the Swedes. He detached the vanguard of his army, composed of the flower of the Imperial cavalry, within a few miles of the Swedish camp. An action ensued, in which Bernstein, the Imperial general was defeated and killed, with 1,500 of his men. Gustavus, after this advantage, placed himself in a situation so much superior to that of his enemies, that Tilly was fired with indignation, and marched up to the Swedish lines to give him battle. The king kept within his works, and Tilly attacked his camp, though almost impreguably fortified, and maintained a most terrible fire from a battery of thirty-two pieces of cannon; which, however, produced no other effect than obliging the Swedish monarch to draw up his army behind the walls of Werben. Tilly had placed his chief hopes in being able to spike the enemy's cannon, or set fire to their camp; after which he proposed making his grand attack. With this view he bribed some prisoners; but they betrayed him, and communicated his design to Gustavus. The king ordered fires to be lighted in different parts of his camp, and his soldiers to imitate the noise of a tumultuous disorderly rabble. This had the desired effect. The count led his army to the breach made by the cannon, where he was received with such a volley of grapeshot as cut off the first line, and put the whole body in disorder, so that they could never be brought back to the charge. In this confusion the Imperial army was attacked, and after an obstinate conflict obliged to quit the field.

Soon after this action the queen arrived at the camp with a reinforcement of 8,000 men; at the same time a treaty was concluded with Charles I. of England, by which that monarch allowed the Marquis of Hamilton to raise 6,000 men for the service of Gustavus. These auxiliaries were to be con-

ducted to the main army by a body of 4,000 Swedes; and were in everything to obey the king while he was personally present, but in his absence were to be subject to the orders of the marquis. With these troops the king had resolved to make a diversion in Bremen; but the marquis, finding it impossible to effect a junction with the Swedish army, resolved, without disembarking his troops, to steer his course for the Oder, and land at Usedom. Gustavus was very much displeased at finding his project thus disconcerted; but making the best of present circumstances, he commanded the British troops to act on the Oder instead of the Weser. The number of this little army was magnified exceedingly by report, insomuch that Tilly had some thoughts of marching against them with his whole force; but on the departure of the marquis for Silesia, he reinforced the army in that country with a large detachment, which was thought to contribute not a little to the defeat which he soon after received.

Since the late action Gustavus had kept within his intrenchments, where his army was well supplied with provisions and stores. Tilly made several attempts to surprise or draw him to an engagement; but finding all his endeavors fruitless, he marched into Saxony, and laid siege to Leipzig. This precipitate measure proved highly advantageous to the Swedish monarch. A treaty offensive and defensive was immediately concluded with Gustavus; and the elector willingly promised everything that was required of him. Tilly, in the meantime, carried fire and sword into the electorate. At the head of an army of 44,000 veterans, he summoned the city of Leipzig to surrender; denouncing, in case of refusal, the same vengeance against it as had been executed on Magdeburg. The governor was so much intimidated, that he instantly submitted; and he also surrendered the castle of Passenberg, which was in a condition to have resisted till the arrival of the Swedish army. The elector, enraged at the loss of these valuable

places, ordered his army to join the Swedes with all expedition, and pressed the king so warmly to engage, that at last he yielded to his desire. On the 7th of September, 1631, Gustavus led out his army in the finest order, the Swedes forming one column on the right, and the Saxons another on the left; each amounting to 15,000 men. Tilly drew up his men in one vast column, probably with a view of surrounding the flanks of the king's army. The king led his troops against that wing of the Imperialists commanded by Pappenheim, whom he drove back to a considerable distance. General Bannier in the meantime cut in pieces the troops of Holstein, and mortally wounded the duke, who commanded them. Pappenheim conducted his troops seven times to the charge, but was as often repulsed by the Swedes. Tilly all this while was engaged with the Saxons; but having at last driven them off the field, the whole strength of the Imperial army was turned against the Swedish left wing. The Swedes sustained the attack with the greatest firmness, until the king detached the centre to assist them. The Imperialists then were no longer able to maintain their ground; but gave way everywhere except in the centre, which was composed of eighteen regiments of veterans accustomed to victory, and deemed invincible. They made incredible efforts to maintain their reputation; and, though swept off in great numbers by the Swedish artillery, never shrunk or fell into confusion. Four regiments, after their officers had been killed, formed themselves, and withdrew to the skirt of a wood. Tilly retired at the head of 600 men, and escaped by the coming on of the night. Seven thousand Imperialists lay dead on the field of battle; 4,000 were taken prisoners; a fine train of artillery was lost, with upwards of 100 standards, ensigns, and other military trophies.

Gustavus now determined to penetrate into Franconia, where he reduced several places, especially the fortress of Würzburg. Tilly having collected his scattered troops,

which formed an army still superior in number to that of Gustavus, marched to the relief of this place, but came too late. He then directed his march towards Rottenberg, where four regiments were cut in pieces by a Swedish detachment. After this, the king reduced Hanau, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, and Mentz, having destroyed a body of Spaniards who had attempted to obstruct his passage.

The court of Vienna was now thrown into the utmost confusion, and sent everywhere begging assistance, and soliciting the Catholic princes to arm in defence of their religion. The emperor was most embarrassed in finding a general capable of opposing Gustavus in the field; for the late misfortunes of Count Tilly had entirely sunk his reputation. Wallenstein, an old experienced officer, was selected; but as he had formerly been disgraced, it was apprehended that he would not accept of the command of which he had once been deprived. This objection, however, was surmounted; and Wallenstein not only accepted of the command, but, at his own expense, augmented the army to 40,000 men.

During the whole winter the Swedish army kept the field, and before the approach of summer had reduced a great number of places, while the landgrave William made great progress in Westphalia. Gustavus Horn was repulsed before Bamberg, but soon had his revenge, by entirely destroying two regiments of Imperialists. To prevent the troops from being affected by the loss before Bamberg, the king resolved to give battle to Tilly, who was marching into Bavaria to prevent the Swedes from gaining a footing in that electorate. He pursued the Imperial general through a vast tract of country, defeated his rearguard, and having reduced a variety of towns and fortresses on the Danube, penetrated as far as Ulm. Advancing to the river Leck, the count posted himself in a wood on the opposite side, to dispute his passage. Gustavus endeavored to dislodge him by a regular fire from seventy

pieces of cannon. The slaughter was dreadful; and Tilly himself, being wounded by a cannon-ball in the knee, died a few days before he was to have been superseded by Wallenstein. The following night the Imperial army evacuated the post. Gustavus immediately crossed the river, and seized the towns of Rain and Neuburg, which the enemy had abandoned, and Augsburg next submitted. From Augsburg the Swedes advanced towards Ratisbon, but were disappointed in their design of obtaining possession of that city, as the Cavarrians had thrown a numerous garrison in the place. In the meantime, ambassadors arrived from Denmark, offering the mediation of that crown for obtaining a lasting peace between the contending parties. This negotiation, however, failed of success, as the ambassadors had not been instructed to offer terms favorable to the Protestants. Gustavus, now resolving to retort on themselves the cruelties which the Bavarians had inflicted on the Protestants, laid the towns of Morzburg, Friesengen, and Landshut, in ashes. The inhabitants of Munich saved themselves by submission. Gustavus also defeated the forces of the elector, who had been joined by a considerable body of militia.

While the king was thus employed, Wallenstein had assembled a very numerous army. He was strongly solicited by the elector of Bavaria to come to his assistance; but, in revenge of the elector's having formerly obtained the command for Tilly in preference to himself, he drew off towards Bohemia to encounter the Saxons. Arnheim, who commanded the Saxon forces in that place, was an enemy to Gustavus, who had formerly rallied him for his cowardice. He therefore permitted Wallenstein to gain an easy victory, in hopes that his master, the elector of Saxony, a prince entirely devoted to his pleasures, might be induced to relinquish the friendship of such a restless and warlike ally as Gustavus; and, indeed, he used all the eloquence of which he was master to detach him from the Swedish cause

Several advantages were in the meantime gained by the Imperialists. Pappenheim defeated the archbishop of Bremen's cavalry at Werden; and three Swedish regiments were cut off near Kadingen. Pappenheim was, however, forced to retire, and to withdraw his forces from Stade, of which the Swedes took possession. Wallenstein and the elector of Bavaria, who had now joined their forces, threatened Gustavus with greatly superior numbers. The king, being reinforced with 15,000 men, no longer declined the engagement; but Wallenstein was too wise to trust the fate of the empire to a single battle against such an enemy as the king of Sweden. Gustavus attacked his camp, but was repulsed with the loss of 2,000 men. Several other misfortunes happened to the Swedes; and at last, after various manœuvres, Wallenstein directed his course towards Misnia, in order to oblige the elector of Saxony to declare against the Swedes, and to draw them out of Bavaria. Gustavus, notwithstanding the inconstancy of Augustus, immediately set out to assist him. With incredible diligence he marched to Misnia, where the Imperialists were assembling their whole strength. Hearing that the enemy were encamped at Weissenfels, and that Pappenheim had been detached with a strong corps, Gustavus resolved to engage them before they could effect a junction. With this view he marched to Lützen, where he attacked Wallenstein with incredible fury. The Swedish infantry broke the Imperialists in spite of their utmost efforts, and took all their artillery. The cavalry not being able to pass the river so expeditiously as the king thought necessary, he led the way, attended only by a single regiment and the duke of Saxe-Lauenburg. Here, after charging impetuously, he was killed. The news of his death was in an instant spread over both armies. The courage of the Imperialists revived, and they now made themselves sure of victory. But the Swedes, eager to revenge the death of their beloved monarch, charged with such fury that nothing

could resist them. The Imperialists were defeated a second time, just as Pappenheim, with his fresh corps, came up to their assistance. On this the battle was renewed, but the Swedes were still irresistible. Pappenheim was mortally wounded, and his army finally routed, with the loss of 9000 killed in the field and in the pursuit.

This victory proved more unfortunate to Sweden than the greatest defeat. The crown devolved on Christina, the daughter of Gustavus, an infant six years old; the nation was engaged in an expensive foreign war, without any person equal to the arduous task of commanding the armies, or regulating domestic affairs, as Gustavus had done. Christina was immediately proclaimed queen. The regency devolved on the grand bailiff, the marshal, the high admiral, the chancellor and the treasurer of the crown. Oxenstiern was invested with the chief management of affairs, and conducted himself with the greatest prudence.

The solid and masculine education which Christina received from her father and guardians gave her, as she has expressed in her memoirs, an invincible antipathy to the employments and conversation of women; and she had all the awkwardness of a man in performing the little duties which generally fall to the share of her sex. In her youth she was fond of violent exercises; and her amusements generally consisted in feats of strength and agility. She also showed considerable ability and taste for abstract speculations; and made herself familiar with languages and the sciences, particularly with that of legislation. She derived her knowledge of ancient history from original sources: Polybius, Thucydides and Tacitus, were her favorite authors. Independent of her acknowledged genius and ability, her position as the sovereign of a powerful kingdom made almost all the princes in Europe aspire to her hand. Amongst these were the Prince of Denmark, the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, the King of Spain, the King of the Romans.

Don John of Austria, Stanislaus King of Poland, John Casimir his brother, and Charles Gustavus Duke of Deux Ponts, of the Bavarian Palatinate family, son of the great Gustavus' sister, and consequently her first cousin. To this nobleman, as well as to all his rivals, she constantly refused her hand, at the same time that she caused him to be appointed her successor by the states. Political interests, religious differences, and conflicting tastes, furnished Christina with pretences for rejecting all her suitors; but her real motives were love of independence, and a strong aversion, even from her infancy, to the marriage yoke. "Do not force me to marry," said she to the states, "for if I should have a son it is not more probable that he should be an Augustus than a Nero."

One of the most complicated affairs which occupied her attention was the peace of Westphalia, in which many conflicting interests were to be reconciled, and many claims to be decided. It was concluded in the month of October, 1648. The success of the Swedish arms rendered Christina the arbitress of this treaty, at least in regard to the affairs of Sweden, to which the peace confirmed the possession of many important countries. No public event of importance took place during the rest of Christina's reign; for there were neither wars abroad nor troubles at home. Her reign was distinguished by an active encouragement of learning and genius. She drew to her court all the distinguished men of her time, including Grotius, Pascal, Bochart, Descartes, Gassendi, Saumase, Naude, Vossius, Heinsius, Meibom, Scudéry, Ménage, Lucas, Holstentius, Lambecius, Bayle, and many others. The arts never fail to immortalize the prince who protects them; and almost all these illustrious persons have rendered their patroness illustrious, either in poems, letters, or literary productions of some other kind.

Though Christina at first was fond of royal power and splendor, yet she soon began to feel embarrassed and restrained; and the same love of independence which had

determined her against marriage at last made her weary of the crown. Accordingly, as it grew more and more irksome to her, she resolved to abdicate; and, in 1652, communicated her resolution to the senate. The senate zealously remonstrated against it, and was joined by the people, nay, even by Charles Gustavus himself, who was to succeed her. She yielded to their importunities, and continued to sacrifice her own pleasure to the will of the public till the year 1654, when she carried her design into execution. Besides abdicating her crown, she also abjured her religion; an act which deeply wounded her Protestant subjects. No prince ever showed so much joy on being elevated to the throne as Christina did in quitting hers. When she came to a little brook which separates Sweden from Denmark, she got out of her carriage, and leaping on the other side, cried out in a transport of joy, "At last I am free, and out of Sweden, whither, I hope, I shall never return." She dismissed her women, and laying aside the habit of her sex, "I would become a man," said she; "yet I do not love men because they are men, but because they are not women." She made her adjuration at Brussels, where she saw the great Condé, who, after his defection, made that city his asylum. "Cousin," said she, "who would have thought, ten years ago, that we should have met at this distance from our respective countries?" During her residence in France she excited universal disgust by her open contempt and violation of the customs of the country. She treated the ladies of the court with the greatest rudeness, and when they came to embrace her, she exclaimed (alluding to her male attire), "What a strange eagerness these women have to kiss me! Is it because I look like a man?"

The murder of Monaldeschi, her master of the horse, on account of the betrayal of some secret, has left a deep stain on her character, notwithstanding the apologies that have been offered by Leibnitz and others. It is too much in keeping with expressions

constantly used by Christina in her letters in regard to those with whom she was offended; for she scarcely ever signified her displeasure without threatening the life of the offender. "If you fail in your duty," said she to her secretary, whom she sent to Stockholm after her abdication, "not all the power of the King of Sweden shall save your life, though you should take shelter in his arms." With a musician who had quitted her service for that of the Duke of Savoy, she was so enraged as to resort to a threat of murder. "He lives only for me; and if he does not sing for me he shall not sing long for anybody else."

The horror and indignation with which she was regarded in France, induced her to retire again to Rome, whence, on the death of Gustavus, in 1660, she went to Sweden; but meeting everywhere with hostility and coldness from the people, she quickly retraced her steps. Once more having quarreled with the pope, she set out for her former dominions, but proceeded no further than Hamburg, whence she again returned to Rome, and died in 1689.

Upon the whole, her character presents a strange combination of faults and foibles, pushed to the most extravagant excess. She says of herself, "that she was mistrustful, ambitious, passionate, haughty, impatient, contemptuous, satirical, incredulous, undevout, of an ardent and violent temper, and extremely amorous;" a disposition, however, to which, at least according to her own account, her pride and her virtue were always superior.

The new king found himself involved in considerable difficulties on his accession to the throne. The treasury was quite exhausted; great part of the revenue was appointed for the support of Christina's household; the people were oppressed with taxes; and the nation having been disarmed for several years, began to lose its reputation among foreigners. To remedy these evils, Charles proposed to resume all the crown-lands which had been alienated by grants to favorites

during the late reign; to repeal a duty which had been imposed on salt; to put the kingdom in a posture of defence; and to enter on a war with some neighboring state. Under a pretence that Casimir, King of Poland, had questioned his title to the throne, he prepared to invade that kingdom. Several embassies were sent from Poland to Stockholm; but some point of ceremony always disappointed them of an audience of the king, so that they were obliged to return without executing their commission. As soon as matters were in readiness, General Wittenberg made an irruption into Poland from the side of Pomerania. The Poles opposed him with an army of 15,000 men; but instead of fighting, they began to negotiate, and in a short time entirely dispersed. Charles himself soon followed with a powerful army, and pursued his march without obstruction, all the cities throwing open their gates to him as he approached. As he advanced to Cracow, Casimir resolved to make one effort to save his capital. His army amounted only to 10,000 men; and these were unfortunately such as had never stood fire. After a feeble resistance, they fled with precipitation, having lost 1000 men killed and taken prisoners. A few days after this Charles defeated the Poles a second time, about eight leagues from Cracow; on which Casimir fled with his family to Oppeln in Silesia. The capital was then invested, and, though defended with the utmost valor, was in a short time obliged to capitulate. Thus in less than three months Charles apparently became master of Poland; but it was soon evident that the Poles had no intention of abandoning their former sovereign.

In 1656, a war took place with the Elector of Brandenburg. While Charles was employed in the conquest of Poland, that prince had invaded Royal and Ducal Prussia, and reduced the most considerable towns with little opposition. The King of Sweden took umbrage at his progress; and having marched against him, defeated his forces in several slight encounters, and obliged him to ac-

knowledge himself a vassal of Sweden. These rapid conquests alarmed all Europe; and the different powers sought for means of driving the Swedes out of Poland, which they had so unexpectedly and unjustly seized. The Poles were no sooner assured that they should obtain assistance, than they everywhere revolted and massacred the Swedes. Casimir returned from Silesia; and those very troops and generals who had before submitted to Charles without opposition, now ranged themselves under the banners of his antagonist. Charles immediately marched from Prussia to chastise the insolence of the Poles, and totally defeated a body of 12,000 men. This event did not hinder all the Poles incorporated with his troops to desert. Their defection considerably reduced his army; and the campaign being performed in the depth of winter, he was at last obliged to retreat to Prussia. In his march he was harassed by the Poles; and a body of 4000 Swedes was surprised and defeated by them at Warka. This loss, however, was soon after recompensed by a complete victory gained by Adolphus, the king's brother, and General Wrangel. In the meantime the king was taking measures for laying siege to Dantzic; but was prevented by the Dutch, who threatened to oppose him, unless a proper regard was paid to their interest. Charles accordingly granted them advantageous terms; and afterwards gained over the Elector of Brandenburg, by ceding to him the sovereignty of Prussia, that he might be at liberty to turn his whole strength against Poland.

By the treaty just concluded with the elector, the latter was to assist Charles in his war with Poland; but the elector was so tardy in his measures, that the Poles, having obtained assistance from the Tartars, had reduced the city of Warsaw. The two princes now marched in concert against their enemies, who were encamped in a strong situation in the neighborhood of the city above-mentioned, their camp being fronted by the Vistula. The Poles were driven from their intrenchments with prodigious slaughter.

The Poles and Tartars then labored to break the alliance; and, with which view, having entered Ducal Prussia, they defeated the electoral army, and took many prisoners. The Swedes soon obtained their revenge. General Steinboeck attacked the same Polish army at Philippowa, and overthrew it with such slaughter as obliged the Poles for that season to quit the field. A more formidable enemy than the Poles now began to make their appearance. The Russians invaded the provinces of Carelia, Ingermania and Livonia; while the Elector of Brandenburg began to waver in his fidelity. To preserve this only ally at such a critical juncture, Charles was obliged to grant him more advantageous terms than those already mentioned; and the Russians were repulsed in the provinces of Carelia and Ingermania. But in Livonia they had better success. For seven months, however, they battered the walls of Riga, without venturing to pass the ditch or storm the practicable breaches.

Charles, notwithstanding the number of his enemies, was now become so formidable by the valor and discipline of his troops, that entire armies often fled on his approach. At last, in 1657, the Poles, finding they could not resist him in the field, contented themselves with harassing the Swedes on their march, and cutting off the foragers and convoys. This proved much more destructive to the Swedes than their former method; so that Charles was obliged to enter into an alliance with Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania, by assigning him certain provinces in his neighborhood, in order to furnish himself with irregular troops, who might fight the Poles in their own way. He did not thus obtain any real advantage; for the confederates, after wasting a whole campaign in Lithuania, were obliged to retire without accomplishing more than the reduction of a single fortress. Charles then returned with the Swedish army to Prussia.

Leopold, the young King of Hungary, having long beheld the Swedes with a jealous eye, now resolved to declare for Poland.

The more effectually to curb the ambition of the Swedish monarch, he solicited the King of Denmark to come to a rupture with him. This application was attended with immediate success, and the Danes invaded Bremen. Charles hastened to oppose this new enemy, and he thus gave great offence to Ragotski, who, by neglecting to take the proper measures for his own defence in the absence of the Swedes, suffered his army to be destroyed by the Poles and Tartars. At the same time the Turks invaded Transylvania, under pretence that Ragotski, being a vassal of the grand signior, had no right to invade Poland without his permission. Ragotski, opposing them in the field, was defeated and killed, leaving Charles destitute of the only ally on whom he could depend.

The king, however, not dismayed by this misfortune, traversed Pomerania and the Duchy of Mecklenburg; after which he attacked Holstein, while General Wrangel with another corps entered the Duchy of Bremen. The general executed his measures with the utmost vigor. In fifteen days he retook all the towns which the enemy had reduced; defeated and drove the Danish army out of the country, killing 3000 of their best soldiers. In Holstein the king reduced several fortresses, laid Itzehoe in ashes, defeated a body of Danes, and laid siege to Frederic Udda, into which the Danes had thrown a strong garrison. Leaving to Wrangel the conduct of this siege, he himself retired to Wismar in order to observe the situation of affairs in Poland; and no sooner was he departed than Wrangel attacked the place with such fury, that he became master of it in two hours. In the province of Halland the Swedes were defeated, but the enemy derived no advantage from their victory. At sea the fleets met, and maintained an engagement for two days, without any considerable advantage on either side. In Poland affairs were not better conducted. The house of Austria had now declared for Casimir; and a German army having entered Poland, reduced Cracow, though sustaining great loss.

The King of Sweden was now surrounded by enemies. The Elector of Brandenburg had declared against him; and he had besides to engage the armies of Austria, Poland, Russia and Denmark. In this dangerous situation he resolved to attack Denmark, so as to oblige that state to come to a speedy accommodation. His designs were forwarded by a very early frost, which enabled him to transport his troops without shipping. Having marched over the ice to the island of Funen, he cut in pieces a body of 4000 Danish soldiers and 500 peasants. The whole island was reduced in a few days; after which he passed to Langland, then to Laaland, after that to Falster, and lastly to Zealand. The Danes were terrified at this unexpected invasion, and were resigning themselves to despair, when Charles offered to conclude a peace on equitable terms. The King of Denmark gladly consented, intending to renew the war as soon as he thought it could be done with safety.

Charles was no sooner retired, than the King of Denmark began to act secretly against him; on which, resolving to anticipate him in his designs, he appeared unexpectedly with a fleet before Copenhagen. The Swedish monarch laid siege to the capital, but with so little prudence that he made no progress, and was at length compelled to turn the siege into a blockade, which continued to the end of the war. Charles X. died of an epidemic fever, and was succeeded by his son Charles XI.

The new king, Charles XI., was a minor at the time of his father's death; and as the kingdom was involved in a dangerous war with so many enemies, the regency determined to conclude a peace, if it could be obtained on reasonable terms. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Olivia, by which Casimir renounced his pretensions to the crown of Poland, and that state gave up all pretensions to Livonia. Bornholm and Drontheim were ceded to Denmark, and an equivalent in Schonen remained with Sweden. During the minority of the king, nothing

remarkable occurs in the history of Sweden. In 1672, he entered into an alliance with Louis XIV., which two years after involved him in a war with the Elector of Brandenburg. At first the Swedes carried all before them. Almost all the towns in Brandenburg were reduced, when the elector arrived with an army to the relief of his distressed subjects. He retook several towns, defeated the Swedes in a general engagement, and soon after forced them to abandon all their conquests. In conjunction with the Danes, he then invaded the Swedish dominions: many places of importance were reduced; and, in 1676, Sweden received a most destructive blow by the defeat of her fleet in an engagement with the combined fleets of Denmark and Holland. The king soon afterwards took the government into his own hands, and in some degree restored the fortune of Sweden; but, although he was more successful where he commanded in person, the same losses and disgrace attended the Swedish arms in every other quarter. In 1678, the Swedish fleet was defeated in two engagements. At Landsrona a most obstinate battle was fought, from ten in the morning till six at night, when both parties were obliged, by fatigue, to retire to their respective camps. At Oldeval, in Norway, the Swedes were defeated; and the Danes laid desolate the islands of Oeland, Smaaland, Unno and Knno; while the electoral troops and imperialists reduced Count Konigsmark to the utmost distress in the neighborhood of Stralsund. In this deplorable situation of affairs Konigsmark found an opportunity of attacking his enemies to such advantage, that he obtained a complete victory; after which he ravaged the Duchy of Mecklenburg. Notwithstanding this success, he could not prevent the elector from reducing Stralsund. He was afterwards obliged to evacuate Pomerania; and, to complete his distress, the fleet which transported the Swedish army from Pomerania was wrecked on the coast of Bornholm.

At this unprosperous crisis a peace was

concluded at St. Germain between France and her enemies, by which the Swedes and Danes were left to decide their quarrel between themselves. Denmark was by no means a match for Sweden, even in the distressed situation to which she was reduced; and a treaty was, therefore, concluded, on terms much more favorable to Sweden than could have been expected. The peace was confirmed by a marriage between Charles and Ulrica Eleonora, daughter to the King of Denmark. From this time the Swedish monarch applied himself to the reformation of the state; and by artfully managing the disputes between the nobility and the peasants, he obtained a decree empowering him to alter the constitution as he pleased. The proceedings of the king after this decree were such as to exasperate the nobility, and produce violent commotions.

On the 15th of April, 1697, died Charles XI. leaving his crown to his son, the celebrated Charles XII., at that time a minor. On his accession, he found himself under the tuition of his grandmother Eleonora, who had governed the kingdom during the minority of the late king. Though Charles was at that time only fifteen years of age, he showed a desire of taking the government into his own hands. His counsellors, Count Piper and Axel Sparre, signified his desire to the queen-regent. By her they were referred to the states, and there all were unanimous; so that the queen, finding that opposition would be vain, resigned her power with a good grace; and Charles was invested with absolute authority in three days after he had expressed his desire of reigning alone. He was scarcely seated on the throne when a powerful combination was formed against him. Augustus, King of Poland, formed designs on Livonia; the King of Denmark revived his disputes with the Duke of Holstein, as a prelude to a war with Sweden; and Peter the Great of Russia began to form designs on Ingria, formerly a province of Russia. In 1699, the King of Denmark marched an army into Holstein. Charles

sent a considerable body of troops to the duke's assistance; but before their arrival the Danes had ravaged the country, taken the castle of Gottorp, and laid close siege to Tönningen. Here the King of Denmark commanded in person, and was assisted by the troops of Saxony, Brandenburg, Wolfenbüttel and Hesse-Cassel. Britain and Holland, as guarantees of the last treaty with Denmark, in concert with Sweden, joined Charles against this confederacy, and sent fleets to the Baltic. They proposed a termination of the war on equitable terms; but these were haughtily refused by the Danish monarch, who despised the youth and inexperience of Charles, and relied too much on the alliance which he had formed with Saxony, Brandenburg, Poland and Russia. Tönningen, however, resisted all his efforts; and when he ordered the place to be stormed, he had the mortification to see his troops driven headlong from the walls by a handful of Swedes.

In the year 1700, Charles, having entrusted the affairs of the nation with a council chosen out of the senate, set out on the 8th May from his capital, to which he never afterwards returned. He embarked at Carlscrona, and defeated the fleet of the allies. Having made a descent on the island of Zealand, he defeated a body of cavalry that opposed his march, and then proceeded to invest Copenhagen by sea and land. The king of Denmark saw the necessity of either having his capital destroyed, or of doing justice to the duke of Holstein. He chose the latter; and a treaty was concluded on much the same terms as formerly. Charles, being thus at liberty to turn his arms against the other princes who had conspired his destruction, resolved to lead his army against Augustus, king of Poland. On the road, however, he received intelligence that the czar of Russia was on his march to oppose him, and had laid siege to Narva with an army of 100,000 men. The contest that ensued between Charles and Peter, with the celebrated battles of Narva and Pultava,

have been already related under *RUSSIA*, so that we shall here confine ourselves chiefly to those events in which Peter the Great was not immediately concerned. Peter was the chief support of Augustus, and he took the most active measures to oppose the progress of the Swedish monarch. His want of success, and the subsequent contests between him and Charles, till the decisive battles of Pultava, are related in the same article.

In 1701, as early as the season permitted, Charles, having received a reinforcement from Sweden, took the field, and appeared suddenly on the banks of the Duna, along which the Saxon army was posted to receive him. The king of Poland being at that time sick, the army was commanded by Ferdinand duke of Courland, Marshal Stenau, and General Paykel, all officers of valor and experience. They had fortified some islands in the mouth of the river, and taken every other precaution against an attack; the soldiers were hardy, well disciplined, and nearly equal to the Swedes in number; yet Charles, having passed the river in boats with high sides, to screen the men from the fire of the enemy, attacked them with such fury, that they were entirely defeated, and with great loss. This victory was followed by the surrender of all the towns and fortresses in the duchy of Courland. Charles then passed into Lithuania, where every town opened its gates to him. At Birsén, an army of 20,000 Russians retired with the utmost precipitation on the news of his approach. Here Charles, perceiving that the kingdom of Poland was greatly disaffected to Augustus, began to project the scheme of dethroning him by means of his own subjects. This scheme he executed with more policy than he ever showed on any other occasion.

Augustus, in the mean time, finding his scheme of peace frustrated, had recourse to the senate; but met with such a rough answer from them, that he determined to apply to Charles. To him therefore he sent his chamberlain; but a passport being forgotten, the ambassador was arrested. Charles

continued his march to Warsaw, which surrendered on the first summons; but the citadel held out for some days. Augustus, finding at last that no dependence was to be placed on the Poles, determined to trust his fortune wholly to the Saxon army and the nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, who offered to support him to the utmost of their power. The Saxon army had now advanced to the frontiers, and Augustus immediately put himself at its head. Being joined by the nobility of Cracow, he found that his forces amounted to 30,000 men, all brave and well disciplined. With these he marched in quest of his enemy; nor did the Swedish monarch decline to combat, though he had with him only 12,000 men. Though the Saxons were strongly posted, having their front covered by a morass, besides being fortified with pallisadoes and chevaux de frise, they were attacked with irresistible impetuosity, and entirely defeated. This victory was followed by the loss of Cracow. Charles then set out in pursuit of the flying army, with a design of preventing them from re-assembling; but his horse falling under him, he had the misfortune to break his thigh, by which he was confined six weeks, and thus Augustus obtained some respite. He improved this interval. Having convoked a diet, first at Marienburg, and then at Lublin, he obtained the following resolutions; that an army of 50,000 men should be raised by the republic for the service of the prince; that six weeks should be allowed the Swedes to determine whether they were for war or peace; and that the same time should be granted to the turbulent and discontented nobles of Poland to make their concessions. To counteract the effects of these resolutions, Charles assembled another diet at Warsaw; and while the two assemblies disputed concerning their rights and privileges, he recovered from his wound, received a strong reinforcement from Pomerania, and utterly defeated and dispersed the remains of the Saxon army.

The ill fortune of Augustus continued still to prevail. In 1704 he was formally deposed

by the diet, and the crown was conferred by Charles on Stanislas Leecinsky, palatine of Posnania. Augustus however did not yet tamely relinquish his kingdom. His adherents daily skirmished with the Swedes; and Augustus himself, being reinforced by 9000 Russians, retook Warsaw, and had nearly surprised the new king who lived in perfect security in the city while Charles fought his battles. Count Horn with 1500 Swedes, vigorously defended the citadel; but at last, finding it no longer tenable, he was obliged to surrender at discretion. The reduction of Warsaw was among the last advantages gained by Augustus in the course of this war. His troops were now composed of Saxon recruits and undisciplined Poles, who had no attachment to his person, and were ready on all occasions to forsake him. Charles and Stanislas advanced with the victorious army; the Saxons fled before them, and the towns several miles round tendered their submission. The Poles and Saxons were under the command of Schullenberg, a most sagacious and experienced general, who used every expedient to check the progress of the Swedes. With all his conduct and caution he found himself outwitted, and Charles in the neighborhood of his camp, ready to fall on him, while he thought him at fifty leagues distance. The Swedish monarch attacked him with a superior army, but entirely composed of horse. Schullenberg had posted his men in such a manner as rendered it impossible to surround them. His first rank, being armed with pikes and muskets, presented a rampart of bayonets; the second line, stooping over the first, who kneeled, fired over their heads; while the third rank, who stood upon their feet kept up an incessant fire, by which the Swedish horse were exceedingly galled and put in disorder. Charles lost the opportunity of cutting off the whole Saxon army, by omitting to order his men to dismount. This was almost the first time that infantry had been regularly opposed to cavalry, and the superiority of the former was evident. After the engagement

had continued about three hours, the Saxons retreated in good order; which no enemy had ever done before in any engagement with Charles. The Swedes pursued their enemies towards the Oder, and forced them to retreat through thick woods, almost impervious even to infantry. The Swedish horse, however, pushed their way, and at last enclosed Schullemburg between a wood and the river, where Charles had no doubt of obliging him to surrender at discretion, or die sword in hand, as having neither boats nor bridges; but the genius of Schullemburg supplied every defect. In the night he ordered planks and floats of trees to be fastened together, on which he carried over his troops, while the Swedes were employed in dislodging 300 men, whom he had placed in a wind-mill for the purpose of defending his flank, and diverting the attention of the enemy. Charles spoke of this retreat with admiration, and said that he had been conquered by Schullemburg.

No material advantage however resulted to Augustus, who was again obliged to leave Poland, and fortify the capital of his hereditary dominions, which he expected every moment to see invested. In the mean time, the Russians having recovered their spirits, attacked the Swedes in Livonia with the utmost fury. Narva, Dorpat, and several other towns were taken, and the inhabitants and garrison treated with great barbarity. An army of 100,000 Russians soon afterwards entered Poland. Sixty thousand Cossacks under Mazeppa entered the country at the same time, and committed every outrage with the fury of barbarians. Schullemburg, perhaps more formidable than either, advanced with 14,000 Saxons and 7000 Russians, disciplined in Germany, and reputed excellent soldiers. Could numbers have determined the event of the war, the Swedes must certainly have been at this time overpowered; but Charles seemed to triumph over his enemies with more ease the more numerous they were. The Russians were so speedily defeated, that they were all

dispersed before one party had notice of the misfortunes of another. The defeating army of 40,000 men scarcely obstructed the march of the Swedes, while their astonished enemies looked on these actions as the effects of witchcraft, and imagined that the king of Sweden had dealings with infernal spirits. With these apprehensions they fled beyond the Dnieper, leaving the unhappy Augustus to his fate. Schullemburg with all his skill and experience was not more successful. The Swedish general Renschild engaged and defeated him in half an hour, though the Swedes were vastly inferior in number, and their enemies posted in a most advantageous situation. Nothing could be more complete than the victory. This extraordinary victory, indeed is said to have been owing to a panic which seized the troops of Schullemburg; but it was regarded with admiration, and thought to make the renown of Renschild equal to that of his sovereign. Charles himself was jealous, and could not help exclaiming, "Surely Renschild will not compare himself with me!"

Soon after this victory, which was gained on the 12th of February, 1706, Charles entered Saxony at the head of 24,000 men. The diet at Ratisbon declared him an enemy to the empire if he crossed the Oder. But to this declaration no regard was paid: Charles pursued his march, while Augustus was reduced to the condition of a vagrant in Poland, where he possessed not a single town except Cracow. Into this city he threw himself with a few Saxon, Polish, and Russian regiments, and began to erect some fortifications for his defence; but the approach of the Swedish general Meyerfeldt, and the news of the invasion of Saxony, disconcerted all his measures, and plunged him into despair. The Russians indeed were his faithful allies, but he dreaded them almost as much as the Swedes; so that he was reduced to the necessity of writing a letter to Charles with his own hand, begging for peace on whatever terms he thought proper to grant. As he was then at the mercy of the Russians,

this transaction was concealed with the greatest care. His emissaries were introduced to the Swedish court in the night time, and being presented to Charles, received the following answer; that King Augustus should for ever renounce the crown of Poland, acknowledge Stanislas, and promise never to re-ascend the throne, should an opportunity offer; that he should release the princes Sobieski, and all the Swedish prisoners made in the course of the war: surrender Patkul, at that time resident at his court as ambassador for the czar of Russia, and stop proceedings against all who had passed from his into the Swedish service. These articles Charles wrote with his own hand, and delivered to Count Piper, ordering him to finish them with the Saxon ambassadors.

After his defeat at Pultava (see RUSSIA) Charles fled in a mean calash, attended by a little troop inviolably attached to his person, some on foot and some on horseback. They were obliged to cross a sandy desert, where neither herb nor tree was to be seen, and where the burning heat and want of water were more intolerable than the extremities of cold which they had formerly endured. The whole had almost perished for want of water, when a spring was fortunately discovered. They reached Otchakoff, a town in the Turkish dominions, the pacha of which supplied the king with every necessary. It was, however, some time before boats could be got ready for transporting the whole of the king's attendants; by which accident 500 Swedes and Cossacks fell into the hands of the enemy. This loss affected him more than all his other misfortunes. He shed tears at seeing, across the river Bog, the greater part of his few remaining friends carried into captivity, without having it in his power to assist them. The pacha waited on him to apologise for the delay, and was as severely reprimanded by Charles as if he had been his own subject.

The king remained but a few days at Otchakoff, when the seraskier of Bender sent an aga to compliment him on his arrival

in the Turkish dominions, and to invite him to that city. Here he was treated with hospitality. The Turks practiced to its full extent their generous maxim of regarding as sacred the persons of unfortunate princes who had taken shelter in their dominions; and they perhaps regarded him, notwithstanding his misfortunes, as an ally that might be useful to themselves against the Russians. Every one indeed regarded him in his distress. The French king offered him a safe passage from the Levant to Marseilles, from whence he might easily return to his own dominions. But Charles was too obstinate to receive advice. Puffed up with the notion of imitating Alexander the Great, he disdained to return except at the head of a numerous army; and he yet expected, by means of the Turks, to dethrone his adversary the czar. Negotiations for this purpose were carried on in the Turkish divan, and it was proposed to escort Charles with a numerous army to the frontiers of Poland; but the revolution which there took place put an end to all such projects. Augustus thought himself no longer bound to observe the treaty which he had made, than when Charles was at hand to compel him. After the battle of Pultava, he entered Poland, and took every measure, in concert with the czar, for the recovery of his kingdom. Stanislas was not able to encounter such enemies, but was obliged to leave his dominions and fly to Bender, in the disguise of a Swedish officer, in order to share the fortune of Charles. It was not in Poland alone that the Swedish affairs began to suffer in consequence of the defeat at Pultava. The Danes invaded the province of Schonen with an army of 13,000 foot and 2500 horse. Only 13,000 Swedish forces remained to defend all the territories possessed by Charles in Germany, and of these only a small part was allotted for the defence of Schonen. The regency of Sweden, however, exerted themselves to the utmost to repel this ungenerous invasion; and having collected an army of 12,000 militia and 8000 regulars, despatched them under General Steen-

boek into Schonen. Some Saxon troops were incorporated in this army; but among these a prodigious desertion took place, which the general found it impossible to prevent; and thus the Danes gained several advantages, and at last took Christianstadt. Their insolence on this success was so great that the Swedes demanded to be instantly led against them. Here the good fortune of Sweden seemed once more to revive. The Danes were driven from a very strong situation, with the loss of 8000 killed and taken prisoners, besides a vast number wounded. The king received the intelligence of this victory with the greatest exultation, and could not help exclaiming, "My brave Swedes, should it please God that I once more join you, we shall conquer them all."

In the mean time, Charles, by means of his agents, the count Poniatoffski and Neugebar, used his utmost efforts to procure a rupture between the Porte and Russia. For a long interval the money bestowed by Peter on the viziers and janizaries prevailed; but at last the grand seignor, influenced by his mother, who was strongly in the interest of Charles, and had been used to call him *her lion*, determined to support his quarrel with Peter. He therefore gave orders to the vizir to fall on the Russians with an army of 200,000 men. The vizir promised obedience, but at the same time professed his ignorance in the art of war, and dislike to the present expedition. The khan of Crim Tartary, who had been gained over by the reputation and presents of the king of Sweden, had orders to take the field with 40,000 of his men, and had the liberty of assembling his army at Bender, that Charles might see that the war was undertaken on his account. See RUSSIA.

The treaty of the Pruth was most violently opposed by Poniatoffski and the khan of Tartary. The former had made the king acquainted with the situation of both armies; on which he instantly set out from Bender, filled with the hopes of fighting the Russians, and taking ample vengeance.

Having ridden fifty leagues post, he arrived at the camp just as the czar was drawing off his half-famished troops. He alighted at Poniatoffski's tent; and being informed of particulars, instantly flew in a rage to the vizir, whom he loaded with reproaches, and accused of treachery. Recollecting himself however, he proposed a method by which the fault might be remedied; but finding his proposal rejected, he posted back to Bender after having by the grossest insults showed his contempt of the vizir.

The violent behavior of Charles did not promote his interest. The vizir perceived that his stay in Turkey might prove fatal to himself, and he therefore determined to remove him as soon as possible. Succeeding vizirs adopted the same plan; and at last the grand signior himself wrote a letter to Charles, in which he desired him to depart by next winter, promising to supply him with a sufficient guard, with money, and every thing else necessary for his journey. Charles gave an evasive answer, and determined to procrastinate his journey, as well to gratify his own stubborn temper, as because he discovered a correspondence between Augustus and the khan of Tartary, the object of which, he had reason to believe, was to betray him to the Saxons. When he was again pressed to fix the day of his departure, he replied, that he could not think of going before his debts were paid. Being asked how much was necessary for this purpose, he replied, a thousand purses. A purse, it is to be remarked, consists of thirty sequins. Twelve hundred purses were instantly sent to the seraskier at Bender, with orders to deliver them to the king of Sweden, but not before he should have begun his journey. By fair promises, Charles persuaded him to part with the money; after which, instead of setting out, he squandered away his treasure in presents and gratifications, and then demanded a thousand purses more before he would set out. The seraskier was astonished at this behavior. He shed tears; and turning to





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the king told him that his head would be the forfeit of having obliged him with the money. The grand signior, on being acquainted with the shameful behavior of Charles, flew into a rage, and called an extraordinary *diran*, where he himself spoke; a practice very unusual for the Turkish monarchs. It was unanimously agreed that such a troublesome guest ought to be removed by force, should other means fail. Positive orders were therefore sent to Charles to depart; and, in case of his refusal, instructions were given for attacking him in his quarters. Nothing could equal his obstinacy on this occasion: in spite of the menaces of his enemies, in spite of the entreaties of his friends, he persisted in his resolution; and at last determined to resist, with 300 Swedes, being the entire number of his attendants, an army of 20,000 janisaries well armed and furnished with cannon. At length he was attacked in good earnest; though it must be owned, that even in this extremity, the Turks showed their regard to him, and were tender of his safety. Most of the Swedes surrendered at once, perhaps as thinking it the only method of saving the king's life. This conduct, however, had an opposite effect. Charles became the more obstinate, the more desperate his affairs seemed to be. With only forty menial servants, and the generals Hord and Dardorff, he determined to defend himself to the last extremity. Seeing his soldiers lay down their arms, he told the generals, "We must now defend the house. Come," added he, with a smile, "let us fight *pro aris et focis*." The house had been already forced by the Tartars, all but a hall which was near the door, and where his domestics had assembled. Charles forced his way through the janisaries, attended by the generals Hord and Dardorff, joined his people, and then barricaded the door. The moment he entered, the enemy who were in the house threw down their booty, and endeavored to escape at the windows. Charles pursued them from room to room with much bloodshed, and cleared the house in a few minutes.

He then fired furiously from the windows, killed two hundred of the Turks in a quarter of an hour, so that the pacha who commanded them was at length forced to set the house on fire. This was effected by discharging arrows with lighted matches into the roof; but Charles, instead of quitting his post, gave orders for extinguishing the fire, and he himself assisted with great diligence. All efforts were however vain: the roof fell in, and Charles, with his few faithful companions, was ready to be buried in the ruins. In this extremity one called out that there was a necessity for surrendering. "What a strange fellow!" cries the king, "who would rather be a prisoner with the Turks than mix his ashes with those of his sovereign." Another had the presence of mind to cry out, that the chancery was but fifty paces off, had a stone roof, and was proof against fire. Pleased with the thoughts of again coming to blows, the king exclaimed, "A true Swede! Let us take all the powder and ball we can carry." He then put himself at the head of his troops, and sallied out with such impetuosity, that the Turks retreated fifty paces; but having fallen in the midst of his fury, they rushed upon him, and carried him by the legs and arms to the pacha's tent. This extraordinary adventure, which savors not a little of insanity, happened on the 12th of February, 1713. He was now kept prisoner with all his retinue; and in this situation he was visited by the unfortunate Stanislas, the dethroned king of Poland.

Charles seemed at last inclined to submit to his fate, and began seriously to think of returning to his kingdom, now reduced to the most deplorable situation. His habitation had been fixed at Demotica, a small town about six leagues from Adrianople. Here he was allowed provisions for his own table and those of his retinue; but only twenty-five crowns a day in money, instead of five hundred which he had received at Bender. During his residence here, he received a deputation from Hesse-Cassel, soliciting his consent to the marriage of the

landgrave with Eleonora, princess royal of Sweden; to which he readily agreed. A deputation was also sent him by the regency of Sweden, requesting that he would prepare for returning to his own dominions, which, in his absence, were ready to sink under a ruinous war.

On the 14th of October, 1714, Charles set out for Sweden. All the princes through whose territories he was to pass had given orders for his entertainment in the most magnificent manner; but the king, perceiving that these compliments only rendered his imprisonment and other misfortunes more conspicuous, suddenly dismissed his Turkish attendants, and assembling his own people, bid them take no care about him, but make the best of their way to Stralsund. After this he set out post, in the habit of a German officer, attended only by Colonel Doring. Keeping the by-roads through Hungary, Moravia, Austria, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, Westphalia, and Mecklenburg, he arrived on the 21st of November at midnight before the gates of Stralsund. Being unknown, he was admitted with difficulty; but being soon recognised by the governor, the greatest tokens of joy were manifested all over the town.

Sweden was now in the greatest distress. On the news of the defeat at Pultava, the Danes had invaded Schonen, but were defeated by General Steenbock. This victory did not, however, put an end to the war. The kings of Denmark and Poland, with the czar of Russia, entered into stricter bonds of amity than ever. They dreaded the return of Charles to his own dominions, and apprehended that numberless victories would soon efface the remembrance of Pultava. They determined to make the best use of their time; and perhaps Charles never took a more imprudent resolution than obstinately to remain so long in the Turkish dominions. His return seemed to give new life to the whole nation. Though the number of inhabitants was visibly diminished, the levies which he had ordered were completed in a

few weeks; but the husbandmen left to cultivate the earth consisted of the infirm, aged, and decrepid: so that a famine was threatened in consequence of the military rage which had seized all the youth of the kingdom.

The presence of Charles did not now produce those consequences which the allies had feared. The kingdom was too much reduced to furnish the necessary supplies of men and money; and though the king's courage and military skill were not in the least diminished, the efforts which he made, instead of restoring Sweden to its splendor, served more completely to ruin it. In 1715, Prussia declared against him, on account of his demanding back the town of Stettin, which that monarch had seized. To complete his embarrassment, the elector of Hanover, George I. of Britain, also became his enemy. The forces of Denmark, Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover joined to invest Wismar, while a body of 36,000 men formed the siege of Stralsund; and at the same time the czar, with a fleet of twenty large ships of war, and 150 transports, carrying 30,000 men, threw every part of the Swedish coast into the greatest consternation. The heroism of Charles could not prevail against so many enemies; yet he was still so much dreaded, that the prince of Anhalt, with 12,000 brave troops, did not think himself a match for this furious enemy when at the head of only 2000, till he had intrenched his army behind a ditch, defended by chevaux de frise. It appeared, indeed, that this precaution was not unnecessary; for in the night Charles with his men clambered up the ditch, and attacked the enemy in his usual manner. Numbers, however, at last prevailed, and Charles was obliged to retire, after having seen his favorite Grothusen, General Dardoff, and Doring, the companions of his exile, killed by his side, he himself being wounded in the breast.

This rash attempt was made in order to save Rugen, whence the town of Stralsund was supplied with provisions. The place

was well fortified, and garrisoned with 9000 men, with Charles himself at their head; but nothing could resist the efforts of the enemy. By the 17th of December it was proposed to give the assault. The attack on the horn-work was desperate; the enemy was twice repulsed; but at last, by dint of numbers, effected a lodgment. The next day, Charles headed a sally, in which he dealt terrible destruction among the besiegers, but was at length overpowered and obliged to retreat into the town. At last his officers, apprehending that he must either fall into the hands of the enemy, or be buried in the ruins of the place, entreated him to retire. A retreat, however, was now almost as dangerous as to remain in the town, on account of the fleets of the enemy with which the sea was covered; and it is thought that this very circumstance induced the king to consent to it. Embarking in a small boat with sails and oars, he passed all the enemy's ships and batteries, and arrived safe at Ystedt in Schonen.

To revenge himself for these losses, Charles invaded Norway with an army of 25,000 men. The Danes were everywhere defeated and pursued with that vigor for which the king of Sweden was so remarkable; but strong reinforcements arriving from Denmark, and provisions failing, he was at last obliged to retire. Soon after this the Swedes lost Wismar; but when every thing seemed hopeless, Baron Goertz, the chief minister and favorite of Charles, contrived to make overtures for a treaty with the czar of Russia, by which the most formidable of all Charles's enemies was taken off. The minister found means to work on the inflexible temper of Charles, by representing to him that the cession of certain provinces to Peter would induce him to assist him in his projects of again dethroning Augustus, and of replacing James on the throne of Britain; which last scheme he had projected out of revenge for the elector of Hanover having seized on the duchies of Bremen and Verden. In consequence of the conferences between the czar and Goertz, the former engaged to send into

Poland an army of 80,000 men, in order to dethrone that prince whom he had so long defended. He also engaged to furnish ships for transporting 30,000 Swedes to Germany, and 10,000 into Denmark. This treaty was not however ratified, and the death of Charles put a final stop to all the great prospects of Sweden.

The king had resolved on the conquest of Norway before he dethroned Augustus; and as no difficulties ever deterred him, he marched his army into that cold and barren country in the month of October, when the ground was covered with frost and snow. With 18,000 men he formed the siege of Fredericks-hall, though the severity of the frost rendered it almost impossible to break ground. He resolved to form trenches; and his soldiers cheerfully obeyed, digging into the ground with the same labor as if they had been piercing a rock. On the 11th of December the king visited the trenches in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, imagining that his men might be animated by his presence. He took his post in the most dangerous station that he could select, standing on a gabion and leaning with his arm over the parapet, while the enemy were firing chain-shot at the very spot where he stood. He was entreated to change his station, but he remained obstinate. At last he was seen to fall mortally wounded, but whether by the enemy or by an assassin has been much disputed, and will probably ever remain matter of doubt. He soon afterwards expired.

Charles XII. was succeeded by his sister the princess Ulrica Eleonora, wife to the hereditary prince of Hesse. On this occasion the states took care to make a previous stipulation for the preservation of their liberties, and obliged the princess, before entering on the government, to sign a document to this effect. Their first care was to make peace with Great Britain, which the late king intended to have invaded. In order to prevent their further losses by the progress of the Russian, the Danish, the Saxon and other

arms, the Swedes made many great sacrifices to obtain peace from these powers. The French, however, about the year 1738, formed a dangerous party in the kingdom, which not only broke its internal quiet, but led it into a ruinous war with Russia, by which it lost the province of Finland. Their Swedish majesties having no children, it was necessary to settle the succession; especially as the duke of Holstein was descended from the queen's eldest sister, and was, at the same time, the presumptive heir to the empire of Russia. Four competitors appeared: the duke of Holstein Gottorp, Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, nephew to the king, the prince of Denmark and the duke of Deux-Ponts. The duke of Holstein would have carried the election, had he not embraced the Greek religion that he might mount the throne of Russia. The czarina interposed, and offered to restore all the conquests she had made from Sweden, excepting a small district in Finland, if the Swedes would receive the duke of Holstein's uncle, Adolphus Frederick, bishop of Lübeck, as their hereditary prince and the successor to the crown. This was agreed to; and a peace concluded at Abo, under the mediation of his Britannic majesty. The peace was so firmly maintained by the empress of Russia, that his Danish majesty thought proper to drop all resentment for the indignity offered his son. The prince-successor married the princess Ulrica, third sister to the king of Prussia; and in 1751 he entered into the possession of his new dignity, which proved to him a crown of thorns. The French had acquired great influence in all the deliberations of the Swedish senate, who of late had been little better than pensioners to that crown. The intrigues of the senators forced Adolphus to take part in the war against Prussia; but as that war was disagreeable, not only to the people, but also to the king of Sweden, the nation never made so mean an appearance; and on Russia's making peace with the king of Prussia, the Swedes followed the example. Adolphus died dispirited in 1771, after a

turbulent reign of twenty years, and was succeeded by his son Gustavus.

The most remarkable transaction of this reign is the revolution which took place in the government in the year 1772, by which the king, from being the most limited, became one of the most despotic monarchs in Europe. Ever since the death of Charles XII. the whole power of the kingdom had been lodged in the states; and this power they had much abused. Gustavus therefore determined either to seize on that power of which they made such a bad use, or to perish in the attempt. The revolution was effected in the following manner. On the morning of the 19th of August, 1772, a considerable number of officers, as well as other persons known to be attached to the royal cause, had been summoned to attend his majesty. Before ten he was on horseback, and visited the regiment of artillery. As he passed through the streets he was more than usually courteous to all he met, bowing familiarly to the lowest of the people. On the king's return to his palace, the detachment which was to mount guard that day being drawn up together with that which was to be relieved, his majesty retired with the officers into the guard-room. He then addressed them with all that eloquence of which he is said to have been a master; and after insinuating to them that his life was in danger, he exposed to them in the strongest colors the wretched state of the kingdom, the shackles in which it was held by means of foreign gold, and the dissensions and troubles arising from the same cause which had distracted the diet during the course of fourteen months. He assured them that his only design was to put an end to these disorders, to banish corruption, restore true liberty and revive the ancient lustre of the Swedish name, which had been long tarnished by a venality as notorious as it was disgraceful. Then assuring them in the strongest terms that he disclaimed forever all absolute power, or what the Swedes call *sovereignty*, he concluded with these words: "I am obliged to defend my own liberty and that of the kingdom

against the aristocracy, which reigns. Will you be faithful to me, as your forefathers were to Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus? I will then risk my life for your welfare and that of my country." The officers, most of them young men, of whose attachment the king had been long secure, and who did not perhaps perceive the real tendency of his majesty's request, were allowed no time to reflect, immediately gave their assent, and took an oath of fidelity to him. Only three refused. One of these, Frederick Cederström, captain of a company of the guards, alleged he had already, and very lately, taken an oath to be faithful to the states, and consequently could not take that which his majesty then enacted. The king, looking at him sternly, answered, "Think of what you are doing." "I do," replied Cederström; "and what I think to-day I shall think to-morrow; and were I capable of breaking the oath by which I am already bound to the states, I should be likewise capable of breaking that which your majesty now requires me to take." The king having then ordered Cederström to deliver up his sword, placed him under arrest. His majesty, however, apprehensive of the impression which his proper and resolute conduct might make on the minds of the other officers, soon afterwards softened his tone; and again addressed himself to Cederström, told him, that as a proof of the opinion which he entertained of him, and the confidence which he placed in him, he would return him his sword without insisting on his taking the oath, and would only desire his attendance that day. The undaunted captain continued firm; he answered, that his majesty could place no confidence in him, and that he begged to be excused from the service.

While Gustavus was shut up with the officers, senator Ralling, to whom the command of the troops in the town had been given two days before, came to the door of the guard-room, and was told that he could not be admitted. The senator insisted on being present at the distribution of the orders, and

sent to the king to desire it; but was answered, he must go to the senate, where his majesty would speak to him. The officers then received their orders from the king; the first of which was, that the two regiments of guards and of artillery should be immediately assembled, and that a detachment of thirty-six grenadiers should be posted at the door of the council-chamber to prevent any of the senators from coming out. But before the orders could be carried into execution, it was necessary that Gustavus should address himself to the soldiers; men wholly unacquainted with his designs, and accustomed to pay obedience only to the orders of the senate, whom they had been taught to hold in the highest reverence. As his majesty, followed by the officers, was advancing from the guard-room to the parade for this purpose, some of them, more cautious, or perhaps more timid, than the rest, became, on a short reflection, apprehensive of the consequences of the measure in which they were engaged; they began to express their fears to the king, that unless some person of greater weight and influence than themselves were to take a part in the same cause, he could scarcely hope to succeed in his enterprise. The king stopped a while, and appeared to hesitate. A serjeant of the guards overheard their discourse, and cried aloud, "It shall succeed. Long live Gustavus!" His majesty immediately said, "Then I will venture;" and stepping forward to the soldiers, he addressed them in terms nearly similar to those which he had employed to the officers, and with the same success. They answered him with loud acclamations. One voice only said, No; but it excited no attention.

In the meantime some of the king's emissaries had spread a report about the town that his majesty was arrested. This drew the populace to the palace in great numbers, where they arrived as he had concluded his harangue to the guard. They testified by reiterated shouts their joy at seeing him safe a joy which promised the happiest conclusion to the business of the day. The sena

tors were now immediately secured. They had from the window of the council-chamber beheld what was going forward on the parade before the palace; and, at a loss to know the meaning of the shouts which they heard, were coming down to inquire into the cause of them, when thirty grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, informed them it was his majesty's pleasure they should continue where they were. They began to speak in a high tone, but were only answered by having the door shut and locked upon them. The moment the secret committee heard that the senate was arrested, they separated of themselves, each individual providing for his own safety. The king then mounting his horse, followed by his officers with their swords drawn, a large body of soldiers, and numbers of the populace, went to the other quarters of the town where the soldiers whom he had ordered to be assembled were posted. He found them all equally willing to support his cause, and to take to him an oath of fidelity. As he passed through the streets, he declared to the people that he only meant to defend them, and save his country; and that if they would not confide in him, he would lay down his sceptre, and surrender up his kingdom. So much was the king beloved, that some of the people even fell on their knees, and many more, with tears in their eyes, implored his majesty not to abandon them.

The king proceeded in his course, and in less than an hour made himself master of all the military force in Stockholm. In the mean time the heralds, by proclamation in the several quarters of the city, summoned an assembly of the states for the ensuing morning, and declared all members traitors to their country who should not appear. Thither his majesty repaired in all the pomp of royalty, surrounded by his guards, and holding in his hand the silver sceptre of Gustavus Adolphus. In a very forcible speech, he lamented the unhappy state to which the country was reduced by the conduct of a party ready to sacrifice everything in its ambition. and reproached the states with adapt-

ing their actions to the views of foreign courts, from which they received the wages of perfidy. "If any one dare contradict this, let him rise and speak." Conviction, or fear, kept the assembly silent, and the secretary read the new form of government, which the king submitted to the approbation of the states. It consisted of fifty-seven articles; of which the five following were the chief. 1. The king has the entire power of convoking and dissolving the assembly of the states as often as he thinks proper. 2. His majesty alone has the command of the army, fleet and finances, and the disposal of all offices, civil and military. 3. In case of an invasion, or of any pressing necessity, the king may impose taxes, without waiting for the assembly of the states. 4. The diet can deliberate on no other subjects than those proposed by the king. 5. The king shall not carry on an offensive war without the consent of the states. When all the articles were recited, the king demanded if the states approved of them, and was answered by a general acclamation. He then dismissed all the senators from their employments, adding, that in a few days he would appoint others; and concluded this extraordinary scene by drawing out of his pocket a small psalm-book, from which, after taking off the crown, he gave out *Te Deum*. All the members very devoutly added their voices to his, and the hall resounded with thanksgiving.

The power which he had thus obtained, he employed for the good of his subjects. He took care that the law should be administered with impartiality to the richest noble and the poorest peasant, making a severe example of such judges as were proved to have made justice venal. He gave particular attention and encouragement to commerce; and being himself a man of letters, was a liberal and enlightened patron of literature and science. He strenuously labored to introduce into his kingdom the most valuable improvements in agriculture that had been made in foreign countries.

But while thus active in promoting the

arts of peace, he was not inattentive to the art of war. The fleet, which he found decayed and feeble, he in a few years restored to a respectable footing; and, besides changing the regulations of the navy, he raised a new corps of sailors, and formed them to the service by continual exercise. The army, which, like the navy, had been neglected during the aristocracy, was next to be reformed. The king began by giving cloaks, tents and new arms to all the regiments. Afterwards, under the direction of Field-marshal Count de Hessenstein, a new exercise was introduced, and several camps were formed, in which the soldiery were manoeuvred by the king himself. The sale of military offices, which had been permitted for many years, was entirely suppressed; and the king provided not only for the re-establishment of discipline and good order in the army, but for the future welfare of the individuals who composed it. These warlike preparations were necessary to a plan which he had formed for entirely abolishing the power of the aristocracy, and freeing Sweden from the factions which had long been formed in it by the court of St. Petersburg. The change which he had introduced was very inimical to the intrigues of that court; and the Russian ambassador exerted himself openly to bring about a rupture between the king and the discontented nobles. Gustavus ordered him to quit the kingdom in eight days, and immediately prepared for war with Russia. To this apparently rash enterprise he was incited by the Ottoman Porte, at that time unable to oppose the armies of the two empires; and his own ambition, together with the internal state of his kingdom, powerfully concurred to make him lend every assistance to his ancient ally. It is needless for us to enter into a detail of the particulars of that war, the principal circumstances of which have already been noticed under Russia. Suffice it to say, that neither Gustavus Adolphus nor Charles XII. gave greater proofs of undaunted courage and military conduct in their long and bloody wars than

were given by Gustavus III. from the end of the year 1787 to 1790, when peace was restored between the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm. When the court of Copenhagen was compelled, by the means of England and Russia, to withdraw its troops from the territories of Sweden, the king attacked Russia with such vigor both by sea and land, displayed such address in retrieving his affairs when apparently reduced to the last extremity, and renewed his attacks with such pertinacious courage, that the empress lowered the haughtiness of her tone, and was glad to treat with Gustavus as an equal and independent sovereign.

Sweden now enjoyed peace; but the nobles continued discontented, and a conspiracy was planned against Gustavus under his own roof. He had entered into the alliance that was formed against the revolutionary government of France; and in order to raise an army, which he was to lead in person, to co-operate with the emperor and the king of Prussia, he was obliged to negotiate large loans, and to impose on his subjects heavy taxes. The nobles took advantage of that circumstance to prejudice the minds of many of the people against the sovereign who had labored so long for their good. On the 16th of March, 1792, he received an anonymous letter, warning him of his immediate danger from a plot that was laid to take away his life; requesting him to remain at home, and avoid balls for a year; and assuring him that, if he should go to the masquerade for which he was preparing, he would be assassinated that very night. The king read the note with contempt, and at a late hour entered the ball-room. After some time, he sat down in a box with Count d'Essen, and observed that he was not deceived in his contempt for the letter, since, had there been any design against his life, no time could be more favorable than that moment. He then mingled, without apprehension, among the crowd; and just as he was preparing to retire in company with the Prussian ambassador, he was surrounded by several persons in masks,

one of whom fired a pistol at the back of the king, and lodged the contents in his body. A scene of dreadful confusion immediately ensued. The conspirators, amidst the general tumult and alarm, had time to retire to other parts of the room; but one of them had previously dropped his pistols and a dagger close by the wounded king. A general order was given to all the company to unmask, and the doors were immediately closed; but no person appeared with any particular distinguished marks of guilt. The king was immediately conveyed to his apartment; and the surgeon, after extracting a ball and some slugs, gave favorable hopes of his recovery. But the prognostication of his medical attendants soon appeared to be fallacious, and on the 28th of March, a mortification was found to have taken place. He expired on the following day; and on opening his body there were found within the ribs a square piece of lead and two rusty nails.

The king had by his will appointed a council of regency; but convinced by recent experience how little dependence was to be placed on the attachment of his nobles, and aware of the necessity of a vigorous government in times of such difficulty and danger, he appointed his brother, the duke of Sudermania, sole regent, till his son, then a minor, should attain the age of eighteen years. In his dying moments he desired that all the conspirators, except the perpetrator of his murder, might be pardoned.

The young king, who was about fourteen at his father's death, was proclaimed by the name of Gustavus IV. The regent soon took the most vigorous and active measures to apprehend and punish the projectors and perpetrators of the murder of his brother. A nobleman of the name of Ankarström confessed himself the assassin, and gloried in the action, which he called liberating his country from a monster and a tyrant. He was executed in a most cruel manner on the 17th of May. Other two noblemen, and two officers, also suffered death; but the rest of the conspirators were either pardoned, or punished

only by the infliction of fine and imprisonment.

From the accession of Gustavus IV. till the revolution which has been recently effected in Sweden, few transactions of any importance have occurred. Soon after the king had assumed the administration of affairs, he engaged warmly in the war against France, and till the time of his deposition continued a most faithful ally of Britain. The efforts of the Swedish monarch towards humbling the power of Bonaparte will be noticed under the separate articles *BRITAIN* and *FRANCE*; and the war with Russia, in which his alliance with Britain had involved him, has been sufficiently touched in the article *RUSSIA*. This prince seems to have been endowed with amiable qualities; but he was certainly rash and imprudent, and perhaps in some degree tinctured with insanity. He thus materially injured his kingdom, and alienated the affections of his principal nobles, especially of his uncle the duke of Sudermania.

In the beginning of March, 1809, the plan which appears to have been concerted between the duke of Sudermania and the principal nobility was carried into effect. The king was arrested; the duke assumed the reins of government, and issued a proclamation, announcing that, under existing circumstances, the king was incapable of conducting the affairs of the nation. Gustavus, now in close custody, was easily prevailed upon to abdicate the government. The diet was assembled; the duke of Sudermania was declared king of Sweden, under the title of Charles XIII.; Prince Augustenburg was chosen crown prince; and various changes were introduced into the constitution, confirming the powers of the diet, and removing what the prevailing party held to be encroachments of the crown during the late and preceding reigns. The people wearied or disgusted by the late king's folly and rashness, readily acquiesced in all the alterations. Peace was then made with Russia; a measure which had become absolutely

necessary, as the military force of the kingdom was completely broken, and no means were left for checking the progress of the enemy. By this peace Sweden lost Finland, a country of peculiar importance to her, on account of the supplies of grain which she was accustomed to draw from it; but in the treaty she reserved the right of yearly importing a certain quantity of grain, duty free. Swedish Finland, with Lapmark, now annexed to Russia, was estimated to contain about 120,000 square English miles, with 895,000 inhabitants. On the 6th of January, 1810, peace was also concluded with France, which restored Pomerania.

Sweden was now enjoying tranquillity, when the sudden and unexpected death of the crown prince Augustenburg, in April, 1810, became a new source of perplexity. The duke of Sudermania was old and in a feeble state of health; and as there was no person within the kingdom who had any title by blood to the throne, it was necessary, for the security of the new order of things, to choose a successor. The threatening position which the acquisition of Finland gave to Russia induced the noblemen who in concert with the court took a lead in the business, to look for some man of military talents. It happened that Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo, who had lately commanded in the north of Germany, had, by his liberal and kind treatment, gained the peculiar esteem of the Swedish officers and soldiers whom he had made prisoners in Gustavus's ill-concerted operations in Pomerania. He was besides highly respected for his military skill; and had been still further raised in general estimation, in consequence of Napoleon having removed him from his command for his lenity and humanity in the exercise of his power. Some of the Swedish officers, to whom his character was known, first conceived the idea of offering him the succession to the crown. The scheme was for some time kept as secret as possible; but it received so much countenance from the most considerable men, that it was at length opened to Bernadotte him-

self at Paris. He received it as might be expected, and his friends redoubled their intrigues. The prince of Denmark had been proposed, but the ancient enmity against that country was an invincible obstacle to his success. At length, when every thing was prepared, the diet was called, and Bernadotte was with acclamation elected crown prince by all the four orders, on the 21st of July. Of all the changes in the fortune and station of individuals which arose out of the French revolution, this is perhaps the most singular. Bonaparte seized the royal power and dignity for himself, and by force of arms he compelled some of the weaker states to accept his relations and followers as kings. But it does not appear that he was ever consulted as to Bernadotte's elevation, or had the smallest influence in it, except that the example given in his own person and that of his followers had contributed to destroy some of the old illusions as to birth and hereditary honors, and had prepared men's minds for great innovations. It was thus that a Frenchman who began his career as a common soldier, was raised to the Swedish throne by the spontaneous choice of a body of nobles, proud of their birth and ancestry.

The appearance of Bernadotte in the Swedish capital was followed by numerous feasts and spectacles. He received congratulations from all the public bodies; and though not immediately called to the throne, was, from the king's infirmities, intrusted with the entire conduct of the government. One of his first acts was to recommend to the diet the introduction of a conscription law like that of France, a measure which certainly hazarded his popularity. It was however adopted; and on this occasion he prevailed with the nobles to make a voluntary surrender of their ancient privilege of exemption from military service, as well as from taxation. Pressed by France and Russia, Sweden, in November, 1810, professed her adherence to the continental system, and declared war against Britain. The war however was only nominal, and the British cruisers returned,

in most cases, their captures untouched. This state of things continued till Bonaparte was preparing for his great Russian campaign, when the Swedish government, solicited by both parties, and tempted by great offers, at length signed treaties of alliance with Russia and Britain in 1812 and 1813. By these treaties the two powers mentioned engaged to assist the king in conquering Norway from Denmark. The French, for the purpose of intimidation, had previously seized Pomerania. Bernadotte carried over an army of 30,000 Swedes to Germany in 1813; and being joined by several large bodies of Prussian and German troops, he was encountered by Marshal Ney between Berlin and Leipzig on the 6th September, and, after an obstinate engagement, drove back the French army with the loss of 16,000 men. In the battle of Leipzig, fought on the 18th October, he likewise bore a conspicuous share. After the victory, he continued to act against Marshal Davoust's corps, and against the Danes, till he reduced the latter to the necessity of capitulating. He lost no time in improving this advantage; and by a treaty concluded at Kiel on the 14th January, 1814, compelled Denmark to cede Norway, or surrendering to her the possession of Pomerania, and thus securing a great advantage by the exchange of territory. He now advanced to the Rhine; but, satisfied with reducing Napoleon's power and, from views of interest, most probably

adverse to ruining him, he was thought to be rather dilatory in improving his advantages. The success of the allies at length left him at liberty to secure Norway, the prize for which he had fought. As the Norwegians announced their intention of resisting, he crossed the frontier with an army in July, and by judicious manœuvres, which placed the Norwegian force in his power, he obliged them to capitulate, and obtained possession of the country almost without bloodshed; Norway preserving its ancient constitution, and having states of its own. On the death of Charles XIII. in 1818, Bernadotte ascended the throne as Charles XIV., and was crowned at Stockholm and Drontheim. The subsequent history of Sweden presents few points of special interest. It has been characterized by a rapid and steady advance in prosperity. Bernadotte and his successors have devoted themselves to the establishment of peace and order among the people, and to the development of the industrial resources of the country, and their labors have been crowned with success. Commerce and the arts and manufactures have made rapid progress, and a very marked change has taken place in the moral and social condition of the people. Charles XIV. died in 1844, in the eightieth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Oscar I. The present monarch, Charles XV., succeeded his father Oscar in 1859.

NORWAY.

NORWAY is an extensive country in the north of Europe, united with Sweden under one king. All the territory which is now comprised by Norway and Sweden, was designated *Scandia* by the ancients. Pliny calls it *Scandia insula*, an appellation which derives its origin from the circumstance of the Romans, in the time of their great naturalist, being only acquainted with that part of the country called Skanen or Skonen, the little information which they possessed being obtained from some Germans. This is the ancient province of Schonen or Scania, the most southerly of Sweden. The name was afterwards changed to Scandinavia, which has been called the "store-house of nations," but without any just title to such a distinction. It seems now quite certain that Scandinavia was not the native country of the Scythians or Goths, but that they migrated from Asia to Europe. The fact of Pliny having designated Scandinavia as an island of considerable although uncertain magnitude, has also given rise to some discussion. To the imperfect knowledge of geography which the ancients possessed may reasonably be attributed their mistaken notion as to the insular position of these countries.

The early history of Norway is interwoven with the annals of Sweden and Denmark, and consists in legends contained in the *Heimskringla* or *Saga*, a collection of ancient manuscripts, which is to Norway what the *Edda* is to Iceland. The petty sov-

ereigns who held sway in Norway in remote ages were independent, but appear to have acknowledged a kind of supremacy in the kings of Sweden and Denmark, probably more nominal than real; but until the ninth or tenth century little is known of the annals of the country. The Norwegians, of course, constituted no inconsiderable proportion of those daring adventurers who, under the general name of Normans on the Continent, and Danes in Britain, became at one time the terror of all the maritime parts of Europe.

The Royal Northern Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen has published a series of the *Saga*, comprehending the historical account of events which belong to European history, as well as to that of Scandinavia, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It includes a period of about 170 years, beginning with the *Saga* of St. Olaf, the contemporary of Canute the Great of England, who assumed the crown of Norway in 1013, and continuing the series until the death of Magnus Erlingson in a sea-fight with Sverrer I. in 1184. This is one of the most curious and minute pictures of an age long past which the literature of Europe is possessed of. It is not only valuable as an historical document, confirming or adding to our stock of facts relative to a dark period of English history, but as a record of the social condition of the country at that time, and of the influence of the Thing, or assembly of the people; a reference of all matters to this

popular convocation being one of the most striking facts recorded in the Saga. From these rude annals we learn that, at a period immediately preceding the first traces of free institutions in Great Britain, similar institutions existed in great activity amongst these northern people. It seems a fair inference from these facts, therefore, that England owes the political institutions which she enjoys to the Danes and Normans, who were more likely to impose their own peculiar institutions upon those whom they subdued, than to receive institutions from the conquered.

From other Sagas preceding that of St. Olaf, we learn, that about the middle of the ninth century, Halfden the Black divided Norway into five districts, with fixed head places for holding Things in each. At these assemblies laws were framed suitable to the local circumstances of each district, which gave its name to the code. This potentate was succeeded by the celebrated Harold Harfagr, or the Fair-Haired, who ascended the throne at ten years of age, and reigned from 863 to 936. This warlike monarch, after long fighting, reduced all the independent nobles or petty kings to the condition of subjects, and consolidated the various principalities of Norway into one kingdom. Thus was consummated in a single reign, and that, too, in the ninth century, a work which afterwards cost the other nations of Europe several centuries of bloodshed and contention. But this was more easily accomplished in Norway than elsewhere; for in that country the great nobility never had feudal powers, and consequently those who were under them as servants were bound by no such ties of vassalage as the retainers of a Highland chieftain or a Norman baron. They were not taught passive and unconditional submission to a superior, although he might bear the title of king; for before a small sovereign could make war he was under the necessity of assembling the Thing and obtaining its sanction. The equal division of property among children, which extended to the crown itself, prevented the

accumulation of power in the hands of individuals; and the circumstance of the total want of fortresses, castles or strongholds in the country, owing to the division of estates, effectually prevented a nobility from attaining the same power with the nobles of feudal countries, and setting the royal authority at defiance. Some of these nobility or small kings colonized Iceland; and Normandy was conquered by Rolf Gangr, one of those whom Harold Harfagr expelled from Norway. In this king's reign Christianity was introduced into the country, and from this period the events recorded in the historical Saga may claim some degree of confidence. The length of this reign was no doubt favorable to the lower orders, by consolidating their institutions, which, as they weakened the authority of the petty kings, were favored by Harold. Eric his son and successor, whom he had associated with himself in the royal authority, was deposed by the Thing on account of his cruelty, and a younger brother succeeded him. Hakon, which was the name of this son of Harfagr, was brought up from his childhood at the court of Athelstane, King of England. He reigned nineteen years, during which period there was frequent reference to the Things, both for amending the laws and for the dissemination of Christianity. It appears that, in attempting to establish the religion of the Cross in his dominions, Hakon had recourse to what were considered as unconstitutional means; for we find that, at a meeting of the Thing, held in the year 956, a husbandman named Asbiorn, of Medalhuus, stood up and declared, on the part of his neighbors and of himself, "that they had elected Hakon to be their king upon the condition that freedom of religion and freedom of conscience should be warranted to every man and if the king persisted in attempting to suppress their ancient faith, they would elect another king;" adding, "and now, king, make thy choice." This is certainly one of the most striking instances of parliamentary patriotism to be met with in the history of

Europe. Hakon was not only compelled to give way, but also to take part in the heathen ceremonies of the meeting. This king was slain in 963, in a battle with the sons of his elder brother Eric, upon whom Athelstane of England had conferred the kingdom of Northumberland.

It appears that, after the death of Harfagr, the small kings again had risen to some degree of power, and that each in his own assembly, called also a Thing, had exercised a limited authority. Olaf the Saint, before he assumed the name of king, consulted one of these assemblies of the nobility as to the way of proposing his claim as heir of Harfagr to the general Things of the people; and he proceeded in such a manner as to show that their voice alone was insufficient to constitute him supreme chief in the land, without the sanction of the general Thing. These institutions appear to have always conferred or confirmed the royal prerogative, and to have been of great importance in that age amongst the whole Scandinavian people. In cases where the good of the community was at stake, they set the royal authority at defiance, and obliged the sovereign to accept of such international contracts as the Things of both countries conceived was for their mutual benefit. The Thing of Sweden compelled the sovereign of that country to conclude a peace with Norway, and to bestow his daughter in marriage on King Olaf, towards whom he cherished implacable enmity. Olaf had the title of Saint conferred on him for the exertions which he made to introduce Christianity amongst his subjects; but in prosecution of this object he exercised the most atrocious cruelties, and completely alienated the affections of his people. He attempted to govern without the intervention of the Things, which became the cause of his ruin; for when Canute the Great, who conquered Norway, invaded his dominions, the people literally "stopped the supplies;" and, unable to collect a force sufficient to oppose the King of England, he was compelled to seek refuge in Russia. For the

purpose of recovering his crown, he landed in Sweden with a few followers, and, having received an accession to his force from the king of that country, who was his brother-in-law, marched from the Gulf of Finland across the peninsula to the Fiord or Gulf of Trondhjem. In the meantime the Thing of Norway raised an army of 12,000 bonder, and placed it under the command of Olver of Egge. At the debouche of the valley of Vaerdal they met Olaf at the head of about 4000 adventurers. The conflict could not be doubtful where there was such an inequality of numbers, and where the superiority lay on the side of those who were fighting in defence of their liberties. King Olaf was defeated and slain, without even showing the prudence and courage which had distinguished his early career. This battle was fought on the 31st of August, 1030, and not on the 29th of June or July, 1033, as is commonly stated. The body of the fallen monarch was transported to St. Clement's church in Trondhjem, which had been erected by himself. In return for the services which he had rendered the church, the clergy soon afterwards canonized him; and even at Constantinople temples were erected to his memory. His tomb was regarded as a consecrated spot, to which pilgrimages were performed, not only by ardent devotees from the north, but also from the south of Europe.

Canute the Great did not long remain in Norway; and from the period of Olaf's death the country was ruled by native monarchs, who even for a time governed Denmark. It may be gathered from the ancient chronicles before referred to, that at this period society was composed of four distinct orders. The first was the nobility, who were descendants of royal families; and, without regard to priority of birth, those who were descended both on the mother's side and father's side from Harfagr were eligible to the supreme monarchy. They appear to have had no civil power or privilege as nobles, but merely this *odelsbaarn*-

ret to the crown. The *odelsbaarnmen*, bondermen, or husbandmen, were the proprietors of lands held neither from the king nor from any feudal superior. These were the people who had a voice at the *Things*. A third order consisted of the unfree men, holding land for services as vassals or as laborers in cottages, but who had no voice in the *Things* in respect of their land. A fourth order was composed of the *trælle* or domestic slaves, who were private property, and in a lower state than the former class. This condition of society, which was equivalent to slavery, was abolished by Magnus VII., who reigned from 1319 to 1344.

The most important event in the history of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, in the middle ages, was the union of the three kingdoms under one sovereign, Margaret, daughter of Waldemar, King of Denmark, which was effected by the league of Calmar, in the year 1397. The circumstances which led to this remarkable occurrence will be found narrated in the article DENMARK. Had this princess been as capable of conquering national prejudices as she was of defeating armies, her dominions would have constituted a great and powerful monarchy. But the passions of her people were more than a match for her policy; and it was, no doubt, better that the three nations which she governed should each remain in quiet possession of its own freedom, as enjoyed under its own form of government and laws, than that they should lay aside all differences, and, heartily uniting as one kingdom and people, become the terror and scourge of Southern Europe. Margaret died without issue; but during her lifetime she appointed her grand-nephew, whom some historians call her cousin, Eric, a descendant of the dukes of Pomerania, as her successor; and he succeeded to the triple crown of Scandinavia in 1412. The union, however, was far from being cordial; and for rather more than a century local insurrections from time to time broke out and distracted the country. The Swedes, in particular felt great

reluctance to submit to a foreign dynasty; and after various attempts on their part to shake themselves free from the compact of Calmar, the oppression and cruelty of Christian II. led to the final separation of Sweden in 1520, under the celebrated Gustavus Ericson or Vasa. Norway and Denmark, however, remained under one sceptre, till, at the adjustment of European affairs after the fall of Napoleon, Norway was separated from Denmark, and united to the crown of Sweden. This took place in the year 1814.

The circumstances which led to the forcible separation of two countries that had for centuries been united by the closest relations, and the union of one of them with another country which had for as many ages been regarded as a natural enemy, may be shortly stated. The grand object of the leading powers was to induce every state to join in the league against Napoleon; and Sweden, in consideration of an ample bribe, acceded to the general confederacy. One of the foulest stains on the escutcheon of Great Britain is the treaty which she entered into with Sweden, dated 3d March, 1813. By this notorious compact against the liberties of a whole people, England gave to the King of Sweden the kingdom of Norway (which was no more hers than Rome or Pekin), together with Guadaloupe, and a million of pounds sterling, as a remuneration to his Swedish Majesty for joining the allied powers against France. After the battle of Leipsic, fought in October, 1813, the Crown Prince of Sweden entered Denmark with his army; and after some bloody scenes in Holstein, peace was concluded at Kiel on the 14th of January, 1814. By this treaty Denmark gave up all right to Norway, considering it as quite hopeless to enter into a contest with Sweden and England. Although the King of Denmark might relinquish his claim to the sovereignty of Norway, this was no reason for the people of that country making an unconditional surrender of themselves to a foreign potentate. They declared themselves an independent

nation, framed a constitution of their own, and proclaimed Prince Christian, son of their former sovereign, and governor of Norway, as their lawful king. Not a little blood was shed in the contention between Sweden and Norway; and England actively interfered by blockading the ports of Norway, for the purpose of starving the inhabitants of the country into subjection. But a speedy settlement of the question became necessary to all parties. The constitution which the Norwegians had prepared in April, 1814, and which they were in arms to maintain, was guaranteed to them, upon condition of their accepting along with it the Swedish monarch as king, and the Crown Prince of Denmark abdicating the throne. Matters were arranged on this footing; and on the 17th May, 1814, both parties, the King of Sweden and the Norwegian nation, solemnly entered into a compact to the effect stated, under the sanction and guarantee of the allied powers, and of Great Britain amongst the rest. By the treaty the entire independence of Norway as a kingdom was secured, the crowns alone being united, as in the case of Hanover and England. She had a constitution of her own framing, a legislature of her own electing, without being interfered with by any foreign authority in the exercise of her right, and laws of her own making and administering; in short, Norway remained a pure democracy in all but the name.

Since this union of Norway and Sweden under one sovereign, there have occurred only two events of any importance in the history of the former. The first was the abolition of hereditary nobility by the Storthing; and the second was an attempt of the Swedish cabinet in 1824 to force on the Norwegian people an entire amalgamation of their country with Sweden. But the firmness of the Storthing or Parliament, the honorable feelings of the sovereign, and, it is said, the interference of Russia on the part of the allied powers, prevented such an infamous attempt to violate the faith of

treaties, and bring disgrace upon those who had guaranteed them. Great Britain, as a party to the treaty of 1814, and as having inflicted some injury on the country by her ships of war, was especially bound to protect the liberties and national independence of Norway, and to preserve her from becoming a mere province of Sweden, as Poland is now of Russia.

The facts relative to the abolition of hereditary nobility may be shortly stated. It is fixed that the executive power had not a final veto, but only a suspensive negative, till the law is passed by three successive Storthings. In the year 1815 both chambers of the Storthing proposed and passed a motion to abolish nobility for ever in Norway. The slender remains of this class were of foreign, and almost in every instance of recent origin; besides, few of them had enough of property to enable them to hold a dignified station in society. By the law of succession land is equally divided amongst all the children, so that large estates could not be entailed on the possessor of the family title; and hence, to maintain his rank and respectability, a nobleman must have become a placeman or a pensioner, or engaged in operations which would bring nobility into contempt. The existence of a hereditary nobility in a country where the law of primogeniture was unknown in the succession to real property, seemed therefore an anomaly, which, in any circumstances, could not long be tolerated, and which was altogether unsuitable to the state of things which had long obtained in Norway. The royal assent, however, was refused to the proposed enactment in 1815, and again in the year 1818, after it had passed through a second Storthing. To prevent it from passing a third time became the grand object of government; for then it would necessarily have become the law of the land, with or without the royal consent. In 1821, the year when the measure was to be again brought forward, the king in person repaired to Christiania, and used

every means to induce the Storthing to abandon it ; but in vain. Six thousand soldiers were marched to the neighborhood of that city, to overawe both the legislature and the people ; and extreme irritation prevailed. At this critical moment, when the flames of civil war were about to be kindled, both the Russian and American ministers interfered. What arguments or remonstrances they employed are unknown ; but the fact is, that government lowered its tone, the troops were withdrawn, and the Swedish government gave way. The Storthing having passed the measure abolishing hereditary nobility for the third time, it consequently became law. Norway therefore remains a pure democracy, federally united with the monarchy of Sweden. Its constitution has outlived two dangerous attacks upon it ; and

as the principles upon which it is based have been developed by practice, it has gained additional strength, and been further secured by the love and veneration of the people. The sudden disjunction of Denmark and Norway left, of course, much business to be adjusted between individuals of the two countries. It thus occasioned much distress and loss to persons having connections and property in both ; and it still produces a constant intercourse. Few, we believe, will admire the manner in which the union between Sweden and Norway was effected ; but as few will doubt the benefits which must result to both from the exchange of mutual hostility for mutual cordiality, and to a certain extent an identity of interests.

DENMARK.

A KINGDOM in the north of Europe, small in extent and scanty in population, but known in history from an early period of the Christian era. There is no authentic account of the origin of the name of Denmark, nor of the quarter from which the country received its early inhabitants. From the similarity of the Danish and German languages, as well as from the general course of migration in early ages, it seems probable that Denmark was peopled by immigrants from the south—from Holstein, Hanover, and Saxony. There are no means of ascertaining whether natives of Denmark formed part of the formidable hordes which passed the Roman frontiers in the fifth and sixth centuries; but the attacks on this empire were probably made by tribes less remote, the expeditions of the Danes being in general maritime. For such expeditions they were remarkable as early as the eighth and ninth centuries, as was proved by their repeated invasions of England, their occasional descents on Scotland, and their conquest, followed by permanent occupation, of Normandy. To cross a sea of three or four hundred miles in breadth was a bold undertaking for men unacquainted with the use of the compass; but the number of islands in Denmark early accustomed the inhabitants to navigation, and gave them a practical dexterity in it, similar to that acquired by the Dutch from their vicinity to arms of the sea, and to the mouths of great rivers. Both countries proved the advantage of a mari-

time position, for in those days neither France nor England were capable of sending forth a naval armament.

At the period in question, or rather somewhat later, about the early part of the tenth century, commences the authentic history of Denmark. Till then the country, ill cultivated and thinly peopled, seems not to have been subject to one sovereign, but to have obeyed provincial or local rulers, like England during the Heptarchy. Alfred had, it is well known, various conflicts with those northern invaders; but he had the judgment eventually to suspend hostilities, and to assign to them a portion of his territories. He knew how small a part of England was cultivated, and he considered that there was ample room in the country for both Dane and Saxon. The establishment thus given to the Danes in England, and the subsequent arrival of bodies of their countrymen, joined to the talents of two of their princes, Sweyne and Canute, enabled the latter to acquire the crown of England. Canute completed the conquest begun by his father, and became king of England as well as of Denmark in the year 1017; he resided generally in England, and left the crown to his sons Harold and Hardi-Canute. On the death of the latter, without male heirs, the Danish dynasty in England came to a close in 1041. After the eleventh century, we read of no invasion of England by the Danes, although a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the eastern and northern counties were

doubtless descended from Danish settlers. The progress of society and the course of political events in Denmark resembled in several points those of England. The feudal system was introduced there in the twelfth century, which, as well as the thirteenth, were marked in Denmark, as in England, by contentions between the sovereign and the barons, and by concessions from the former in the style of Magna Charta. About the thirteenth century, the population of towns in Denmark, as in Germany and the central parts of Europe, though still very small, became such as to entitle them to obtain from the crown charters of incorporation, and an exemption from the control of the barons, in whom was vested almost the whole property of the land. A regular constitution began now to be formed in Denmark; and the towns sent deputies or representatives to the states or parliament, which, it was enacted, should meet once a year. It was also ordered that the laws should be uniform throughout the kingdom, and that no tax should be imposed without the authority of parliament.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to recapitulate the successive sovereigns of Denmark in the middle ages, of whom few were of distinguished ability. The names of most frequent occurrence among them in those early times were Canute, Valdemar, and Eric. Those of Christiern or Christian and Frederick were of later date. One of the most remarkable of the Danish sovereigns in the middle ages was Valdemar II., who succeeded to the crown in 1203, and some time afterwards proceeded to Livonia, in which his predecessors had endeavored to introduce Christianity. He found no great difficulty in defeating bodies of men so little advanced in civilization as to be clothed in the skins of wild beasts; but a country in so barbarous a state presented little attraction in either a commercial or political sense; so that the Danes found little inducement to extend their settlements on the southern shores of the Baltic.

The chief mercantile intercourse of Denmark in those times was with Lubeck and the north-west of Germany. To the Baltic Lubeck was nearly what Venice was to the Mediterranean, the earliest commercial town of consequence. There was also some traffic from Denmark to the mouths of the Vistula; the name of Dantzic or Dansvik (Danish town or port) indicating that a Danish colony, aware of the advantages of the situation, had established itself there. The more remote provinces of Courland and Esthonia were also objects of ambition to the Danes; but they did not find it practicable to keep settlements there. Holstein was more within their control, and much more advantageous, from the comparative civilization of its inhabitants.

At the time of which we are now treating, namely, the fourteenth century, the association of the Hans Towns had acquired considerable strength, and asserted strenuously the freedom of commerce in the north of Europe. Denmark, commanding the great entrance into the Baltic by the Sound, was the power most interested in laying merchant vessels under a toll or regular contribution; and the result was repeated contentions, followed at times by open war, between the Danish government and this powerful confederacy.

The most important event in the history of Denmark, or indeed of Scandinavia, in the middle ages, was the conjunct submission of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway to one sovereign, by the compact or union of Calmar, in the year 1397. The circumstances were as follows: Valdemar III., king of Denmark, having died in the year 1378, left two daughters, of whom the second, Margaret was married to Haquin or Haaco, king of Norway. On the demise of her husband the government of Norway remained in her hands; and afterwards, on the death of her son, who had been declared king of Denmark, the states or parliament of that country fixed this princess on the throne, on her consenting to extend and secure their rights

and privileges. The states of Norway followed their example; so that Margaret, finding herself seated on the thrones of Denmark and Norway, directed her attention to that of Sweden, the succession to which would have fallen to her husband Haquin had he survived. The Swedes were divided into two parties—that of Margaret, and that of a Duke of Mecklenburg, who, though unconnected with the royal family of Sweden, claimed to be king by election. Margaret, a princess of great activity and ambition, was indefatigable in obtaining the support of the clergy and nobility of Sweden; an appeal to arms took place, and the result was favorable to the cause of the queen, her competitor being defeated and made prisoner. In 1397 the states of the three kingdoms were convoked at Calmar, a town centrally situated for such an assemblage, being in the south of Sweden. There they concurred in passing the well known act called the Union of Calmar, the purport of which was, that the three kingdoms should henceforth be under one sovereign, who should, however, be bound to govern each according to its respective laws and customs. To guard against their separation, it was enacted, that if a sovereign should leave several sons, one of them only should be the ruler of the three kingdoms, the other holding fiefs under him; and in the event of the reigning king or queen dying without children, the senators and parliamentary deputies of the three kingdoms should jointly proceed to the election of another sovereign, that the union of the kingdoms might be maintained.

Such were the precautions taken by this vigilant and able princess, who has been called the Semiramis of the North, in order to banish war and political dissensions from Scandinavia. For a time they were successful, and peace and concord were maintained during the lifetime of Margaret and two of her successors. But the union, as regarded the Swedes, was far from being cordial; they submitted reluctantly to a foreign family, and considered themselves as obliged to act

in subserviency to the political views of Denmark. They saw the chief places of trust in their country conferred on Danish or German ministers, and viewed these foreigners with as much jealousy as the Belgians in our day felt towards the Hollanders introduced by the house of Orange. These and other causes prevented the union of Sweden from being cordial or complete. Local insurrections, fomented by particular classes, and strengthened by national antipathy, occurred from time to time during the century, or somewhat longer period, that the union of Calmar continued to exist. At last the severity, or rather the cruelty, of one of the Danish kings, Christian II., and the appearance of an able assertor of Swedish independence in Gustavus Vasa, a man of rank, led to an insurrection, which beginning in the northern province of Dalecarlia, extended throughout Sweden, and led to a definitive separation of the two crowns in the year 1523.

In 1490 the reigning king of Denmark made a commercial treaty with Henry VII. of England, by which the English engaged to pay the Sound dues on all vessels entering or returning from the Baltic; and in return they were allowed to have mercantile consuls in the chief sea-ports of Denmark and Norway. By this time the extension of trade had given rise in Denmark, as in England, to a middle class, among whom the sovereign found in each country the means of balancing the political weight of the nobility; hence a grant was made by the kings of Denmark of various privileges to traders; and relief from a number of local imposts on the transit of merchandise.

The rude habits of the age were strongly marked by the difficulty which the Danish government found in putting a stop to the practice of plundering merchantmen shipwrecked on the coast. Vessels proceeding to and from the Baltic necessarily approached the coast of Jutland, particularly in an age when the ignorance of mariners led to their considering the vicinity of the land in

the light of a protection. Shipwrecks were consequently of frequent occurrence there, and were generally turned to the profit of the nobility, who were proprietors of the maritime districts. We may here remark, that the nobles claimed not only the soil, but even the persons of the peasantry; for the principal of personal bondage was until lately maintained in Denmark. The practice was to collect in the vicinity of a wreck such a number of the inhabitants as to prevent the master or mariners from opposing the seizure of the merchandise. Even bishops residing on the coast, though humane in their treatment of the crews, did not scruple to aid in taking forcible possession of the cargo; so crude were in those days the notions of justice towards merchants. It is a remarkable fact, that a law passed by the king about the year 1521 for the prevention of these practices was abrogated and publicly burned at the instance of the barons and clergy a few years after, when a new sovereign had succeeded to the crown.

The doctrines of the Reformation happily found their way into Denmark at an early date. Frederick I., who began to reign in 1525, and had formerly been duke of Holstein, in that year embraced the Protestant religion. The inhabitants of Denmark being divided between the Catholics and Protestants, Frederick began by an edict for tolerating both religions. An assembly of the states or parliament next passed a solemn act for the free preaching of the Reformed faith, and for allowing ecclesiastics of any class to marry and reside in any part of the kingdom. The consequence of this was a reduction of the number of the inmates of abbeys, monasteries, and convents, along with the general diffusion of the Lutheran faith throughout the kingdom. This rapid progress enabled the succeeding sovereign, Christian III., to act like Henry VIII. of England, by annexing the church-lands to the crown, and strengthening the power of the sovereign at the expense of that of the clergy.

The great religious war which broke out in 1618 for the first time fixed the attention of Europe on Denmark. The victories of the Imperial General Tilly, and Maximilian of Bavaria, over the Protestants, appeared to make the Emperor Ferdinand, who was the head of the Catholic party, complete master of Germany, when Christian IV. of Denmark, encouraged by England and France, determined to take up the Protestant cause as a principal in the general contest. But being weakly supported by his allies, the Danish king, after one year's campaign, was obliged to fly before the victorious army of Wallenstein (1626), and to sue for peace, which was concluded at Lubeck, 1629. By the stipulations of this peace Denmark bound itself never to interfere in the affairs of Germany, and was besides compelled to acknowledge Wallenstein Duke of Mecklenburg. This peace would have been still more humiliating for Denmark, if France, already influenced by the counsels of Richelieu, had not interposed its efforts on behalf of the vanquished. The emperor now thought of nothing less than the entire subjection of Germany to his will. A new adversary, however, arose in Gustavus Adolphus the king of Sweden. The short and glorious career of this king will be found described in its proper place. But this much must be here observed, that despite the fall of Adolphus in the battle of Lutzen, in 1632, the power of Sweden was becoming continually more considerable and consequently an object of real envy to all its neighbors, but especially to Denmark. Thus it happened that, besides the general religious war, repeated hostilities were being carried on between Sweden and Denmark separately.

The first contest lasted from 1637 to 1645, and the treaty concluded in the latter year proved rather a truce than a peace. The Danish government formed an alliance with Holland, and aided that republic in her sanguinary contest in 1652 with England, then under the authority of Cromwell. The king of Sweden at that time was Charles Gusta

rus, a prince in the vigor of life, and actuated by all the ambition and enterprise of the house of Vasa. He had carried his military operations into Poland, which then, as at other times, seemed to invite the presence of foreigners by its internal dissensions. But on learning the hostile disposition of the Danish government, Charles withdrew his troops from Poland, entered Holstein, and overran the whole province. As soon as the winter had advanced, and it had become practicable to cross on the ice the arms of the sea separating the Danish islands from the mainland, the Swedish army traversed in that manner the Little Belt, took Odensee, the capital of the island of Funen, and even invested Copenhagen. That capital was not without a military force, but its walls were weak, nor was it adequately supplied with provisions or military stores. On this occasion the Danes, with their king Frederick III. at their head, discovered great firmness, and resisted the efforts of the Swedes, until, under the mediation of the English envoy at the court of Copenhagen, hostilities were suspended, and a treaty signed. This treaty, however, was only partly carried into execution. Dissatisfied at the delay which took place, Charles Gustavus made a second attempt on Copenhagen in the autumn of 1658; but he found it impracticable to prevent supplies being introduced into the city by sea, as the Dutch now came to the assistance of their Danish allies. Still the Swedes persisted in the siege, and in the depth of winter (in February, 1659) made an attempt to take Copenhagen by storm. The attacks were made on three points, each headed by an able commander, but each was unsuccessful, and the siege was necessarily converted into a blockade. Soon afterwards the king of Sweden died, and the sanguinary contest was brought to a close by the treaty of Copenhagen in 1660. This peace ceded to the Swedish crown Seonia, Aland, several places on the island of Rugen, and a free passage through the Sound.

In the following year, 1660, the vicissitudes

of war were succeeded by a remarkable revolution in domestic politics. The reigning king of Denmark had gained great popularity, as well by his spirit and firmness in the field, as by resisting the claims made by the nobility to the disadvantage of the other orders of the state. He was thus assured of the support of the middle classes in any attempt to reduce the power of the nobility. On assembling the states or parliament, the representatives of the different towns were found sufficiently strong, when united with the clergy and strengthened by the power of the crown, to outweigh the influence of the nobility, and the court determined to act with vigor in extending its prerogative. The political contest began about the crown lands, which had hitherto been let to nobles only, and at very low rents. It was proposed and carried in the parliament, that men of any class or station might henceforth be candidates for them, and that they should be let to the highest bidder. The next proposition of the clergy and commons was, that the crown, hitherto in some degree elective, should be so no longer, but should devolve, as a matter of right, on the lawful heir, whether male or female. To a people who had suffered so greatly from the contentions of factions, this proposition was highly acceptable; and even the nobility felt the necessity of concurring in the measure, which was followed by an alteration in the coronation oath of the sovereign. That oath had hitherto specified explicitly the rights of the nobility, but it henceforth contained no stipulation on the part of the sovereign. The record or original of the oath which the reigning king had signed at his accession, and which limited his authority, was surrendered to him, and an engagement of unqualified allegiance was then taken by each of the orders. These important changes were, some time afterwards, followed by an act or law still more comprehensive and absolute which invested the sovereign with unlimited power, and declared him to possess the right to make, repeal and interpret any law, or to

enter into any engagement without reference to parliament. This applied equally to foreign and domestic affairs. Henceforth, in Denmark, whatever power could be shown to have belonged to any ruler in any country, was now forthwith to be understood as belonging to the king.

This remarkable change in the form of the government is to be explained chiefly by the repugnance of the people of Denmark to the ascendancy of the nobility. The French revolution proceeded from causes somewhat similar; but in Denmark the control possessed by the privileged class was not tempered, as in France, by civilized and refined habits. The direct authority of the nobles was also greater, for they possessed the power of life and death over their vassals. Many of them attempted to resist the change, but without success—so powerful was the union of the people and the sovereign. Frederick lived ten years after this singular revolution; a period which enabled him to consolidate it, and to reinstate in peace the trade and finances of his country.

His successor, led away by the ardor of youth, abandoned the pacific policy of his father, and ventured to make war against Sweden. He relied on the aid of the Elector of Brandenburg, commonly called the Great Elector; the possession of so extensive a country as Prussia placing him quite at the head of the princes of the empire. Swedish Pomerania was chosen as the scene of operations, from being open to attack by the Prussians. The Swedes were overmatched in force, but being well commanded, they made a firm and spirited resistance. By sea the Danes had the advantage, having the aid of a Dutch squadron commanded by the well known Van Tromp. This enabled them to convey an invading force to Schonen or Scania, the southern and most fertile province of Sweden. Here the forces of the Swedes were brought to bear against their opponents, with the advantage of vicinity to their supplies; nearly in the same way that the military means of France were at that time con-

centrated in Flanders and Alsace against those of more distant powers. The result was, that the Danes were obliged to retreat from Scania, and, after several alternations of success, peace was signed between the two kingdoms in 1679, the year after the treaty of Nimeguen had suspended the war in the central part of Europe. As usual, after much bloodshed and many vicissitudes of fortune, the adverse states were placed by the treaty in nearly the same situation as at the commencement of the war; but hopes of peace for the future were justified by the marriage of the young king of Sweden, Charles XI., with a princess of Denmark.

These hopes were realized during twenty years; and peace continued until 1699, when Charles XI. having died, the reigning king of Denmark, Frederick IV., was tempted by the youth of Charles XII. of Sweden to invade the dominions of his ally the Duke of Holstein. Frederick was little aware of the spirit of his opponent, who became afterwards so well known in the wars of the north of Europe. Charles, determined to strike at once at his enemy's capital, lost no time in crossing the narrow sea between Sweden and Denmark, and in investing the city of Copenhagen. The inhabitants in alarm appealed to the humanity of the young monarch; and the result was the speedy conclusion of peace, with the payment of a sum of money to the Swedes. Taught by this lesson, the Danish government remained neutral in the following years, when the course of events led Charles and his army into Poland and Saxony. There success attended him year after year, until his memorable march into the heart of the Ukraine in 1708. The Swedes were even then superior to their uncivilized opponents, but no discipline would bear up against privations and absolute want. The consequence was the loss of the battle of Pultowa, the capture of the Swedish army, and the flight into Turkey of its heroic leader. The King of Denmark then found himself independent, and eagerly embraced the opportunity of renewing hostilities with

Sweden, invading both Holstein in the south, and the province of Scania to the north. Scania was badly provided with troops, but it had officers trained in one of the best military schools of the age, and a peasantry full of national antipathy towards the Danes. The result was a spirited attack on the invading army, followed by its defeat and precipitate flight into Denmark. The war was then carried on with alternate success in different parts—in Pomerania, in Holstein and Norway; until at last the military career of Charles XII. came unexpectedly to a close in the end of 1718. Some time afterwards, negotiations were opened between Sweden and Denmark, under the mediation of England, and ended in 1720 in a definitive treaty of peace, concluded at Stockholm. It was then that Sweden lost all the advantages gained since the peace of Westphalia, and that George I. of England as Elector of Hanover, Prussia, and Peter the Great, shared with Denmark the spoil of Sweden. Henceforth no danger threatened Denmark from the side of its neighbor, though the cessation of the rivalry was more perceptible in the decline of Sweden than the progress of Denmark.

The Danish government had now ample experience of the sacrifices attendant on war, and of the expediency, to a state of such limited power, of avoiding political collisions. It consequently adopted a policy to which it has almost ever since endeavored to adhere, a course of uninterrupted peace.

It was towards the middle of the eighteenth century that the family of Bernstorff became known in the councils of Denmark; the first minister of that name, a man of superior talent and information, having come forward at that time. By the prudence of the ministry, and the pacific disposition of the sovereign, Denmark was kept from taking part in the war begun in Germany in 1740, as well as in the more general contest begun in the same country in 1756.

Frederick V. of Denmark was twice married, and died in 1766, leaving a son by each

wife. The crown devolved of course on the elder, his son by the first wife, who took the name of Christian VII. He was a weak prince, and listened too readily to the insinuations of his step-mother, whose secret wish was to secure the succession of the crown to her own son, and who did not scruple, with that view, to sow discord between Christian and his young consort, a Princess of England, and youngest daughter of George II. The circumstances were these: A German adventurer named Struensee had ingratiated himself into the favor of Frederick V., the late king, and had found means to be appointed his prime minister—a situation which he was ill qualified to fill. He continued to hold that office under Christian, and was introduced to the young queen as her husband's confidential minister. On this the queen dowager founded an intrigue, and succeeded in persuading the king that the queen, in concert with Struensee and his friend Count Brandt, had formed a project to set him aside, and to get herself declared regent of the kingdom. By working on the fears of this weak prince, the queen dowager prevailed on him to authorize the arrest of the queen and the two ministers. The latter were thrown into prison, and Struensee was accused of having abused his authority as minister, and of other criminal acts. As there was no proof of these acts, recourse was had to the barbarous alternative of torture, the dread of which led Struensee to declare, in the form of a confession, much to the injury of the young queen, which is now considered as unfounded. This, however, did not enable him to escape; for he and Count Brandt were both beheaded in April, 1772; whilst the queen consort was, at the instance of the British government, allowed to retire and to pass the remainder of her short life at Zell, in Hanover, repeatedly but fruitlessly demanding an open trial. This ill-fated princess died in her twenty-third year, without the satisfaction of knowing that the author of her misfortunes, had lost her influence at the Court of Denmark.

One of the principal political questions between England and Denmark occurred in the year 1780, in the midst of the war of Great Britain with France, Spain and the North American colonies. During that arduous contest, England, superior at sea, had no difficulty in obtaining, by her own merchantmen, a supply of hemp, cordage and other naval stores, from the Baltic, whilst France and Spain trusted to receiving such supplies by neutral vessels. But the British government denied the right of neutrals to carry warlike stores; and the northern powers, headed by the ambitious Catherine of Russia, entered into a compact, called the armed neutrality, by which, without resorting to actual hostility, they sought to overawe England, and to continue their commerce. Happily no bloodshed followed this diplomatic menace, and the question fell to the ground in 1782, on the negotiation for a general peace.

The King of Denmark, subject all along to imbecility, became after 1784 quite incapable of governing. His son, the crown prince, was, therefore, appointed regent, and soon passed several judicious enactments. The peasants living on the crown lands were gradually emancipated—an example followed by a number of the nobility on their respective estates. In the abolition of the African slave trade Denmark had the honor of taking the lead among the governments of Europe. The crown prince guided by the counsels of Count Bernstorff, son of the minister already mentioned, long remained neutral in the political convulsion engendered by the French revolution. He continued to adhere steadfastly to this plan until in 1801 the Emperor Paul of Russia having, as in the case of the armed neutrality, formed a compact of the northern powers hostile to England, a British fleet was sent into the Baltic under the orders of Sir Hyde Parker, with Lord Nelson as his second in command.

It was this fleet which taught the Danes that their capital was not impregnable, and that the long line of men-of-war moored in

front of the harbor was an insufficient defence against such enterprising opponents. The attack took place on the 2d of April, 1801; and the resistance of the Danes was spirited, but fruitless. The loss of the English in killed and wounded exceeded 1000 men, but that of their opponents was much greater, and most of their shipping was destroyed. Happily little injury was done to the capital. A cessation of hostilities took place forthwith, and was followed by a treaty of peace. The death of the Emperor Paul, which occurred soon afterwards, dissolved the compact between the northern courts.

But no treaty of peace could be regarded as permanent during the ascendancy of Bonaparte. After defeating first Austria, and then Prussia, that extraordinary man found means to obtain the confidence of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, and in the autumn of 1807 threatened to make Denmark take part in the war against England. Although the Danish government discovered no intention to violate its neutrality, the British ministers, eager to please the public by acting on a system of vigor, despatched to the Baltic both a fleet and an army, in order to compel the surrender of the Danish navy upon condition of its being restored at a peace. To such a demand the crown prince gave an immediate negative, declaring that he was both able and willing to maintain his neutrality, and that his fleet could not be given up on any such condition. On this the English army landed near Copenhagen; laid siege to that city; and soon obliged the government to purchase its safety by surrendering the whole of its naval force.

This act, the most questionable in point of justice of any committed by the British government during the war, can hardly be defended on the score of policy. The battle of Trafalgar had ere this been fought; and after that great victory the superiority of England at sea was so decisive as to exempt her from the necessity of offending foreign powers by adopting extreme measures. The resentment felt on that occasion by the Em-

peror of Russia, was so great as to deprive her during four arduous years of the benefit of his alliance; and the seizure of the Danish fleet so exasperated the crown prince and the nation at large, that they forthwith declared war against England, throwing themselves completely into the arms of France.

The hostilities between England and Denmark were carried on by sea, partly at the entrance of the Baltic, and partly on the coast of Norway. These consisted of a series of actions between single vessels or small detachments, in which the Danes fought always with spirit, and not unfrequently with success. In regard to trade, both nations suffered severely; the British merchantmen in the Baltic being much annoyed by Danish cruisers, whilst the foreign trade of Denmark was in a manner suspended by the naval superiority of her enemy.

Such continued the situation of the two countries during five years, when at last the overthrow of Bonaparte in Russia opened a hope of deliverance to those who were involuntarily his allies. The Danish government would now gladly have made peace with England; but the British ministry, in order to secure the cordial co-operation of Russia and Sweden, had presumed to guarantee to these powers, without the slightest justification, the cession of Norway on the part of Denmark. The Danes, ill prepared for so great a sacrifice, continued their connection with France during the eventful year 1813; but at the close of that campaign a superior force was directed by the allied sovereigns against Holstein, and the result was, first an armistice, and eventually a treaty of peace in January, 1814. The terms of the peace were, that Denmark should cede Norway to Sweden, and that Sweden, in return, should give up Pomerania to Denmark. But Pomerania being too distant to form a suitable appendage to the Danish territory, was exchanged for a sum of money and a small district in Lauenburg adjoining Holstein. On the part of England, the conquests made from Denmark in the East and

West Indies were restored; all, in short, that had been occupied by British troops, excepting the small island of Heligoland.

After the Congress of Vienna, by which the extent of the Danish monarchy was considerably reduced, the court of Copenhagen was from time to time disquieted by a spirit of discontentment manifesting itself in the duchies, and especially in that of Holstein, the outbreak of which in 1848 threatened the monarchy with complete dissolution. A short recapitulation of the relation of the different parts of the kingdom to each other will furnish a key to the better comprehension of these internal troubles. When Christian I. of the house of Oldenburg ascended the throne of Denmark in 1448, he was at the same time elected Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, while his younger brother received Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. In 1544 the older branch was again divided into two lines, that of the royal house of Denmark, and of the dukes of Holstein Gottorp. Several collateral branches arose afterwards, of which those that survived are the Augustenburg and Glucksburg branches belonging to the royal line, and the ducal Holstein-Gottorp branch the head of which was Peter III. of Russia. In 1762 Peter threatened Denmark with a war, the avowed object of which was the recovery of Schleswig, which had been expressly guaranteed to the Danish crown by England and France at the peace of Stockholm, 1720. His sudden dethronement, however, prevented him from putting this design into execution. The empress Catharine agreed to an accommodation, which was signed at Copenhagen in 1764, and subsequently confirmed by the emperor Paul, 1773, by which the ducal part of Schleswig, was ceded to the crown of Denmark. The czar abandoned also his part of Holstein in exchange for Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which he transferred to the younger branch of the Gottorp family. According to the scheme of Germanic organization adopted by the Congress of Vienna, the king of Denmark was declared member of

the Germanic body on account of Holstein and Lauenburg, invested with three votes in the General Assembly, and a place, the tenth in rank, in the ordinary diet.

After the restoration of peace in 1815, the states of the duchy of Holstein, never so cordially blended with Denmark as those of Schleswig, began to show their discontent at the continued non-convocation of their own assemblies despite the assurance of Frederick VI. The preparation of a new constitution for the whole kingdom was the main pretext by which the court evaded the claims of the petitioners, who met however, with no better success from the German diet, before whom they brought their complaints in 1822. After the stirring year of 1830, the movement in the duchies, soon to degenerate into a mutual animosity between the Danish and German population, became more general. The scheme of the court to meet their demands by the establishment of separate deliberative assemblies for each of the provinces failed to satisfy the Holsteiners, who continually urged the revival of their long-neglected local laws and privileges. Nor were matters changed at the accession of Christian VIII. in 1838, a prince noted for his popular sympathies and liberal principles. The feelings of national animosity was greatly increased by the issue of certain orders for Schleswig, which tended to encourage the culture of the Danish language to the prejudice of the German. But what served to increase the jealousy of race against race, was the expected extinction of the male line of the reigning dynasty—a topic freely discussed by the press, as affording the prospect of rendering the duchies entirely independent of the crown of Denmark. In 1842, the union of Schleswig with the German confederacy was formally discussed in the provincial assembly, and advocated by a part of the German press. This agitation was met by a letter patent from the king, in which it was proclaimed, that with the exception of some parts of Holstein, in reference to which some changes must be

made, the laws regulating the succession were the same in Denmark, Schleswig, and Lauenburg. The consequence of this was, that the gap between the Danish and German party became every day wider, and the more so as the German party felt encouraged by the diet. The elements of a revolution were thus ready, and only waiting some impulse to break forth into action. Christian died in the very beginning of 1848, before the outbreak of the French revolution in February, and left his throne to his son Frederick VII., who had scarcely received the royal unction when half of his subjects rose up in rebellion against him.

The Parisian revolution at once reacted on the whole of Germany, which was then apparently on the eve of an entire reorganization; and this latter circumstance could not fail to hasten the open rupture of Holstein with Denmark, as well as to make Prussia, from its jealousy of Austrian supremacy, openly declare for the duchies. In March, 1848, Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, having gained over the garrison of Rendsburg, put himself at the head of a provisional government proclaimed at Kiel. A Danish army, marching into Schleswig, easily reduced the duchy as far as the banks of the Eider; but in the meantime, the new national assembly of Germany resolved upon the incorporation of Schleswig; and the king of Prussia followed up their resolution by sending an army into the duchies under the command of General Wrangel. The Prussian intervention (it is needless to remark), while calculated to increase the anxiety of the court of Copenhagen, materially altered the nature of the war. The Prussian general, after driving the Danes from Schleswig, marched into Jutland;—a step fully sufficient to excite the attention of foreign powers, and especially that of England and Russia. The mediating efforts of these powers to settle the dispute at the very beginning, however, appear not to have been of a nature to bring the belligerents to a desire of peace; though the sudden evacuation of Jutland by

the Prussians was attributed to foreign influence. At the instance of the Assembly of Frankfurt, to whom this retreat appeared exceedingly suspicious, Wrangel received orders to move onwards; and did so ostensibly, when, contrary to all expectation, and to the no small displeasure of the Frankfurt Assembly, Prussia and Denmark agreed to an armistice of seven months, signed at Malmö, August 26. According to this agreement, the government of the duchies was intrusted to a commission of five members—two nominated by Prussia, two by Denmark, and the fifth by the common consent of the four, Denmark being also promised an indemnification for the requisitions made in Jutland. It is needless to say, that Schleswig-Holstein was still less satisfied with the conduct of the court of Berlin than with that of the Assembly of Frankfurt.

After the expiration of the armistice, the war was renewed with the aid of Prussian and other troops of the confederacy, (from March to July, 1849), when Prussia signed a second armistice for six months. The duchies now continued to increase their own troops being determined to carry on the war at their own charge without the aid of Prussia, whose policy they stigmatized as inconsistent and treacherous. The chief command of the Schleswig-Holstein army was intrusted to General Willisen, a scientific and able soldier; but henceforth the Danes had little to fear, especially as the cry of German unity brought but an insignificant number of volunteers to the camp of the Holsteiners. The last victory of the Danes, under Generals Krogh and Schlepegrell, was at the battle of Idsted (July 23). Near this small village, protected by lakes and bogs, Willisen lay encamped with his centre; his right wing at Wedelspung, extending along the lake Langso; his left spreading along the Arnholtz lake. The Danes, approaching on the high road from Flensburg to Schleswig, attacked the enemy on all sides; and, after having been repeatedly repulsed, they succeeded in driving the Schleswig-Holsteiners from all

their positions. The forces engaged on each side were about 30,000; the number of killed and wounded on both sides was upwards of 7000. Some attributed this victory to artificial manœuvres and peculiar strategy of the Danes, though one might with more reason assign it to the want of discipline and good officers in the camp of Willisen.

After the victory of Idsted, the Danes could hardly expect to meet with any serious resistance. But what tended most of all to raise the confidence of the court of Copenhagen was the peace concluded with Prussia (July, 1850), by which the latter abandoned the duchies to their own fate, and soon afterwards aided in their subjection. This strange phenomenon may be thus easily explained. While Austria was threatened with complete dissolution on the side of Italy and Hungary, the court of Berlin hoped to secure to its account the convulsions of Germany by conniving at the proceedings of the Frankfurt Assembly, which was then engaged in framing a new charter for the empire. For a while the popularity of Frederick William IV. was so great, that he was even offered the imperial throne. Prussia was able even to gain over Hanover and Saxony for a while for her ambitious designs, having afterwards convoked a diet at Erfurth, with the view of re-organizing the empire under her own auspices, to the utter neglect and disregard of the house of Hapsburg. It naturally followed from this policy that, though unwilling to sanction the revolutionary principle, Prussia was led by her own interest to espouse the cause of the duchies, so popular in Germany, and so closely connected with the idea of German unity. But about the end of 1849, Austria having reduced both Hungary and Italy, immediately turned her attention to the affairs of Germany; and her first step was, to convoke a meeting of the diet at Frankfurt to counteract the decisions of the Prussian diet of Erfurth. The new attitude of Austria, and the remonstrances of the czar, soon made the weak Prussian king pause in his ambitious schemes of

innovation, and his feigned sympathies with Schleswig-Holstein. England, too, which had exerted a tardy mediation during the two years' war, never countenanced the idea of the dismemberment of the Danish monarchy, to which Prussian policy at first tended. Hence it happened, that while Denmark was treating with Prussia in Berlin, a protocol, guaranteeing the integrity of the Danish monarchy, was signed in London (July 4, 1850). Soon after the signing of this deed, the two great German powers, under the influence of the Czar, agreed in the conferences of Olmutz as to the measures to be taken for the pacification of Germany; and a joint army of Austrians and Prussians was immediately marched into the two duchies to disarm the inhabitants. Thus was Denmark most seriously threatened, and at the same time rescued by foreign influence.

The sole question of importance which awaited its solution was the order of succession, which the European powers thought to be of such importance as to delay its settlement till 1852. Before proceeding to this critical point of Danish affairs, we will first indicate the internal reforms introduced after the outbreak of the war of 1848.

The new constitution, sanctioned by Frederick VII., acknowledged the principle of limited monarchy, the king sharing his power with a diet of two houses, both of which were elective. The first, called Folkething, had the privilege of discussing the budget and other public questions, while the other was confined to the local affairs of the provinces. The liberty of religion and of the press, and the inviolability of person and property, were amply guaranteed by the new charter. All the reforms, however, failed to produce uniformity between the government of the different parts of the kingdom, not to speak of the duchies. Of the anomalies to be found in the new state of affairs, the principle of responsibility offered the most striking instance. The ministers for Denmark Proper, for example, were responsible to the

diet, while those of the two duchies depended solely on the king. But what was still more singular, was, that even the responsible ministers, as those of War and Foreign Affairs, whose control extended also over the duchies, were only responsible as far as Denmark Proper was concerned. The state of Schleswig-Holstein, however, could not be regarded as definitively settled.

The extinction of the male line in King Frederick was an event foreseen by the king, the people and the foreign powers. The heir presumptive to the throne, Prince Frederick Ferdinand, uncle of the king, besides being advanced in age, was likewise without issue, and in absence of a general arrangement, the kingdom would probably be dismembered in consequence of the laws of succession established in the different provinces. In Denmark Proper, the succession might pass over to the female line, while, according to the ancient laws of Holstein, females are excluded from the throne. Besides this, in Holstein, the eldest branch was represented by the duke of Augustenburg, who headed the revolution; and after it came the family of Glücksburg; and lastly, the Emperor of Russia was the representative of the Holstein-Gottorp line. The German party, in fact, flattered themselves with the hopes of seeing Holstein, and even Schleswig, in which the rights of succession were variously construed, become entirely independent of the Danish crown, with the expected extinction of the reigning male line. But the foreign courts thought otherwise. After protracted negotiations between the different courts, the representatives of England, France, Austria, Russia, Prussia and Sweden, the following treaty relative to the Danish succession was signed May 8th, 1852:

ART. I.—After having taken into serious consideration the interests of his monarchy, his Majesty, the King of Denmark, with the assent of his Royal Highness, the hereditary prince, and his nearest of kin, called to the succession by the royal law of Den-

mark, as well as in concert with his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, chief of the elder branch of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, having declared his desire to regulate the order of succession to his states in such a manner as that, in default of male issue in the direct line of King Frederick III. of Denmark, his crown may be transmitted to his Highness the Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and to the descendants sprung from the marriage of that prince with her Royal Highness the Princess Louisa of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, born princess of Hesse, in the order of primogeniture from male to male; the high contracting parties, appreciating the wisdom of the views which have determined the adoption of this combination, bind themselves by a common agreement, whenever the eventuality contemplated may arise, to recognize in his Highness the Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and his descendants male, sprung in direct line from his marriage with the said princess, the right to succeed to all (*à la totalité*) the states actually united under the sceptre of his Majesty, the King of Denmark.

ART. II.—The high contracting parties, recognizing the principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy as permanent, bind themselves to take into consideration such ulterior overtures as his Majesty may think it proper to make to them, if (which God forbid) the extinction of the heirs male, in the direct line of his Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, by his marriage with the Princess Louisa, should become imminent.

ART. III.—It is expressly understood, that the rights and reciprocal obligations of his Majesty the King of Denmark, and of the Germanic confederation, concerning the duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, rights and obligations established by the federal act of 1815, and by the existing federal law, shall not be altered by the present treaty.

ART. IV.—The high contracting parties

reserve to themselves the right of bringing the present treaty to the knowledge of other powers, by inviting them to accede to it.

At first sight this treaty, which guaranteed the integrity of the Danish kingdom, ought to have been as gratifying to the Danes as it was calculated to excite the resentment of the duchies. Its promulgation, however, produced discontent even in Denmark Proper. Highly gratified as the Danes were at the idea of the indivisibility of the monarchy, they looked with apprehension at a change which, while it abolished the *lex regia* of 1665, admitting the succession of the female line, and transferred the right of succession to the branch of Glücksburg, expressly confined it to the male line, and reserved the whole question for further settlement in case of its extinction.

The apprehension of the Danes on the subject was still heightened by the consideration that Russia possessed claims to a portion of the duchies, which, though formerly renounced, would again become valid with the extinction of the new male line. Hence the terms of the treaty of May were attributed solely to Russian influence; which under the pretext of maintaining the integrity of the Danish kingdom, sought on this very ground to open up a way for the eventual succession of the czars. The possibility of such an event was apparent, Prince Christian Glücksburg having only one son; and the fact of the treaty of London having been preceded by a protocol of Warshan, signed between the courts of St. Petersburg and Copenhagen, by which the Emperor Nicholas reserved to himself the ancient right of succession to a portion of the duchies in case of the extinction of the Glücksburg male line, was sufficient to rouse the suspicions of the nation. The protestations of Russia did not avail to dispel such apprehensions; so that, while the courts declared their satisfaction with the treaty, the Danes saw under the newly-established indivisibility a door opened for a Russian pretender.

The new order of succession was an

announced to the diet in 1852; and a committee of seventy members, nominated by the assembly to examine the royal message, rejected the new law by a large majority. After the dissolution of this diet, the measure met a similar fate when introduced before the new house (Feb. 1853). The court then determined upon a second dissolution, and in consequence of this several of the ministers resigned. After Oersted was called to the head of affairs a third parliament was convened (June 24th), which adopted the new law. It must here be observed, the ministry of Copenhagen itself was caught by the spirit of diffidence with which the measure was regarded out of doors; but, once pledged to the foreign powers, it accepted their assurances that the Danish throne, if becoming vacant, would again become a European question to be decided collectively by the powers who guaranteed the treaty of May.

After this the question about Schleswig-Holstein was allowed to rest till the death of Frederick VII., which occurred in 1863. In accordance with the London protocol, prince Christian Glucksburg ascended the throne as Christian IX. on the 13th of November, 1863. Immediately after his accession, the duke of Augustenburg renewed his claims upon the duchies, Germany interfered, and Prussia and Austria forced Denmark to go to war for the defence of her provinces. The movements of this war, and its resulting treaty, have already been noticed at length in the article PRUSSIA. Although Denmark has been compelled to give up her control over Schleswig-Holstein, the question of the succession still appears to be far from a solution.

The royal family of Denmark is remarkable for its connections with the reigning houses of the most powerful European states. The eldest daughter of the king is Alexandra, the Princess of Wales, another of his daughters, the Princess Dagmar is the wife of the heir apparent of Russia, and his second son is King George of Greece. The actual value of these alliances was shown in the war with Germany, when Denmark was left

alone to contend with the whole power of Austria and Prussia.

Nothing of interest has since taken place in Denmark. The government has taken no part in European politics, and has directed its attention entirely to its internal administration.

The government of Denmark, like that of other Gothic countries, was formerly far from despotic; the succession to the crown was even elective until the revolution of 1660. That singular change is to be explained, by supposing, on the part of the nation, not so much an indifference to free institutions, as a resentment of the overbearing conduct of the nobility, and a consciousness of the perpetual uncertainties of an elective government. The court found it thus a matter of little difficulty to unite the clergy and commons against the aristocracy; and the power of the crown has since continued without a parliament or any constitutional check. But by the constitution of 1848, mentioned before, Denmark became in form of government similar to the other limited monarchies of Europe.

The privy-council consists of the king and the ministers. The duchies have a special ministry responsible only to the king.

The titles of nobility in Denmark Proper are only two; those of count or earl, and baron; but there is an untitled nobility, consisting of the most ancient families in the country, which rank higher in public estimation than even those whom the crown has ennobled. The nobility of Schleswig and Holstein form a distinct body.

In regard to law, there have been from time to time various improvements based on the code of Christian V. The most effective changes were made since 1848. Besides courts of arbitration, about the usefulness of which no doubt can be entertained, the distribution of justice is secured by the superintendence of the higher courts over the lower ones, while provisions are made to prevent idle delays and useless expense.

The established religion in Denmark is the

Lutheran, which was introduced as early as 1536, the church revenue being at that time seized and retained by the crown. At present the nomination of the bishops is vested in the king. The bishops in Denmark have no political character; they inspect the conduct of the subordinate clergy, confer holy orders, and, in short, enjoy nearly all the privileges of their fellow dignitaries in England, except that of voting in the legislature. Complete toleration is now enjoyed in Denmark.

The ancient literature of Denmark Proper is in itself not very important, as hardly anything except inscriptions is preserved; but the Icelandic, with which it is connected, is in a very high degree interesting. Still the literature of Denmark forms a continuous chain, from the classical age, that of the Scalds, through the middle ages downwards, to the commencement of the modern literature. Each of these three periods has its peculiar language and peculiar taste. In the first, Braghi hinn Gemli is prominent; Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote in Latin, belongs to the second; and to it also belong Arild Hvidtfeld and Seven Aageson, who wrote in a dialect intermediate between the ancient and modern Danish, in which likewise are compared the songs of the Danish champions or heroes called *Kæmpeviser*. The German has exercised a considerable influence on the formation of the modern Danish.

In respect of literature and literary culture, Denmark is partly original and isolated, or rather the chief representative of the ancient Scandinavian family, and partly owes to Germany the eminence which she has attained—forming in regard to literature, as well as to politics, a portion of that country. The language, the poetry, the history, the entire polite literature, and the laws of Denmark, are Scandinavian; but religion, science, and several political institutions, she has borrowed from Germany. The language, cognate as it is to the Teutonic dialects, belongs entirely to an independent and distinct family (the Scandinavian), and is, both with regard to structure and roots, more re-

mote from modern High German than French is from Portuguese.

The modern Danish is a daughter of the *Norse*, or ancient Danish, formerly called *Norræne* or *Dönsk Tunga*; and it bears exactly the same relation to that language as Italian bears to Latin. In both cases we have the same curtailing, simplification, and abandonment of inflections, the same sacrifice of inversion and artificial construction, the same process of softening the idiom, and of substituting what is considered as beauty for energy and grandeur. The modern Danish is a much softer language than it is generally supposed to be. When a foreigner hears it spoken for the first time, he hardly perceives any sounds in it except the vocalic; and the consonants are so much softened in pronunciation that they scarcely appear. Of course the vocalic system of this language is very perfect. Rask has distinguished ten vowels in Danish, the sounds of all which are quite distinct.

The educational institutions of Denmark have reached a very high degree of perfection; indeed few countries, if any, can compete with Denmark in this respect. Most of the peculiar advantages in the Danish system seem to arise from this, that all schools, both grammar and other, have been put in a state of dependence on the university and under its control, whilst the university itself is particularly well managed. All educational institutions of the country are now managed by a royal college consisting of three or four assessors and a president, called the royal commission for the university and grammar-schools. This commission has no superior but the king, and reports to him directly. It appoints all professors in the university of Copenhagen (not those in Kiel, for that university belongs to another department), all rectors, co-rectors, and other teachers of grammar-schools in Denmark Proper (not in Holstein or Schleswig), and promotes these functionaries from lower to higher grades. Education is compulsory. Poor parents pay a nominal sum weekly for

the education of their children at the government schools, so that almost all the lower class can read and write. Confirmation is also compulsory. Until that rite has been received, the youth of both sexes are *in statu pupillari*. Certificates of baptism, confirmation, and vaccination are indispensable before entering on service, apprenticeship, or matrimony.

In Danish literary history the following names are particularly distinguished. Holberg, of Norwegian origin, was an eminent poet and historian; he was at once the Swift and the Hume of Denmark. Bartholin, Lungebeck, Suhm, Luxdorff, and Schjønning, were historians and antiquaries. Treschow is much admired as an eclectic philosopher. Both the Thorlaciuses, father and son, were very eminent scholars and critics; their works are chiefly written in Latin. The Danes have especially excelled in dramatic poetry. Their most eminent poets are

Ewald, Wessel, Thaarup, Samsøe, Abrahamson, Ingemann, Johan Ludwig Heiberg, Adam Oehlenschläger, and Cure Bernhard. The two last are most popular. The two brothers Oersted are highly distinguished; Andreas as a lawyer and philosopher, and Hans Christian Oersted as a chemist, and for his discoveries in natural science. Among the antiquarians, the best known names are Suhm, Magnusen, Wormius, and Thomsen. As to philology, it will be enough to mention the name of Erasmus Rask.

The centre of literary activity is Copenhagen. Since the late war history has gained by the labors of Goerde and Schiern. The latter has published a work on the origin of the races of Europe. Last of all we have only to mention the memoirs of Oersted, the great juriconsult and minister, as well as a new poem, by Paludan Muller, the well-known author of *Adam Homo*.

FRANCE.

IN the course of our historical narrative, which has been pursued for the most part by following the geographical order of the various countries, beginning in the far East with the oldest nations of the world, we have now arrived at the most important European state of the present day, the greatest of the kingdoms which arose from the ruins of the Roman empire—France. The space which we have allotted to this article, and to the article on Great Britain, is much greater than that which has been given to other states of almost equal historic importance in the past; partly because the history of Europe for several centuries has chiefly centred around these two nations, and partly because the details in the history of the others which in any way concerned France or England have generally been referred to them, to avoid a repetition which the limited size of the present work and its comprehensive subject forbid.

About half a century before the commencement of our era, Gaul, then inhabited by a race of Celtic origin and descent, was subdued by Cæsar, and for the space of nearly five centuries continued under the sway of the Romans. During the first half of this period, which was in a great measure one of repose, the country made considerable advances in improvement, and, in fact, received its full share in that civilization with which Rome usually repaid the turbulent independence destroyed by her

conquests. Political union, internal tranquillity, and the security resulting from the firm and impartial administration of an admirable system of laws, were amongst the direct advantages which the people derived from their subjugation; whilst, collaterally, agriculture was improved, commerce extended, industry encouraged, wealth accumulated, and the general happiness promoted. To the wild and pernicious liberty enjoyed by warlike savages had succeeded the vigorous but wise government of an enlightened conqueror, whose policy it was to efface the recollection of independence by positive benefits conferred, and to secure to the people those substantial advantages without the enjoyment of which liberty is no better than an empty name. Even the climate was ameliorated in proportion as industry extended its dominion; and the soil, rendered capable of producing and maturing the choicest fruits, amply repaid the labor employed in its cultivation. The vine, the olive, and other useful plants, were introduced by the Romans; and even Christianity itself was amongst the boons which this people latterly conferred on the subject nations in return for their political independence. But during the latter half of the period above-mentioned, when the ancient Roman valor and discipline had begun to decline, and degeneracy of manners had sapped the foundations of Roman power, the province of Gaul became exposed to the incursions, and was finally overwhelmed by the settlement, of barbarous invaders.

Of the natural boundaries of the Roman province of Gaul, the Rhine was by far the most important, forming the line of demarcation between the empire on the one hand, and the multitudinous tribes of savage nations swarming beyond the stream on the other. On one side were wealth and civilization; on the other, want and barbarism. Principles the most irreconcilable and inveterately hostile, were only separated by the breadth of the river. But the genius of barbarism, hanging on the outskirts of civilization, is essentially aggressive, and continually seeking to destroy the monuments which the latter has reared. In a word, the natural state between such neighbors is one of war. As long, however, as the Roman legions preserved their ancient discipline and spirit, the turbulence of the German tribes was repressed, and the barrier of the empire maintained; one or two defeats, which imprudence or temerity had entailed, were severely avenged; and the Roman generals, penetrating at different intervals into the country of the barbarians, chastised their audacity, and taught them to regard with salutary awe the power which they had dared to defy. But the Germans, though little versed in policy, began in time to be sensible that their frequent defeats were owing to their disunion; that whilst dispersed in different tribes, without any solid or permanent bond of connection, they could never hope to contend with success against the disciplined force of a great empire, impelled by and obedient to one supreme directing mind. They now perceived that their former leagues, hastily formed, were as easily dissolved; that something more than a sort of wild, irregular co-operation was necessary; and that, without coherence and consistence, it would be vain to expect success in any offensive enterprise. The consciousness of this defect produced in the third century those extensive confederacies in which many tribes united permanently under one common name, and frequently under one chief or sovereign, some assuming the appellation of Alemanni,

descriptive of the combination which had been formed, and others taking that of Franks, indicative of the spirit or freedom in which they rejoiced.

The first mention made of the Franks by the historians of the empire is about the middle of the third century. Of their origin various and discordant accounts have been given; but the most probable supposition seems to be that, about the time of the Emperor Gordian, the people inhabiting the banks of the Lower Rhine entered into a confederacy with those who dwelt on the Weser, and that the tribes thus united assumed the name of Franks or Freemen. The chief seat of this confederacy, therefore, appears to have been the marshy territory overflowed and divided into islets by the Rhine, from the spot where the river begins to run in a westerly direction, to its junction with the sea. Their first irruption took place in the year 254, and the second in the reign of Valerian. On the latter occasion they were but few in number, and were easily repulsed by Valerian, who afterwards became emperor. Not discouraged by this check, however, they returned in greater numbers about two years afterwards, and were again defeated by Gallienus, whom Valerian had now chosen as his associate in the empire. But as fresh swarms still continued to pour in from their native fastnesses, Gallienus, being no longer in a condition to expel them by force of arms, adopted the perilous expedient of negotiation, and, by means of advantageous offers, engaged one of their chiefs to defend the frontier against his own countrymen as well as against other invaders. Such an admission of weakness, however, could only have the effect of provoking further aggression. In the year 260, the Franks, taking advantage of the defeat and captivity of Valerian in Persia, broke into Gaul, and afterwards into Italy, committing everywhere the most dreadful ravages; and five years afterwards they invaded Spain, which they occupied, or rather desolated, for the space of twelve years. But in the year 275

they were completely overthrown and driven out of Gaul by the Emperor Probus, who pursued them into their own country, and there built several forts to keep them in awe. Intimidated by this defeat, they remained quiet until 287, when, in conjunction with Saxon pirates, they plundered the coasts of Gaul, and carried thence an immense booty. To revenge this insult the Emperor Maximian, the following year, entered their country, which he laid waste with fire and sword, at the same time compelling two of their chiefs to submit to his arms; whilst to such of the common people as chose to remain in Gaul he allotted lands in the neighborhood of Treves and Cambray. The restless disposition of the Franks, however, did not suffer them to remain long at peace; and about the year 293 they made themselves masters of Batavia and part of Flanders; but they were once more entirely defeated, and compelled to surrender at discretion, by Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, who allotted them settlements in Gaul. In 306, their countrymen in Germany renewed their depredations, though with little success; for having been overtaken by Constantine, they were completely routed, and two of their kings who fell into his hands were thrown to wild beasts during the sports exhibited in honor of the victory. All these reverses, however, were insufficient to prevent the incursions of this restless and turbulent people. In the year 355 they again invaded Gaul, and made themselves masters of forty cities in that province. But they were soon afterwards defeated by the Emperor Julian, who also drove the Alemanni within their ancient boundaries; and again by Theodosius, father of the emperor of that name, who expelled the invaders, and pursued them with great slaughter. They returned, however, in the year 388, when they ravaged the province with greater fury than ever, cut off the Roman army which was sent against them, and in some measure established themselves in the country which they had so frequently overrun. In fact,

the western empire was now reduced to so low an ebb that the Franks, until their progress was checked by Ætius, experienced more interruption from other barbarians roving in quest of new settlements, than from the armies of Rome, which had so often repulsed preceding invaders.

The commencement of the fifth century was marked by an overwhelming irruption into Gaul of the barbarian hosts, who, pouring in from different points, rolled on like a sudden inundation, sweeping away everything in their destructive course. The church alone towered aloft above the general desolation; her bulwarks were strong enough to resist the shock of that fierce torrent of barbarism by which they were assailed; and had it not been for this circumstance, all the records and traditions of the past must have perished amid the general ruin. But the progress of the invaders was nevertheless destined to experience a vigorous check. When the contest with Ætius commenced, the Franks were governed by Pharamond, the first of their kings or leaders of whom any distinct account has been preserved. This chief or prince is supposed to have reigned from the year 417 or 418 to 428, and is generally believed to have been killed in the war with Ætius. He is understood to have compiled the Salic laws, with the assistance of four sages named Wisegast, Losegast, Widegast and Solegast; but Valesius is of opinion that the Franks had no written laws until the time of Clovis. Pharamond was succeeded by his son Clodio, who is said to have received a terrible overthrow from Ætius near the city of Lens. But notwithstanding this defeat he advanced to Cambray, of which he made himself master, extended his conquests as far as the river Somme, and destroyed the cities of Treves and Cologne, Tournay and Amiens. He died in the year 448, and was succeeded by Merovæus. It is uncertain whether the new king was brother, or son, or, in fact, any relation at all, to Clodio; it seems probable, indeed, that he was of a different family, as

from him the first race of French kings was styled Merovingian. He was honored and respected by his people, but did not greatly enlarge the boundaries of his kingdom. Merovæus, who died in 458, was succeeded by his son Childeric, who being no longer kept in check by Ætius, made war upon the Romans, extended his conquests as far as the river Loire, and took the city of Paris after a lengthened siege. Childeric was succeeded by Clodovæus, Clovis or Louis; and as the Roman power in Italy had now been totally destroyed, the latter set himself to make an entire conquest of Gaul. Part of the province was still retained by a Roman named Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, who, like his father, governed and was even said to have reigned at Soissons, where the former had established himself on the downfall of the western empire in 476. But Syagrius was defeated and taken prisoner by Clovis, who afterwards caused him to be beheaded, and soon reduced his dominions under subjection.

The French monarchy was thus established in the year 487 by Clovis, who possessed all the country situated between the Rhine and the Loire. The secret of the rise of this conqueror, originally the chief or king of a small colony of Franks established at Tournay, may be easily explained. Of all the nations which overran Gaul, that which eventually subdued all the others, and gave its name both to the country and the people, was the most disunited and least advanced in the arts of life. The Goths and the Burgundians were much more civilized than the Franks; for, whilst the former constituted each a separate nation and race, which obeyed one monarch or family of monarchs, the latter consisted of different tribes united in a species of temporary confederacy, the ties of which became more and more relaxed in proportion as they advanced from the Rhine. Each town or territory had its petty independent sovereign; and, anterior to the time of Clovis, they do not appear to have had any supreme chief or a general capital. Whether this was or was not an

advantage, we do not pretend to determine. But it obviously left them in a great measure free to engage in any enterprise in which they chose to embark; and it also laid open the chieftaincy to the ambition of the first leader distinguished for boldness and pre-eminent talents; whilst, on the other hand, the vague comprehensiveness of their name was calculated to congregate under their banner such roving bands as might be in search of either plunder or establishments. The principle of their confederacy was such that any tribe or race might easily be admitted within its pale. Of this Clovis skilfully took advantage, and by availing himself of its elasticity (if we may be allowed the expression), became the founder of the French monarchy.

Clovis had been educated in paganism, and continued to profess it until the thirtieth year of his age; but notwithstanding this circumstance, he allowed his subjects full liberty of conscience. When he married Clotilda, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, this princess, who was a zealous Christian, used all her influence to persuade him to embrace her religion. For some time, however, he continued to waver between Christianity and paganism; but having gained a battle against the Germans near Cologne, where, when in great danger, he had invoked the God of Clotilda and the Christians, he afterwards lent a favorable ear to the discourses of Remigius, bishop of Rheims, and having declared himself a convert, was baptized in the year 496. But his acknowledgment of the truths of Christianity was not followed by any amendment of life; on the contrary, he employed the remainder of his life in aggrandizing himself, and extending his dominions, by means of treachery, fraud, and violence. In his attacks on Armorica or Bretagne, however, he proved unsuccessful. The inhabitants of this country, which comprehended the maritime part of ancient Gaul had united for their common defence, and though abandoned by the Romans, made a vigorous resistance against the barbarians,

who assaulted them on all sides. Clovis, finding them too powerful to be subdued by force, proposed an union with his people, which they readily accepted, chiefly on account of his professing Christianity. Thus the new religion of Clovis proved subservient to the purposes of his ambition, and his power became gradually formidable. At this time the Burgundians, under Gondebaud, the uncle of Clotilda, possessed all the country from the forest of Vosges to the sea of Marseilles; and their chief to secure his own authority, had put to death two of his brothers, one of whom was the father of the French queen. But the third brother, Godagesil, whom he had spared and allowed to possess the principality of Geneva, conspired with Clovis, to expel Gondebaud, from his dominions. A war accordingly commenced between the French and Burgundian monarchs, and the latter being deserted in battle by the faithless Godagesil, was obliged to fly to Avignon, leaving his antagonist undisputed master of the cities of Lyons and Vienne. The conqueror next laid siege to Avignon; but the place was defended with such vigor, that Clovis thought proper to accept of a large sum of money and an annual tribute from Gondebaud, who was likewise obliged to cede to Godagesil the city of Vienne, and several other places taken during the war. Gondebaud, however, no sooner found himself at liberty from his enemies, than he assembled a powerful army, with which he advanced towards Vienne, where Godagesil then resided. The place was garrisoned by five thousand Franks, and might have made considerable resistance; but Gondebaud being admitted into the city through an aqueduct, massacred most of the Franks, sent the rest as prisoners to the king of the Visigoths, and put Godagesil to death. This was speedily followed by the submission of all the other places which had owned the authority of Godagesil; and Gondebaud considering himself in a condition to resist the power of Clovis, intimated his determination to withhold the promised tribute; a defection which Clo-

vis, though exceedingly mortified, found himself obliged for the present to overlook.

The next expedition undertaken by Clovis was directed against the Visigoths, who possessed considerable territories on both sides of the Pyrenean mountains. His motives for this enterprise were expressed in a speech which he delivered to his nobility when assembled in the city of Paris, which he considered as the capital of his dominions. "It is with concern," said the monarch, "that I suffer the Arians to possess the most fertile part of Gaul; let us with the aid of God, march against them, and, having, conquered them, annex their kingdom to our dominions." The nobility approved of the scheme; and Clovis marched against a prince for whom he had lately professed the greatest regard, vowing to erect a church in honor of the holy apostles, if he succeeded in his unrighteous enterprise. Alarie the king of the Visigoths, though personally brave, was destitute of military experience, and therefore hesitated not to engage with his antagonist; but, unable to contend with the veteran troops of Clovis, his army was utterly defeated on the banks of the Clain, near Poitiers, in the year 507, and Alarie himself slain. After this victory the province of Aquitaine submitted; Toulouse soon afterwards surrendered, and the royal treasures of the Visigoths were transported to Paris. Angoulême was next reduced, and the city of Arles invested. But here the victorious career of Clovis was stopped by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who had overturned the dominion of Odoacer in Italy. He had married the sister of Clovis, but having also given his own daughter in marriage to the king of the Visigoths, he had endeavored, as far as possible, to preserve a good understanding between the two sovereigns. This, however, he found to be impossible; and convinced that no bounds could be set to the ambition of Clovis by peaceful means, he sent against him one of his generals with a powerful army, by which the French monarch was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men. This discom-

future obliged Clovis to raise the siege of Arles; but the Franks still retained the greater part of their conquests, and the province of Aquitaine was indissolubly annexed to their empire. In 509, Clovis received the title of Roman consul, and was thus supposed to be invested with a just title to all his conquests, in whatsoever manner they had been acquired. He was solemnly invested with the new dignity in the church of St. Martin, in the city of Tours. Clovis now proceeded to confirm his power by the murder of his kinsmen the princes of the Merovingian race. Amongst those who perished in virtue of this bloody policy were Sigebert, king of Cologne, with his son Cloderic; Cararie, another prince whose dominions have not been accurately pointed out by historians; Ranacaire, who governed the diocese of Cambray; and Renomer, king of the territory of Maine. All these murders, however, were supposed to be expiated by the zeal which he expressed in behalf of Christianity, and his liberality towards the church. Clovis died in the year 511, after having reformed and published the Salic laws; a few lines of which, excluding women from inheriting any part of the Salic lands, have been extended so far as to deprive the females of the royal family of France of their right of succession to the throne of that kingdom.

Clovis has been compared to Constantine, and they had certainly this in common, that each embraced Christianity in circumstances nearly similar, and from motives much more closely allied to self-interest than conviction. In both cases, too, the change of religion, instead of tempering their passions, or exercising a benign influence over their conduct, appears rather to have exasperated their natural ferocity and blood-thirstiness. The domestic murders committed by Constantine find their parallel in the assassinations perpetrated by Clovis, who equalled the Roman emperor in cruelty, and perhaps surpassed him in perfidy. In the abuse of the doctrines of confession and absolution each found an expedient to hush the remonstrances of

conscience; and as the church encouraged errors calculated to augment its wealth and extend its power, the natural obstacles to the commission of crime were thus removed, and eventual impunity secured to the greatest offender, provided his means bore any proportion to his criminality. The founder of the French monarchy, therefore, is to be regarded rather as a daring and fortunate ruffian, than as a great conqueror or an able leader; one who reaped the fruits of the crimes he had committed, and around whom success had thrown that false glare which so much misleads the moral judgments of men.

The dominions of Clovis were divided amongst his four sons. Thierry, or Theodoric, the eldest, received the eastern part of the empire, and as he made the city of Metz his capital, he is commonly styled the king of Metz; Clodomir, the eldest son by Clotilda, obtained the kingdom of Orleans; whilst to Chilbert and Clotaire, both infants, were allotted the kingdoms of Paris and Soissons, under the tutelage of their mother. During eight years the prudence of Clotilda maintained tranquillity in all parts of the empire; but about the year 520 a numerous fleet of Danes arrived at the mouth of the Meuse, and their king Cochiliac having landed his forces, began to desolate the country with fire and sword. Against the invaders Thierry sent his son Theodobert, who defeated the Danish army, killed their king, and forced the remainder to retire with precipitation. In 522 Hermanfroi, king of Thuringia, having put to death one of his brothers named Berthaire, and seized on his dominions, applied to Thierry for assistance against his other brother Balderic, whom he intended to dispose of in the same manner. Thierry assented, and embarked in this creditable enterprise, upon condition that he should have one half of Balderic's dominions; but after the unhappy prince had been overcome and killed in battle, Hermanfroi, forgetting or despising the compact, seized upon all his dominions. Thierry had no op

portunity of revenging himself till the year 531, when, perceiving that the power of the Ostrogoths, whom he greatly dreaded, had been considerably lessened by the death of king Theoderic, he engaged his brother Clotaire to assist him. They accordingly entered Thuringia with two powerful armies, which formed a junction as soon as they had passed the Rhine, and were soon afterwards reinforced by a considerable body of troops under the command of Theodobert. The army of Hermanfroi was advantageously posted; but being attacked by a superior force, it was totally defeated, and Hermanfroi himself forced to fly from place to place in disguise. His capital was soon afterwards taken, and Hermanfroi himself being invited to a conference by Thierry, was treacherously murdered; after which his extensive dominions became feudatory to the murderer. In the meantime Clotilda had excited her children to make war on the Burgundians, in order to avenge the death of her father, Chilperic, whom Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, had caused to be murdered. Gondebaud, who was now dead, had left his dominions to his sons Sigismund and Godemar. The former was speedily defeated, and soon afterwards delivered up to Clodomir, who caused him to be thrown into a pit, where he perished miserably. Clodomir now marched against Godemar, who, by the death of his brother, had become sole master of Burgundy, and completely defeated him also; but, having pursued his victory too eagerly, he was surrounded by his enemies and slain. After the reduction of Thuringia, however, Childebert and Clotaire entered the kingdom of Burgundy at the head of a powerful army, and in 534 completed the conquest of that country.

In 560, Clotaire having murdered the sons of Clodomir, who had been killed in Burgundy, as already related, and Thierry and his children, as also Childebert, being now dead, became sole heir to the dominions of Clovis. He had five sons, the eldest of whom, named Chramnes, had some time

previously rebelled against his father in Auvergne. As long as Childebert lived he had supported the young prince; but on his death Chramnes was obliged to implore the clemency of his father, by whom he was pardoned. But he soon began to cabal afresh, and engaged the Count of Bretagne to assist him in another rebellion. The Bretons, however, were defeated, and Chramnes resolved to make his escape; but perceiving that his wife and children were surrounded by his father's troops, he made an effort to rescue them. In this attempt, however, he failed, and being taken prisoner, he was with his family thrust into a thatched cottage near the field of battle, which the king commanded to be set on fire, and all that were in it perished in the flames.

Clotaire did not long survive this barbarous execution, but died in 562, and after his death the French empire was divided amongst his four remaining sons, Caribert, Gontran, Sigebert, and Chilperic. Caribert, the eldest, received the kingdom of Paris; Gontran, the second, obtained Orleans; Sigebert got Metz, or Austrasia; and Chilperic had Soissons; whilst Provence and Aquitaine were possessed by all of them in common. The peace of the empire was first disturbed in 563 by an invasion of the Abares, a barbarous nation, believed to have been the remains of the Huns. They entered Thuringia, which belonged to the dominions of Sigebert, but were totally defeated, and obliged to repass the Elbe. Sigebert pursued them closely, but on hearing that his brother Chilperic had invaded his dominions, and taken Rheims, with some other places in the neighborhood, he concluded a peace with the vanquished barbarians. Sigebert then marched with his victorious army against Chilperic, made himself master of Soissons, and seized his eldest son, Theodobert. He then defeated Chilperic in battle, recovered the places which he had seized, and conquered the greater part of his dominions; but, on the mediation of the other two brothers, Sigebert abandoned all his con-

quests, set Theodobert at liberty, and thus restored peace to the empire.

Soon after this event Sigebert married Brunehaut, daughter to Athanagilde, king of the Visigoths in Spain; and Caribert, king of Paris, having died, his dominions were divided amongst his three brothers. In 567, Chilperic married Galswintha, Brunehaut's eldest sister, and before her arrival dismissed his mistress, Fredegonde, a woman of great ability and firmness of mind, but ambitious, and capable of committing the darkest crimes to gratify her ambition. The queen, who had brought with her immense treasures from Spain, and who made it her sole study to please the king, was for some time entirely acceptable to him. But by degrees Chilperic suffered Fredegonde to reappear at court, and was even suspected of having renewed his intercourse with this profligate woman; a circumstance which gave such offence to the queen, that she desired permission to return to her own country, at the same time promising to leave behind her all the wealth she had brought. Aware that this would render him extremely odious, the king found means to dissipate his wife's suspicions, and soon afterwards caused her to be privately strangled, upon which he publicly married the harlot Fredegonde. Such an atrocious action could not fail to excite the greatest indignation against Chilperic. His dominions were immediately invaded by Sigebert and Gontram, who conquered the greater part of them; but having effected this, they suddenly made peace, on Chilperic consenting that Brunehaut should enjoy those places which he had bestowed upon Galswintha, namely Bordeaux, Limoges, Cahors, Bigorre, and the town of Bearn. The French princes, however, did not long continue at peace among themselves; and a war having ensued, Gontran and Chilperic made common cause against Sigebert. But the latter prevailed, and, having forced Gontram to conclude a separate peace, seemed determined to make Chilperic pay dear for his perfidy, when he was assassinated

by a contrivance of Fredegonde, who thus saved herself and Chilperic from the most imminent danger. Immediately on his death Brunehaut fell into the hands of Chilperic; but Gondebaud, one of Sigebert's best generals, having made his escape into Austrasia with Childebert, the only son of Sigebert, an infant of about five years of age, the latter was immediately proclaimed king. In a short time, however, Merovæus, eldest son to Chilperic, fell in love with Brunehaut, and married her without acquainting his father. On receiving information of this, Chilperic went to Rouen, where Merovæus and his consort were living; and having seized them, sent Brunehaut and her two daughters to Metz, and carried Merovæus to Soissons. Soon afterwards one of his generals being defeated by Gontram, who had espoused Brunehaut's cause, Chilperic in a fit of rage caused Merovæus to be shaved and confined in a monastery. From this he found means to escape, and arrived in Austrasia, where Brunehaut would gladly have protected him; but the jealousy of the nobles proved so strong that he was forced to leave the country; and being betrayed into the hands of his father's forces, he was murdered at the instigation of Fredegonde.

The French empire was at this time divided between Gontran king of Orleans, called also king of Burgundy, Chilperic king of Soissons, and Childebert king of Austrasia. But Chilperic found his affairs in a very disagreeable situation. In 579, having a dispute with Varoc count of Bretagne, who refused to do him homage, he dispatched against his vassal a body of troops, who were defeated, and he was in consequence forced to submit to a disadvantageous peace. Meanwhile his brother and nephew, whom he had reason to dread, lived in the strictest union; his subjects, oppressed with heavy taxes, were poor and discontented; Clovis, his son by a former queen named Andovera, hated Fredegonde, and made no secret of his aversion; and, to add to his embarrassment, the seasons were for a long time so unfavorable

that the country was threatened with famine and pestilence. The king and queen were both attacked by an epidemic which then raged; and though they recovered, their three sons Clodobert, Samson, and Dagobert, all died. After this, the sight of Clovis became so hateful to Fredegonde that she caused him to be murdered, as she likewise did his mother Andovera, lest Chilperic's affection for that lady should return after the tragical death of her son. In 583, Chilperic himself was murdered by some unknown assassins, when his dominions were on the point of being conquered by Gontran and Childebert. After his death Fredegonde implored the protection of Gontran, which he readily granted, and obliged Childebert to put an end to the war. Gontran died on the 28th of March, 593, having lived upwards of sixty years, and reigned thirty-two; and Childebert succeeded to the kingdom without opposition, but did not long enjoy it. His dominions were on his death divided between his two sons Theodobert and Thierri; the former being declared king of Austrasia, and the latter king of Burgundy. But as Theodobert was only in his eleventh, and Thierri in his tenth year, Brunehaut governed both kingdoms with absolute sway. Fredegonde, however, availing herself of the opportunity offered by the death of Childebert, made herself mistress of Paris and some other places on the Seine; upon which Brunehaut sent against her the best part of the forces in Austrasia. The latter, however, were totally defeated; but Fredegonde died before she had time to improve her victory, leaving her son Clotaire heir to her dominions.

For some time Brunehaut preserved her kingdom in peace; but her own ambition in the end proved her ruin. Instead of instructing Theodobert in what was necessary for a prince to know she took care to keep him in ignorance, and even suffered him to marry a young and handsome slave of his father's. But the new queen being possessed of ability and good nature, so gained the affection

of her husband that he consented to the banishment of Brunehaut. Upon this disgrace she in 599 fled to Thierri king of Burgundy, by whom she was kindly received; and, instead of exciting jealousies or misunderstandings between the two brothers, she engaged Thierri to attempt the recovery of Paris and the other places which had been wrested from their family by Fredegonde. This measure was so acceptable to Theodobert, that he likewise raised a numerous army, and in conjunction with his brother invaded Clotaire's dominions. A battle ensued, in which the forces of Clotaire were completely defeated, and he himself obliged to sue for peace, which was not granted except on condition of his yielding up the best part of his dominions. This treaty was concluded in the year 600; but three years afterwards it was broken by Clotaire, who was again attacked by the two brothers. The war was carried on with great vigor until the next spring, when Thierri having forced Landri, Clotaire's general, to accept battle, overthrew him, and put to death the king's infant son Merovæus, whom he had sent with Landri. After this victory, Thierri, intent on the destruction of his cousin, marched directly to Paris. But Theodobert no sooner heard of the victory gained by Thierri, than, becoming jealous of his success, he offered Clotaire such conditions as speedily compelled Thierri also to listen to terms of accommodation. This conduct of Theodobert greatly provoked his brother; and his resentment was still more inflamed by Brunehaut, who never forgot the disgrace of having been banished from his court. A war was therefore commenced in 605; but being disapproved of by the nobility, Thierri found himself obliged to put an end to it. The tranquillity which ensued, however, was again disturbed in 607, when Theodobert sent an embassy to demand part of Childebert's dominions, which by the will of that monarch had been added to those of Burgundy. But the nobility of both kingdoms were exceedingly averse to war, and constrained their kings to consent

to a conference, attended by an equal number of troops. By a scandalous breach of faith, however, Theodobert brought double the number agreed on, and compelled his brother to submit to whatever terms he pleased to dictate. This act of treachery instantly brought on a war. Thierry was bent on revenge, and his nobility no longer opposed him. Having secured the neutrality of Clotaire by a promise of restoring those parts of his dominions of which he had formerly been despoiled, Thierry entered Theodobert's territories, defeated him in two battles, took him prisoner, and treated him with the greatest indignity. Meanwhile Clotaire, thinking that the best method of making Thierry keep his word was to seize upon those places which the latter had promised to restore to him as the price of his neutrality, did so accordingly; upon which Thierry sent to him a messenger to require him to withdraw his forces, and in the event of a refusal, to declare war. Clotaire was prepared for such a proceeding, and immediately assembled his forces. But before Thierry could reach his enemies, he was seized with a dysentery, of which he died, in the year 612.

On the death of Thierry, Brunehaut immediately caused his eldest son Sigisbert, then in the tenth year of his age, to be proclaimed king. It is probable that she intended to govern in his name with an absolute sway; but Clotaire did not allow her time to discover her intentions. Knowing that the nobility both in Burgundy and Metz were disaffected to Brunehaut, he declared war against her; and the unfortunate queen having been betrayed by her generals, fell into the hands of her enemies. Clotaire gave her up to the nobles, who generally hated her, and treated their captive in the most barbarous manner; for, after having led her about the camp, exposed to the insults of all who had the meanness to insult her, she was tied by the leg and arm to the tail of an untamed horse, which, setting off at full speed, quickly dashed out her brains. Thus, in the year 613, Clotaire became sole monarch of

France, and quietly enjoyed his kingdom till his death, which happened in 628.

This prince was succeeded by Dagobert, who proved a great and powerful sovereign, and raised the kingdom of France to a high degree of splendor. Dagobert was succeeded by his sons Sigebert and Clovis; the former of whom obtained the kingdom of Austrasia, and the latter that of Burgundy. Both the kings were minors at the time of their accession to the throne, which gave an opportunity to the mayors of the palace, the highest officers under the crown, to usurp the whole authority of the state. Sigebert died in 640, after a short reign of one year, leaving behind him an infant son named Dagobert, whom he strongly recommended to the care of Grimoalde, his mayor of the palace. The minister caused Dagobert to be immediately proclaimed king, but did not long suffer him to enjoy that honor. He had not the cruelty, however, to put him to death, but sent him to a monastery in one of the western islands of Scotland; and then, giving out that he was dead, advanced his own son Childebert to the throne. Childebert was expelled by Clovis, king of Burgundy, who placed on the throne Childeric, the second son of Sigebert. Clovis died soon after the revolution, and was succeeded in his dominions by his son Clotaire, who also died in a short time without issue. He was succeeded by his brother Childeric, who, after a brief reign, was murdered, with his queen, at that time big with child, and an infant son named Dagobert, though another, named Daniel, had the good fortune to escape.

The affairs of the French were now in the most deplorable situation. The princes of the Merovingian race had been for some time entirely deprived of their power by their officers, called mayors of the palace. In Austrasia the administration had been totally engrossed by Pepin and his son Grimoalde, whilst Archambaud and Ebroin followed the same course in Neustria and Burgundy. On the reunion of Neustria and Burgundy with the rest of the French dominions, Ebroin

ruled with such despotic sway that the nobility of Austrasia, provoked to a revolt, elected as their dukes two chiefs named Martin and Pepin. The forces of the confederates, however, were defeated by Ebroin; and Martin having surrendered upon a promise of safety, was treacherously put to death. Pepin lost no time in recruiting his shattered forces; but before he had an opportunity of trying his fortune a second time in battle, the assassination of Ebroin delivered him from all apprehensions in that quarter. Pepin now carried every thing before him; overthrew the royal army under the command of the new minister Bertaire; and having obtained possession of the capital, caused himself to be declared mayor of the palace, in which station he continued to govern with absolute sway during the remainder of his life. Pepin, who had obtained the surname of Heristal, from his palace on the Meuse, died in the year 714, having enjoyed unlimited power for twenty-six years, and appointed his grandson Theudobalde, then only six years of age, to succeed him in his post of mayor of the palace. This happened during the reign of Dagobert already mentioned; but as the latter had too much spirit to suffer himself to be deprived of his authority by an infant, the adherents of the young mayor were defeated in battle; and this discomfiture was soon followed by his death.

But Charles, the illegitimate son of Pepin, was now raised to the dignity of duke by the Austrasians; and by his great qualities he seemed in every respect worthy of this honor. The murder of Dagobert freed him from a powerful opponent; and the young king Chilperic, who after Dagobert's death had been brought from a cloister to the throne, was not qualified to cope with so experienced an antagonist. On the 19th of March, 717, Charles had the good fortune to surprise the royal camp as he passed through the forest of Ardennes; and soon afterwards a battle ensued, in which the king's forces were entirely defeated. Upon this Chilperic entered

into an alliance with Eudes duke of Aquitaine, whose friendship he purchased by the final cession of all the country which Eudes had seized for himself. Charles, however, having placed on the throne another of the royal family, named Clotaire, advanced against Chilperic and his associate, whom he entirely defeated near Soissons. After this disaster Eudes, despairing of success, delivered up Chilperic into the hands of his antagonist, having stipulated for himself the same terms which had been formerly granted him by the captive monarch. Charles being now advanced to the summit of power, treated Chilperic with the greatest respect, and on the death of Clotaire caused him to be proclaimed king of Austrasia; but by this proceeding his own power was in no degree diminished, and henceforth the authority of the kings of France became merely nominal; indeed so inactive and indolent were they accounted, that historians have bestowed upon them the epithet of *rois fainéants*, indolent or lazy kings. Charles, however, had still one competitor to contend with. This was Rainfroy, who had been appointed mayor of the palace, and who made so vigorous a resistance, that Charles was obliged to allow him to retain peaceable possession of the country of Anjou. But no sooner had he thus set himself at liberty from domestic enemies, than he was threatened with destruction by foreign invaders. The Suevians, Frisians, and Alemanni, were successively encountered and defeated; Eudes also, who had perfidiously broken the treaties by which he had bound himself, was twice repulsed; after which Charles invaded Aquitaine, and obliged the treacherous duke to hearken to reason. This, however, had scarcely been accomplished when he found himself engaged with a more formidable enemy than any he had yet encountered. The Saracens having overrun the greater part of Asia, now turned their victorious arms westward, and threatened Europe with total subjugation. Spain had already received their yoke; and having crossed the

Pyrenees, they next invaded France, appearing in vast numbers under the walls of Toulouse. Here they were encountered and defeated by Eudes; but this proved only a partial check. The barbarians having once more passed the Pyrenees, entered France with a powerful army, which Eudes was no longer able to resist. He encountered them indeed with his accustomed valor; but being obliged to yield to superior force, he solicited the protection and assistance of Charles. Upon this occasion the latter, on account of his valor and personal strength, acquired the name of *Martel*, or the Hammer, in allusion to the violence of the strokes which he bestowed on his enemies. Three hundred and seventy-five thousand Infidels, amongst whom was their commander Abderrahman himself, are said to have perished in a single battle fought near Poitiers. But notwithstanding this slaughter, they soon made another irruption, though with no better success, being again defeated by Charles, who by so many victories established his power on the most solid foundation. Having also defeated the Frisians, and with his own hand killed their duke, he assumed the sovereignty of the dominions of Eudes. At length his fame became so great that he was chosen by Gregory III. as his protector. The latter also offered to shake off the yoke of the Greek emperor, and to invest Charles with the dignity of Roman consul, sending him at the same time, the keys of the tomb of St. Peter; but whilst this negotiation was going on successfully, the pope, the emperor, and Charles Martel himself, all died.

After the death of Martel, which happened in the year 741, his dominions were divided among his three sons, Carloman, Pepin, and Grippon, according to dispositions which he had made in his lifetime. Carloman, the eldest, received Austrasia; Pepin, the second, obtained Neustria and Burgundy; but Grippon, the third, had only some lands assigned him in France. This inequality displeased him so much that the tranquillity of the empire was soon disturbed. With the assistance

of his mother Sonnechilde he seized upon the city of Lahon, where he sustained a siege; but in the end he was obliged to submit; when Sonnechilde was put into a monastery, and Grippon imprisoned in a castle at Ardennes. The two brothers, having thus freed themselves from their domestic enemy, continued to govern the empire with uninterrupted harmony, until its tranquillity was disturbed by the intrigues of Sonnechilde. That enterprising and ambitious woman having negotiated a marriage between Odilon duke of Bavaria, and Hiltrude the sister of the two princes, instigated Odilon, who, alarmed at the growing power of the two princes, entered into an alliance with Theobald, duke of the Alemanni and Theodoric duke of the Saxons. Having assembled a formidable army, he advanced directly against the princes, and took post in an advantageous manner, with the Lech in front. But Carloman and Pepin having passed the river at different fords in the night time, attacked the camp of the allies, and entirely routed the Bavarians and Saxons, and compelled the vanquished dukes to submit to the clemency of the victors. During their absence on this expedition Hunalde duke of Aquitaine passed the Loire, ravaged the open country, and burned the magnificent cathedral of Chartres. But the invader was speedily obliged to retreat, and afterwards to withdraw into a convent, after resigning his dominions to his son. This was soon followed by the resignation of Carloman, who, notwithstanding his uninterrupted success, took the resolution of retiring into a convent, and persisted in his design, in spite of the entreaties of Pepin, who ostensibly did all he could to dissuade him.

By the resignation of Carloman, which happened in the year 746, Pepin became sole master of France; and in this exalted station he acquitted himself in such a manner as to render his name deservedly illustrious. One of his first acts was to release from prison his brother Grippon. That treacherous prince, however, had no sooner regained his liberty than he again excited

the Saxons to take up arms. But his enterprise proved unsuccessful. The Saxons were defeated, their duke was taken prisoner, and his subjects were obliged to submit to the will of the conqueror. Grippon then fled to Hiltrude, whom, in requital of a favorable reception, he betrayed, and afterwards assumed the title of Duke of Bavaria; but being driven by Pepin from the throne he had usurped, he was obliged to implore his clemency, which was once more granted. Pepin having thus subdued all his enemies within and without, resolved to assume the title of king, after having so long exercised the regal power. His wishes in this respect were quite agreeable to those of the nation in general; but the nobility were bound by an oath of allegiance to Childeric the nominal monarch, and this oath could not be dispensed with except by the authority of the pope. A dispensation was therefore procured; the unfortunate Childeric, degraded from his dignity, was sent to a monastery; Pepin assumed the title of King of France, and the line of Clovis was finally set aside.

This revolution took place in the year 751. The first claim on the attention of the new monarch was a revolt of the Saxons; but they were soon reduced to subjection, and obliged to pay an additional tribute. In the mean time Pepin continued to advance his fortune. The submission of the Saxons was soon followed by the reduction of Bretagne, and the recovery of Narbonne from the Infidels. His next exploit was the protection of Pope Stephen III. against the king of the Lombards, who had seized on the exarchate of Ravenna, and insisted on being acknowledged king of Rome. The pope unable to contend with so powerful a rival, hastened to cross the Alps and implore the protection of Pepin, who received him with all the respect due to his character, and attended him in person during a dangerous sickness with which he was seized. On his recovery Stephen solemnly placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor, bestowed the regal unction on his sons Charles and Carloman,

and conferred on the three princes the title of patricians of Rome. In return for these honours, Pepin accompanied the pontiff into Italy at the head of a powerful army, and obliged Astolphus to renounce all pretensions to the sovereignty of Rome, as well as to restore the city and exarchate of Ravenna, and to pay an annual tribute. Pepin returned to France in triumph; but the peace of his dominions was soon disturbed by another revolt of the Saxons. Their attempt, however, proved unsuccessful; and they were obliged to submit and purchase their pardon by a renewal of their tribute, and an additional supply of three hundred horse. But whilst the king was absent on this expedition, Vaisar, duke of Aquitaine, ravaged Burgundy, carrying his devastations as far as Chalons. Pepin returned, and entering the dominions of Vaisar, committed similar devastations, and would have reduced the whole of Aquitaine, had he not been interrupted by the hostile preparations of the Duke of Bavaria. This, however, was ultimately effected, and the duchy of Aquitaine once more annexed to the crown of France. But Pepin had scarcely time to indulge himself with a view of his new conquest when he was seized with a slow fever, which in 768 put an end to his life, in the fifty-fourth year of his age and seventeenth of his reign. Being of short stature, he had the surname of *Le Bref*; but his great actions justly entitled him to the character of a hero. Under the succeeding reign, however, his own fame seemed to have been entirely forgotten; and on his tomb was inscribed only, "Here lies the father of Charlemagne." Pepin was succeeded by his sons Charles and Carloman, to whom he bequeathed his dominions, and who continued to reign jointly for some time; but the active and enterprising spirit of Charles gave such umbrage to the weak and jealous Carloman, that he regarded him with envy, and was on the point of coming to an open rupture with him, when he himself was removed by death, and thus the tranquility of the empire was preserved.

The death of Carloman, which happened in the year 771, left Charles sole master of France; but the revolt of the Saxons involved him in a series of wars, from which it required thirty-three years to extricate himself. The latter had long been tributaries to the French, but frequently revolted; and now, when freed from the terror of Pepin's arms, they thought they had a right to shake off the yoke altogether. Charles entered their country with a powerful army; and having defeated them in a number of small engagements, advanced toward Eresburg, near Paderborn, where was the image of their god Irminsul, represented as a man completely armed, and standing on a column. The Saxons made an obstinate defence, but were at last obliged to submit; and Charles employed his army three days in demolishing the monuments of idolatry in this place. But the news which Charles now received from Italy induced him to relax a little the severity with which he was otherwise disposed to treat the Saxons. He had concluded a marriage with the daughter of Didier king of the Lombards, but this had been dissolved by the pope; and as the Lombard monarchs appear to have had a kind of natural antipathy to the popes, this feeling now broke out with uncommon fury. Didier having seized on and terrified to death Pope Stephen IV., used his utmost endeavours to reduce his successor Adrian I. to a state of entire dependence. The pontiff applied to the French monarch, who was inclined to grant the necessary assistance; but as the nobility were averse to an Italian war, he was obliged to act with circumspection. Several embassies were therefore sent to Didier, entreating him to restore to the pope those places which he had taken from him, and even offering him a large sum of money if he would do so. But these propositions being rejected Charles obtained the consent of his nobility to make war on the Lombards. Didier, however, disposed his troops with such ability, that the officers of Charles were of opinion it would be impossible to force a

passage; but, either by the superior skill of Charles, or from the effect of panic, this was accomplished; after which Didier, with the Duke of Aquitaine, who had taken refuge at his court, shut themselves up in Pavia, whilst Adalgise, the only son of the Lombard monarch, together with the widow and children of Carloman, fled to Verona. The latter city was immediately invested, and in a short time obliged to submit; but Adalgise had the good fortune to escape to Constantinople. After paying a short visit to Rome, Charles returned to the siege of Pavia. The place was vigorously defended, but famine and pestilence ultimately obliged the inhabitants to implore the clemency of the conqueror. Hunalde fell a sacrifice to his own obstinancy in opposing the intention of the people; Didier was taken prisoner and carried into France; his kingdom was totally dissolved, and Charles crowned king of Lombardy at Milan in the year 774.

Having received the oaths of allegiance from his new subjects, Charles set out for Saxony, the inhabitants of which had again revolted, and re-possessioned themselves of Eresburg, their capital. The king however soon recovered this important post; but a detachment of his army having been cut off, and new troubles having arisen in Italy, he was obliged to accept the proposals of the Saxons, though distrustful of their sincerity. Having strengthened the fortifications of Eresburg, and left a sufficient garrison in the place, he set out for Italy, where his presence restored tranquillity; but the Saxons having in the meanwhile retaken Eresburg, and destroyed the fortifications, threatened to annihilate the French power in that quarter. On his return Charles found them employed in the siege of Sigeburg. But his sudden arrival struck them with such terror that they instantly sued for peace, which the king once more granted; but, to secure their obedience, he constructed a chain of forts along the river Lippe, and repaired the fortifications of Eresburg. An assembly of the Saxon chiefs was then held at Paderborn, and a

promise extracted from them that the nation should embrace the Christian religion.

His next enterprise was an expedition to Spain, undertaken in 778 at the request of Ibbunala, the Moorish sovereign of Zaragoza, who had been driven from his territory. Having reduced the cities of Pampeluna, Zaragoza, and Barcelona, and also the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon, Charles restored Ibbunala; but, on his return, he met with a severe check from the Gascons, who attacked and defeated with great slaughter the rear-guard of his army, in a pass of the Pyrenean mountains. This encounter, the result of which seems to imply some defect in the prudence or military skill of Charles, has been much celebrated among romance writers, on account of the death of Roland, which took place on this occasion.

The following year Charlemagne paid a visit to Italy with his two sons Carloman and Louis, and having passed the winter at Pavia, entered Rome next spring amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. Here, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, he divided his dominions between his two sons Carloman and Louis; the former, who now took the name of Pepin, receiving Lombardy, and the latter Aquitaine. Having then received the submission of the Duke of Bavaria, he set out for Saxony, where the people had once more revolted, and he now inflicted a severe chastisement for the many treacheries of which they had been guilty. This insurrection had been stirred up by a chief named Witikind, who having twice before fled from the victorious arms of Charles, and taken refuge at the court of Denmark, had returned in the king's absence, and roused his countrymen to arms, whilst the generals of Charles, divided among themselves, and neglecting to take the proper measures for putting down the revolt, were entirely defeated on the banks of the Weser, in the year 782. Charles arrived in time to prevent the total destruction of his troops, and having penetrated into the heart of the country, Witikind, unable to resist his antagonist,

once more fled into Denmark; but four thousand five hundred of his followers perished at once by the hands of the executioner. A general insurrection ensued; and though during three years the French monarch was constantly successful in the field, he found it impossible to subdue the spirit of the people, and was at last obliged to have recourse to negotiation. Witikind and several other chiefs were invited to an interview, and Charles having represented to them in strong colors the ruin which must ensue to their country from persisting in an obstinate and fruitless opposition, they were induced not only to persuade their countrymen finally to submit, but also to embrace the Christian religion.

Having thus brought his affairs in Saxony to a satisfactory conclusion, Charles turned his arms against Tassilon duke of Bavaria, who had secretly supported the Saxons in their revolts; and having entered that country with a powerful army in the year 787, he advanced so rapidly, that seeing his destruction inevitable, Tassilon privately entered his camp, and threw himself at his feet. Charles looked with pity on his faithless kinsman; but no sooner did the latter find himself at liberty, than he stirred up the Huns, the Greek emperor, and the fugitive Adalgise, and also fomented the discontents of the factious nobles of Aquitaine and Lombardy. His subjects, however, fearing lest these intrigues should involve them in destruction, made a discovery of the whole; upon which Tassilon was arrested by order of the French monarch, and being brought to a trial, and found guilty, he was condemned to lose his head; a sentence which was afterwards mitigated to perpetual confinement in a monastery. The duchy of Bavaria was then annexed to the dominions of Charles.

But the Huns and other enemies of the French monarch, disregarding the fate of Tassilon, continued to prosecute their enterprises against him. Their attempts, however, only served to enhance the fame of Charles, who defeated the Huns in Bavaria,

and the Greek emperor in Italy, at the same time obliging the latter to renounce for ever the fortunes of Adalgise. As the Huns, not disheartened by their defeat, continued to infest the French dominions, Charles entered their country at the head of a formidable army; and having forced their intrenchments, penetrated as far as Raab on the Danube; but he was compelled by an epidemic to retire before he had completed the conquest of this people. On his return to his own dominions, he had the mortification to learn that his eldest son Pepin had conspired against his life. The plot having been discovered by a priest, Pepin was seized, and condemned to expiate his offences by spending the remainder of his days in a monastery. But Charles was no sooner freed from this danger than he was again called to arms by a revolt of the Saxons on the one hand, and a formidable invasion of the Moors on the other, whilst the Huns at the same time renewed their predatory attacks on his dominions. As to the Moors, the king foresaw that they would be called off by their Christian enemies in Spain; and this accordingly happened, the victories of Alonso the Chaste having obliged them to quit France. Charles then marched in person to attack the Saxons and Huns, the former of whom again consented to receive the Christian religion, and were likewise obliged to deliver up a third part of their army to be disposed of at the king's pleasure; but the latter defended themselves with incredible vigor, and the war was only terminated by the death of their king, and an almost total destruction of the people.

These exploits occurred between the years 793 and 798. Charles next invaded and subdued the islands of Majorca and Minorca. But the satisfaction he received from this new conquest was soon damped by the troubles which broke out in Italy. After the death of Adrian, his nephew aspired to the papal dignity; but a priest named Leo having been preferred, the disappointed candidate determined on revenge, yet managed

matters so well as to conceal for four years his design. At last, on the day of a procession, a furious assault was made on the person of Leo, and the unfortunate pontiff was left for dead on the ground. But having with difficulty recovered, and made his escape to the Vatican, he was protected by the Duke of Spoleto, general of the French forces, and his cause was warmly espoused by Charles, who invited him to his camp at Paderborn in Westphalia. Leo accepted the invitation, and not long afterwards returned, with a numerous guard, to Rome, which the French monarch promised soon to visit, and there redress all grievances. Having constructed forts at the mouths of most of the navigable rivers, and further provided for the defense of his territories against the descents of the Normans, by instituting a regular militia, and appointing proper squadrons to cruise against the invaders, he set out for the fourth and last time to Rome, where he was received with the highest possible honours. Leo was now permitted to clear himself by oath of the crimes laid to his charge by his enemies, whilst his accusers were sent into exile.

At length, on the festival of Christmas in the year 800, after Charles had made his appearance in the cathedral of St. Peter, and assisted devoutly at mass, the pope suddenly put a crown on his head; and the place instantly resounded with acclamations of "Long life to Charles the August, crowned by the hand of God; long life and victory to the great and pacific emperor of the Romans." His body was then consecrated and anointed with the royal unction; and after being conducted to a throne, he was treated with all the respect usually paid to the ancient Cæsars; from this time also he was honored with the title of *Charlemagne*, or Charles the Great. In private conversation, however, he usually protested that he was ignorant of the pope's intention, and that, had he known it, he would have disappointed it by absenting himself; but these protestations were not generally believed, and the care he



Engraved according to the original painting by Chappell in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, in the Duke's office at the Duke's house at 10, Pall Mall, London.

CROWNING OF THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE.

Engraved according to the original painting by Chappell in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, in the Duke's office at the Duke's house at 10, Pall Mall, London.



took to have his new title acknowledged by the eastern emperors evidently showed that the conduct of his holiness on this occasion was neither unexpected nor disagreeable. Being now raised to the supreme dignity in the west, Charlemagne proposed to unite in his own person the whole power of the first Roman emperors, by marrying Irene, the empress of the east. But in this he was disappointed by the marriage of that princess to Nicephorus, who, however, acknowledged the new dignity of Augustus bestowed on his rival, and the boundaries of the two empires were amicably settled. Charles was further gratified by the respect paid him by the renowned Haroun Al-Raschid, caliph of the Saracens, who yielded to him the sacred city of Jerusalem, together with the holy sepulchre. But in the mean time his empire was threatened with the invasion of a formidable enemy, whom even the power of Charles would have found it difficult to resist. We allude to the Normans, who were at this time under the command of Godfrey, a celebrated warrior, and who by their adventurous spirit and skill in maritime affairs threatened all the western coasts of Europe with desolation. From motives of mutual convenience, a temporary peace was concluded, and Charles employed the interval thus afforded to settle the final distribution of his dominions. Aquitaine and Gascony, with the Spanish Marche, were assigned to his son Louis; Pepin had Italy confirmed to him, to which was added the greater part of Bavaria, with the country now possessed by the Grisons; whilst Charles, the eldest, had Neustria, Austrasia, and Thuringia. This division, however, had scarcely taken place when the princes were all obliged to defend their dominions by force of arms. Louis and Pepin were attacked by the Saracens, and Charles by the Selavonians. All these enemies were indeed defeated; but, whilst Charles hoped to spend the remainder of his days in tranquillity, he was once more called into the field by the hostile demeanor of the Norman chief. Charles sent him a message

of defiance, which was returned in the same style by Godfrey; but, by artfully fomenting divisions amongst the northern tribes, Charles prevented for a time the threatened danger. When these disturbances were quelled, however, the Normans renewed their depredations, and Charles was obliged to confront them in the field. But an engagement was prevented by the death of Godfrey, who was assassinated by a private soldier; and the Norman army having retreated, the dominions of the empire remained free from these invaders. Still the latter days of Charles were embittered by domestic misfortunes. His favorite daughter Rotrude died, as did also Pepin king of Italy; and these misfortunes were soon followed by the death of his eldest son Charles. The emperor then resolved to associate with himself in the government his only surviving son Louis; and this was formally executed at Aix-la-Chapelle. But Charles survived the transaction only a few months; and his death, which happened on the 27th of January, 814, in the seventy-first year of his age and forty-seventh of his reign, removed the last remaining barrier against the confusion and anarchy which ensued.

By the martial achievements of this hero the French monarchy was raised to the highest pitch of splendor. He had added the province of Aquitaine to the territories of his ancestors; he had confined the inhabitants of Bretagne to the shores of the ocean, and obliged them to submit to annual tribute; and he had reduced under his dominion all that part of Spain which extends from the Pyrenees to the Ebro, including the kingdoms of Roussillon, Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia. He possessed Italy from the Alps to the borders of Calabria; but the duchy of Beneventum, including the greater part of the present kingdom of Naples, escaped from his yoke after a transitory submission. Charles also added to his territories the whole of Germany and Pannonia; so that the French jurisdiction extended from the Ebro in Spain to the Vistula in Poland, and from the duchy of Beneventum in Italy

to the river Eyder, the boundary between Germany and the dominions of Denmark. In acquiring these extensive dominions, Charles had committed frequent and barbarous massacres, for which he had no other excuse than the fierce and rebellious disposition of the people with whom he had to deal. But in establishing schools throughout the conquered provinces he showed an inclination to govern his subjects in peace, and to take means for promoting their civilization; though many parts of his conduct still evinced no small inclination to cruelty, particularly the fate of the sons of Carloman, of whom no distinct account could ever be obtained. His advice to his son Louis was indeed excellent: in exhorting the latter to consider his people as his children, to be mild and gentle in his administration, but firm in the execution of justice, to reward merit, to promote his nobles gradually, to choose ministers deliberately, and not remove them capriciously or without sufficient reason, he displayed a degree of sense and wisdom worthy of his fame. But these prudent maxims were insufficient to enable Louis to govern dominions so extensive, or to restrain people so turbulent as he had to deal withal.

At the time of the decease of his father this prince was about thirty-six years of age, and had married Ermengarde, daughter of the Count of Hesbai, of the diocese of Liege, by whom he had three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis. Lothaire, the eldest, was associated with himself in the empire, and the two others were intrusted with the governments of Aquitaine and Bavaria. But these princes proved unfaithful to their father, as well as enemies to one another. The death of Ermengarde, and the marriage of the emperor with Judith, a princess of Bavaria, artful but accomplished, proved the first source of calamity to the empire. In the year 823 was born Charles, the emperor's youngest son; and his pretensions eventually became more fatal to the public tranquillity than the ambition and disobedience of all

the others. Various parts of the imperial dominions were likewise attacked by foreign enemies. The inhabitants of Bretagne and Navarre revolted, and the Moors invaded Catalonia; whilst the ambition of Judith produced a war amongst the brothers themselves. Charles at first had been appointed sovereign of that part of Germany which is bounded by the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar, and the Rhine, together with the country of the Grisons and Burgundy, comprehending Geneva and the Swiss Cantons; but this was opposed by the three elder sons. Pepin and Louis advanced with the united forces of Aquitaine and Bavaria, whilst the imperial forces deserted their standard and joined the malcontents. The emperor was taken prisoner, and the empress retired to a monastery. Lothaire, the eldest of the young princes, was the person who retained the emperor in his possession; but, notwithstanding his breach of duty, his heart was touched with remorse on account of the crimes he had committed. Dreading the reproach of the world at large, and threatened with the censures of the church, he threw himself at his father's feet, begged pardon for his offence, and consented to relinquish the power he had unjustly usurped. Being thus re-established in his authority by the diet of the empire, which had met to depose him, Louis recalled his empress from the monastery to which she had retired; but this princess, implacable in her resentment, so persecuted Lothaire that he was obliged to join his two brothers Pepin and Louis in a confederacy against their father. The old emperor attempted to check this rebellious disposition by revoking his grant of Aquitaine to Pepin, and bestowing it on his youngest son Charles, then only nine years of age; but Pope Gregory IV. conferred the imperial dignity itself on Lothaire, deposed the unhappy monarch, and again sent the empress to a nunnery in the forest of Ardennes. As the unnatural behavior of his son, however, had once more excited the compassion of his subjects, Dreux, the bishop

of Mentz, used his interest with Louis of Bavaria to arm in defence of his father and sovereign. In this enterprise the Bavarian monarch was joined by the French and the Saxons; and the aged emperor was again restored, the empress being released from her nunnery, and Charles from his prison, in the year 833. But the ambition of Judith again kindled the flame of discord. Taking advantage of the affection of her husband, she persuaded him to invest her son Charles with the sovereignty of Neustria, as well as the dominions formerly assigned him, a proceeding which was productive of great discontent on the part of Lothaire and Pepin. But their power was now too much broken to enable them to accomplish any thing by force of arms; and the death of Pepin, which happened soon afterwards, produced a new division of the empire. The claims of Pepin and Charles, the sons of the deceased prince, were entirely disregarded, and his French dominions divided between the two brothers Charles and Lothaire, the latter of whom was named guardian to his infant nephew. This enraged Louis of Bavaria, whose interest was entirely neglected in the partition, and induced him to revolt; but the unexpected appearance of the Saxons obliged him to submit and ask pardon for his offence. Still, however, the ambition of the empress kept matters in a continual ferment, and the empire was again threatened with all the calamities of civil war; but this was prevented by the death of the emperor, which took place in 841, after a most unfortunate reign of twenty-seven years. Louis was eminent for his mild manners and peaceful virtues, which procured him the title of *Le Debonnaire*; but such was the excessive turbulence and barbarity of the age in which he lived, that his virtues, instead of procuring him respect and esteem, were productive only of contempt and rebellion.

The decease of the emperor was followed by a civil war among his sons. In 842, the united forces of Lothaire and his nephew Pepin were defeated by those of Charles and

Louis in a bloody battle on the plains of Fontenoy, where a hundred thousand Franks perished. This victory, however, did not decide the fortune of the war. The conquerors having, from motives of interest or jealousy, retired each into his own dominions, Lothaire found means to recruit his shattered forces, and even pressed the other two princes so vigorously that they were glad to consent to a new partition of the empire. By this Lothaire was allowed to possess the whole of Italy, with the tract of country situated between the rivers Rhone and Rhine, as well as that between the Meuse and Scheldt; Charles obtained Aquitaine, with the country situated between the Loire and the Meuse; whilst Louis received Bavaria, with the rest of Germany, and from this was distinguished by the appellation of Louis the German. By this partition Germany and France were disjoined in such a manner as never afterwards to be united under one head. That part of France which was allowed to Lothaire was from him called *Lotharingia*, and afterwards, by the gradual corruption of the word, *Lorraine*. The sovereignty, however, which that prince had pursued at the expense of every filial duty, and purchased with so much blood, afforded him so little satisfaction, that, disgusted with the cares and anxieties of his situation, he sought relief in a monastery in the year 855. On his retreat from the throne, he allotted to his eldest son Louis II. the sovereignty of Italy; to his second son, Lothaire, the territory of Lorraine, with the title of king; and to his youngest son Charles, surnamed the Bald, Provence, Dauphiné, and part of the kingdom of Burgundy; so that he may be considered as properly the king of France. From the year 845 to 857 the provinces subjected to his jurisdiction had been infested by the annual depredations of the Normans, from whom Charles was at last glad to purchase peace at a greater expense than might have carried on a successful war. The people of Bretagne had also revolted; and though obliged, by the appearance of Charles

at the head of a powerful army, to return to their allegiance, they no sooner perceived him again embarrassed by the incursions of the Normans, than they threw off the yoke, and under the conduct of their duke Louis subdued the neighboring diocese of Rennes; after which the latter assumed the title of king. By this bold usurper Charles was totally defeated; and his subjects, perceiving the weakness of their monarch, put themselves under the protection of Louis the German, whose ambition prompted him to give a ready ear to the proposal. Taking the opportunity of Charles's absence in repelling an invasion of the Danes, he marched with a formidable army into France, and was solemnly crowned by the Archbishop of Sens in the year 857. But being too confident of success, and fancying himself already established on the throne, he was persuaded to dismiss his German forces; upon which Charles marched against him with an army, and compelled Louis to abandon his new kingdom. Notwithstanding this success, however, the kingdom of Charles still continued in a very tottering condition. Harassed by the Normans on one side, and by the king of Bretagne on another, he marched against the latter in 860; but had the misfortune to sustain a total defeat, after an engagement which lasted two days. The victory was chiefly owing to a noted warrior named Robert le Fort, or the Strong, who commanded the Bretons; but Charles found means to gain over the latter to his interest, and for some time the abilities of Robert afforded support to his tottering throne. The difficulties, however, returned on the death of that hero, who was killed in repelling an invasion of the Danes. Some amends were indeed made for his loss by the death of the king of Lorraine in 869, by which event the territories of Charles were augmented by the cities of Lyons, Vienne, Toul, Besançon, Verdun, Cambray, Viviers, and Urez, together with the territories of Hainault, Zealand, and Holland; whilst Cologne, Utrecht, Treves, Mentz, Strasburg, with the rest of

the territories of Lothaire, were assigned to Louis the German.

All this time the Normans still continued their incursions; but Solomon king of Bretagne having joined his forces to those of Charles, in order to repel the common enemy, the Normans were besieged in Angiers, and obliged to purchase leave to depart by relinquishing all the spoil they had taken. Thus freed from a formidable enemy, Charles began to aspire to the imperial crown, which soon became vacant by the death of Louis. This indeed belonged of right to Louis the German; but Charles, having assembled a powerful army, marched into Italy; and being favorably received at Rome, the Imperial crown was placed on his head by the pope in the year 873. Enraged at his disappointment, Louis discharged his fury on the defenceless country of Champagne; and though the approach of Charles obliged him to retire, he continued his preparations with such vigor that Charles would probably have found him a formidable adversary, had he not been removed by death in 877. Informed of his brother's decease, Charles invaded the dominions of his son Louis, who possessed Franconia, Thuringia, and Lower Lorraine, with some other territories. But the enterprise proved unsuccessful. Charles, though at the head of superior numbers, was defeated with great slaughter, and had scarcely time to reunite his scattered forces when he received information that the Normans had invaded his territories, laid waste part of the country, and taken possession of Rouen. These disasters affected him so deeply that he fell dangerously ill, and he had scarcely recovered when he was called into Italy to assist the pope against the Saracens. Charles passed into Italy with a few followers; but when he arrived at Pavia, where the pontiff had appointed to meet him, he was informed that Carloman, king of Bavaria, son of Louis the German, was already in Italy with a powerful army, and laid claim to the imperial title. Charles accordingly prepared to oppose him by force

of arms; but his generals conspired against him, and the soldiers declared their resolution not to pass the Alps. This obliged him to retire to France at the moment when Carloman, dreading his power, was preparing to return to Germany. This was the last enterprise of Charles. His journey brought on a relapse of illness, which was rendered fatal through the treachery of a Jewish physician named Zedechius, who administered poison to him under the pretence of curing his malady; and he expired in a miserable cottage upon Mount Cenis, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign over the kingdom of France.

The ambition of Charles had been productive of much distress both to himself and to his subjects. His son Louis, surnamed the Stammerer, from a defect in his speech, was of a different disposition; but his feeble administration was ill calculated to retrieve the fortunes of his country. He died on the 10th of April, 879, whilst on a march to subdue some insurrections in Burgundy, leaving his queen Adelaide pregnant; and some time after his decease the latter was delivered of a son, named Charles. His death was followed by an interregnum, during which a faction was formed for setting aside the children of Louis the Stammerer, in favor of the German princes, sons to Louis the brother of Charles the Bald. But this scheme proved abortive; and the two sons of the late king, Louis and Carloman, were crowned kings of France. But in 881 both princes died; Louis, as was suspected, of poison; and Carloman of a wound he had received whilst hunting. This produced a second interregnum, which ended in calling in Charles the Gross, emperor of Germany, whose reign was even more unfortunate than that of any of his predecessors. The Normans, whom he had allowed to settle in Friesland, having sailed up the Seine with a fleet, and laid seige to Paris, Charles, unable to force them to abandon their undertaking, prevailed on them to depart for a large sum of money. But as he could not

advance the money at once, he permitted them to remain during the winter in the neighborhood of Paris, which they in return plundered without mercy. After this disgraceful transaction Charles returned to Germany in a declining state of health; and having quarrelled with his empress, he was abandoned by all his friends, deposed, and reduced to the greatest distress.

On the deposition of Charles the Gross, Eudes count of Paris, chosen king by the nobility during the minority of Charles son of Adelaide, afterwards named Charles the Simple, defeated the Normans, and repressed the power of the nobility. On this account a party was formed in favor of Charles, who was sent for from England; but Eudes having peaceably resigned the greater part of the kingdom, consented to do homage for the remainder, and died soon after the agreement, in 898. During the reign of Charles the Simple, the French government declined. By the introduction of fiefs, those noblemen who had obtained the possession of governments, and got these confirmed to themselves and their heirs for ever, became in a manner independent sovereigns; and as the great lords had others under them, and these in like manner others who again had their vassals, instead of the easy and equal government which formerly prevailed, a vast number of insupportable little tyrannies was erected. The Normans, too, ravaged the country, and desolated some of the finest provinces of France. But Charles at length ceded the duchy of Neustria to Rollo, the chief of these barbarians, who having become a Christian, changed his name to Robert, and that of his principality to Normandy.

During the remainder of the reign of Charles the Simple, and the entire reigns of Louis IV. surnamed the Stranger, Lothaire, and Louis V., the power of the Carlovigian race continually declined, till at last they were supplanted by Hugh Capet, who had been created Duke of France by Lothaire. This revolution happened in the year 987.

and was brought about in much the same manner as the former one had been by Pepin. Capet proved an active and prudent monarch, and possessed other qualities requisite for keeping his tumultuous subjects in awe. He died on the 24th of October, 997, leaving his dominions in perfect quiet to his son Robert.

The new king inherited the eminent qualities of his father. In his reign the kingdom was enlarged by the death of Henry duke of Burgundy, to whom he became heir. This new accession of territory, however, was not obtained without a war of several years continuance; and had it not been for the assistance of the Duke of Normandy, it is doubtful whether the king would have succeeded. As Robert was of opinion that peace and tranquility were preferable to wide and extended dominions held by a precarious tenure, he refused the kingdom of Italy, and the imperial crown of Germany, both which were offered him, and died on the 20th of July, 1030.

Robert was succeeded by his eldest son Henry I. In the beginning of his reign he met with great opposition from his mother, who had always hated him, and preferred his younger brother Robert, in whose favor she now raised an insurrection. With the assistance of Robert, duke of Normandy, however, Henry overcame all his enemies, and established himself firmly upon the throne. In return for this service he supported William, Robert's natural son, and subsequently king of England, in the possession of the duchy of Normandy. Afterwards, however, having become jealous of the power of the future conqueror, he not only supported secretly the pretenders to the duchy of Normandy, but actually invaded that country. This enterprise, however, proved unsuccessful, and Henry was obliged to make peace; but no sincere reconciliation ever followed; for the king retained a deep sense of the disgrace he had met with, and the duke never forgave him for invading his dominions. The treaty was therefore speedily broken; and Henry once more invaded

Normandy with two armies, one commanded by himself, and the other by his brother. The first was harassed by continual skirmishes, and the last totally defeated; after which Henry was obliged to agree to such terms as the duke thought proper to dictate. But the rancor which had been generated between them never ceased, and was in reality the cause of that implacable aversion which for a long series of years produced perpetual quarrels between the kings of France and those of the Norman race in England.

Henry died in 1059, not without suspicion of being poisoned, and was succeeded by his eldest son Philip, at that time in the eighth year of his age. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, was appointed his guardian, and died in the year 1066, about the time that William of Normandy became king of England. After the death of his tutor, Philip began to show an insincere, haughty, and oppressive disposition. He engaged in a war with William the Conqueror, and supported his son Robert in a rebellion against him. But after the death of William, he assisted Robert's brothers against him, by which means the latter was forced to consent to a partition of his dominions. In 1092, Philip, being wearied of his queen Bertha, procured a divorce under pretence of consanguinity, and afterwards demanded in marriage Emma, daughter of Roger, count of Calabria. The treaty of marriage was concluded; and the princess was sent over, with jewels and a considerable sum in ready money. But the king, instead of espousing her, retained her fortune; dismissed the princess herself; carried off the countess of Anjou, esteemed the handsomest woman in France, from her husband, and, not satisfied with the illegal possession of her person, procured a divorce from her husband, whilst he prevailed upon some Norman bishops to solemnize his marriage with her. But these transactions were so scandalous, that the pope, having caused them to be revised in a council held at Autun in the year 1094, pronounced sentence of excommunication against

Philip in case he did not part with the countess. On his professing repentance, however, the censure was taken off; but as the king paid no regard to his promises, he was in 1095 excommunicated a second time. He again professed repentance, and was again absolved; but as he still lived with the Countess of Anjou as formerly, he was soon afterwards excommunicated a third time. This unworthy conduct exposed him to the contempt of the people. But too many of the nobility followed his example, at the same time that they despised his authority. In the year 1100 Philip prevailed on the court of Rome to have this affair reviewed in an assembly at Poitiers; where, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, sentence of excommunication was a fourth time pronounced against him. Yet, in spite of all these sentences, as Bertha was now dead, and the Count of Anjou offered, for a large sum of money, to give whatever assistance might be requisite for procuring a dispensation, Philip at last prevailed, and the countess was proclaimed queen of France. But though his domestic concerns were now in some measure arranged, his negligence in public matters had thrown the affairs of the nation into the greatest disorder. He therefore associated with him in the government his eldest son Louis, a prince the reverse of his father, and who by his activity and resolution kept constantly in the field with a considerable body of forces, reduced the rebellious nobility to subjection, and saved the state from being utterly subverted. For these services the queen looked upon the prince with so jealous an eye, that he found it necessary to retire for a time into England; but he had not been long at the English court before Henry I. received a letter from Philip, urging him for certain important reasons, to throw his son into close confinement, or even to despatch him. The king of England, however, instead of complying with this infamous request, showed the letter to Louis, and sent him home with all imaginable marks of respect. Immediately on his re-

turn he demanded justice; but the queen caused poison to be administered to him, which operated so violently that his life was for a time despaired of. A stranger, however, undertook the cure, and succeeded. On his recovery, the prince was on the point of avenging his quarrel by force of arms; but his father having caused the queen to make the most humble submissions to him, his resentment was appeased, and a reconciliation took place.

Philip died in the year 1108, and was succeeded by his son Louis, surnamed the Gross. The first years of his reign were disturbed by insurrections of his lords, which proved the more troublesome as they were secretly fomented by Henry I. of England, that by weakening the power of France his duchy of Normandy might be the more secure. This quickly brought on a war, in which Henry was defeated, and his son William obliged to do homage for Normandy. As the kings of England and France, however, were rivals, the latter espoused the cause of William the son of Robert Duke of Normandy, whom Henry had unjustly deprived of that duchy; and this brought on a new war, in which Louis, having sustained a defeat, was obliged to make peace upon such terms as his antagonist thought proper to prescribe. The pacification, however, was but of short duration. Louis renewed his intrigues in favor of William, and endeavored to form a confederacy against Henry; but the latter found means not only to dissipate this confederacy, but to prevail upon Henry V. emperor of Germany to invade France with the whole strength of his empire on one side, whilst he prepared to attack it on the other. But Louis having collected an army of two hundred thousand men, both thought proper to desist from the attempt. Upon this the king of France desired to march into Normandy to put William in possession of that duchy; but his great vassals refused to assist in such an enterprise, alleging that they had assembled to defend the territories of France from the invasion of a foreign prince, and not to enlarge

his power by destroying the balance produced by the king of England possessing Normandy, which they reckoned necessary for their own safety. This was followed by a peace, which was concluded on pretty equal terms, and maintained during the life of Louis, who died in 1137, leaving the kingdom to his son Louis VII.

The young king was not endowed with any of those qualities which constitute a great monarch. From the superstition of the age in which he lived, he undertook an expedition into the Holy Land, whence he returned without glory. In this expedition he took his queen Eleanor along with him; but was so much offended with her gallantries during her stay in Palestine, as well as her behavior afterwards, that he divorced her, and returned the duchy of Guienne, which he had received as her portion. Six weeks after this she married Henry, duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and heir apparent to the crown of England. This marriage proved a very great mortification to Louis, and, on account of the folly of his conduct, procured him an unenviable cognomen. His reign was wholly undistinguished. He died on the 18th of September, 1180, leaving the kingdom to his son Philip.

This prince, surnamed The Gift of God, The Magnanimous, and the Conqueror, during his lifetime, and styled Augustus after his death, is reckoned by some historians one of the greatest princes who ever sat on the throne of France. It does not appear, however, that these titles were at all deserved. In the beginning of his reign he was opposed by a strong faction excited by his mother, which he suppressed with a vigor and spirit which did him honor; but his having taken part with the children of Henry II. of England, in their unnatural contests with their father, and his treacherous combination with John to seize his brother's kingdom when he was detained in prison by the emperor of Germany, are indelible stains on his character. In military skill and personal valor he was inferior to Richard I. of England;

nor can his recovering the provinces held by the English in France from such a mean and dastardly prince as John entitle him with any justice to the surname of Conqueror. In politics he was evidently the dupe of the pope, who made use of him to intimidate John into a submission, by promising him the kingdom of England, which he never meant that he should enjoy. For an account of these transactions, see the article GREAT BRITAIN.

Philip died in 1223, and was succeeded by his son Louis VIII., who, again, was in 1226, succeeded by Louis IX., afterwards styled St. Louis. This prince was certainly possessed of many good qualities, but deeply tinctured with the superstition of the times, which induced him to engage in two crusades. In the first of these, against the Saracens of Egypt, he was taken prisoner, and treated with great cruelty; but ultimately obtained his deliverance, on condition of paying a million of pieces of gold, and surrendering the city of Damietta. No sooner had he regained his liberty than he entered Syria with a view of doing something worthy of his character. But from this expedition he was obliged to return sooner than he intended, by the news of the decease of his mother, Queen Blanch, whom he had appointed regent in his absence, and who had managed the national affairs with great prudence. Upon his return, however, the king found many and great disorders in the kingdom, which he set himself to reform with the utmost diligence. The reputation of this monarch for candor and justice was so great that the barons of England, as well as King Henry III., consented to make him umpire of the differences which subsisted between them. But though he decided this matter justly, his decision was not productive of any good. At last the king, having settled every thing relating to his kingdom, set out on another crusade for Africa, where he died of the plague, on the 25th of August, 1270.

Notwithstanding the misfortunes of Louis, his successor Philip, surnamed the Hardy

continued the war against the Infidels with great vigor. Being reinforced by his uncle Charles, king of Sicily, he brought the contest to a more fortunate conclusion than his predecessor; the Saracens were defeated in two engagements; and the king of Tunis was obliged to sue for peace, offering at the same time to double the tribute which he formerly paid to the crown of Sicily, to reimburse the expenses of the war, and to permit the Christian religion to be freely propagated throughout his dominions. Having accomplished this, the two princes set sail for Europe; but the distemper which had infected the army in Africa not being eradicated, it broke forth on their arrival in Sicily, and for some time raged with great violence. On his return to France, Philip took possession of the counties of Provence and Toulouse; married his second son, though then very young, to the only daughter of the king of Navarre; and himself espoused Mary, the daughter of the duke of Brabant, reckoned one of the most beautiful princesses of the age. He steadily enforced the regulations of his predecessor, who had prohibited the barons from making private wars upon one another; secured the friendship of Edward I., of England, by ceding to him the county of Agenois; and entered into a war with Spain, in support of the pretensions of his nephews, the Infants de la Cerda, to the throne of Castille. The events of this war were of no great importance; and the king's attention was quickly called away from them by the death of his eldest son Louis, at the age of twelve years. This event happened in the year 1275, not without a suspicion of poison, which is common enough when princes are cut off by sudden deaths, and the king and queen were themselves loudly condemned. Meanwhile the Sicilians, over whom Charles of Anjou had established his authority, instigated by John of Procida, a noble exile, came to a determination of freeing themselves from the French yoke by a general massacre. This resolution was accordingly carried into execution, and the French, to

the number of eight thousand, were murdered in one night; after which Pedro of Aragon sailed to the island, where he was received by the inhabitants as their king and deliverer. Charles was sensibly affected by this misfortune; and having laid siege to Messina, sailed directly to Marseilles, where he obtained a powerful reinforcement. But during his absence, his son, to whom he had entrusted the conduct of the siege, having rashly ventured an engagement with the Spanish fleet, was entirely defeated and taken prisoner. This so much affected the father that he died of grief, and Sicily became inseparably attached to the house of Aragon. The misfortunes of Charles were followed by others, which equally affected Philip himself. Pope Martin IV., in the warmth of his zeal for the cause of the duke of Anjou, had excommunicated Pedro of Aragon, and bestowed his kingdom on Charles of Valois, a younger son of the king of France. In attempting to defend himself against the execution of this unjust sentence, Pedro was mortally wounded; but, soon afterwards, the French fleet being defeated by that of Aragon, the king was so much affected by the misfortune that he fell sick, and expired at Perpignan, in 1285, in the forty-first year of his age and sixteenth of his reign.

By the death of Philip the Hardy, the French crown devolved on his second son, Philip the Fair, who had espoused the princess of Navarre, and who at the time of his accession was in his seventeenth year. By the marriage with this princess he had obtained the counties of Champagne and Brie; yet even with this increase of territory he found himself unable to support the war in which his predecessor had engaged, for which reason he abandoned the interest of the Infants de la Cerda, and settled the differences with Castille. The treaty was concluded through the mediation of Edward I., of England, by whose intercession Charles the Lame, son of the duke of Anjou, was released from captivity, Edward himself paying part of his ransom. Charles consented to renounce his

claim on Sicily; and Philip himself promised that his kinsman Philip of Valois should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Aragon. The tranquillity resulting from this treaty was, however, soon interrupted by differences with Edward, pope Boniface VIII., and Guy de Dampier, count of Flanders. The difference with England arose by accident. A Norman and an English vessel having met off the coast of Bayonne, and having both occasion to water, the crews met and quarrelled at the same spring, and in the squabble a Norman was killed with his own weapon by an Englishman, whom it was alleged he had assaulted with it. But however this may have been, a complaint was made by the Normans to Philip, who, without giving himself much trouble to inquire into the merits of the cause, instantly allowed them to redress their supposed injuries. The consequence was, that a kind of piratical war commenced between the two nations; the Irish and Dutch seamen taking part with the English, and those of Flanders and Genoa with the French. Thus the force on both sides was gradually augmented, until at last the affair became so serious that in one engagement fifteen thousand French are said to have perished. Alarmed at such a carnage, Philip summoned the king of England as his vassal to attend; and, on his refusal, declared his estates in France forfeited. After a great deal of negotiation, however, Philip declared that he would be satisfied with the nominal cession of the province of Guienne; and Edward complied with his demands; but no sooner had the French monarch obtained possession of that country than he persisted in the forfeiture of the English possessions in France; and this treacherous proceeding instantly produced a war between the two nations. Edward, that he might the better defend himself against so formidable an adversary, concluded a treaty with the emperor Adolphus, and the courts of Bretagne, Holland, Bar, Juliers, Gueldres, and Flanders; whilst Philip strengthened himself by an alliance with John Baliol of Scotland, and

thus laid the foundation of that intimate union which subsisted between France and Scotland for about two centuries. During this war the French made a descent upon the coast of England, and destroyed the town of Dover; whilst Edward, in revenge, landed in Gascony with a powerful army. But no great exploits were performed with this armament; and the belligerents, finding themselves equally matched, consented to a suspension of arms for two years, during which time a peace was finally concluded through the mediation of Boniface VIII. Guienne was restored; Edward espoused Margaret, the sister of Philip; and his daughter Isabelle was given in marriage to the Prince of Wales. Philip and Edward treated the allies whom they had engaged in their cause with equal perfidy. Baliol was abandoned by Philip to the resentment of Edward; and Guy, earl of Flanders, was left equally exposed to the vengeance of Philip.

The reconciliation between the French and English monarchs was soon followed by a difference with pope Boniface, whom they had appointed mediator between them. Sensible of his assuming disposition, they had inserted in the reference made to him a provision, to the effect that he was chosen as a private individual, and not as the successor of St. Peter. The pontiff, however, soon showed that he was not to be treated as a private person; and a contest with Philip quickly ensued. Boniface began with forbidding the clergy, under pain of excommunication, to grant the king any subsidies, without first obtaining the consent of the Holy See; and Philip revenged himself by prohibiting ecclesiastics from sending money out of the kingdom without his leave, and by protecting the Colonnas, the implacable enemies of Boniface. Irritated at this decided proceeding, his holiness sent an abusive letter to Philip, and then summoned the clergy of France to attend a council at Rome. Philip retaliated by seizing the temporalities of those who obeyed the summons, and recalling his brother Charles of Valois, who

was styled the pope's general. Sensible of the danger which attended this contest, however, Philip dispatched two emissaries under the pretence of conciliating differences, but in reality to levy a body of troops sufficient to execute his hostile purposes against the holy father; and with these he suddenly invested the pope in his native city of Anagnina; so that, whilst the bull was preparing to excommunicate Philip, and release his subjects from their obedience, the pope himself was obliged to surrender to the troops of the prince whom he intended to anathematize. But although Boniface had been delivered up to the troops of Philip through the treachery of the people of Anagnina, he was no sooner taken prisoner, and reduced to distress, than they rescued him from his guards, and conveyed him to Rome, where he soon afterwards died of chagrin and disappointment. Benedict, his successor, revoked the excommunication prepared by Boniface, and attempted to conciliate the good-will of Philip; but, before this could be effected, he was himself cut off by death, not without strong suspicions of poison. After the decease of Benedict, Philip offered to procure the papal chair for Bertrand, archbishop of Bordeaux, provided the latter would condemn the memory of Boniface, restore the honors and estates of the Colonnas, which had been forfeited, allow him the tenths of the clergy of France for five years, and grant other concessions which at that time it was not thought proper to divulge. Bertrand complied with the terms proposed by the king, and ascended the papal throne by the name of Clement V.; but narrowly escaped being killed on his return from the cathedral of Lyons, by the falling of a wall, by which accident the duke of Bretagne was killed, and the king and count of Valois were considerably bruised. The new pope fixed his residence at Avignon, where he punctually complied with all the conditions of the treaty, except that of condemning the memory of Boniface, which, instead of attainting, he vindicated with much solemnity. The

condition which Philip had at first concealed was discovered by the death of the emperor Albert of Austria, after which he sought the assistance of Clement to place his brother Charles of Valois on the imperial throne. But his holiness, apprehensive of the danger which might arise from being surrounded with the powerful relations of Philip, urged the diet to proceed instantly to an election, and recommended to them Henry of Luxemburg as a proper person to fill the imperial throne. This scheme succeeded, and the election was concluded before Philip could arrive at Avignon; but, as some consolation for his disappointment, the latter took possession of the city of Lyons, which had hitherto been independent, but which was now induced to submit to the authority of Philip.

In the meantime, Guy, earl of Flanders, having been abandoned by his ally Edward, king of England, was obliged to throw himself on the clemency of the French monarch, who had sent his brother, Charles of Valois, with a powerful army to invade his dominions. From the latter, indeed, he had obtained a promise, that if he could not, within a year, settle the differences subsisting between him and Philip, he should be at liberty to retire and pursue whatever measures he pleased. But Philip, to gratify the resentment of his queen against the captive prince, detained him, with two of his sons, in close confinement; whilst he himself, having entered Flanders in triumph, was everywhere received as sovereign of the country, and, at his departure, appointed John de Chatillon, a relative of the queen, as governor of the newly acquired territory. This person, however, being of a haughty and tyrannical disposition, treated the people so harshly that an insurrection speedily broke out. The commotion, nevertheless, was not general, and would have been effectually quelled by the diligence of the magistrates, had not Chatillon entered Bruges, and publicly displayed two hogsheads of ropes, which he threatened to employ in the execution of

the inhabitants. Upon this the people flew to arms, and massacred fifteen hundred French, whilst Chatillon himself escaped their fury only by swimming across the town ditch. The insurgents daily gathered strength, and having assembled an army of sixty thousand men, laid siege to Courtray. Here they were rashly attacked in their trenches by the count d'Artois, who met the reward of his temerity in being cut off, with twenty thousand of his troops. Determined on revenge, Philip, by debasing the coin of the kingdom, raised another army, and was thus enabled to enter Flanders with a force which would probably have subdued the whole country, had not Edward artfully communicated to the queen of France, as a secret, a feigned correspondence between the French nobility and the court of Rome; by which false intelligence the king was induced to abandon the enterprise, without performing any thing worthy of the preparations he had made. The war was continued some time longer, but the attempts of Philip were constantly defeated by the steady valor of the Flemings; and the only recompense Philip obtained for all his trouble and expense was the city of Courtray.

The other remarkable transactions of this reign were the expulsion and confiscation of the estates of the Templars, who at that time enjoyed immense possessions in France. These confiscations took place without any form of trial, and upwards of fifty of the knights were put to death in a cruel manner. The grand master, with three of his principal officers, were burned by a slow fire in the presence of the king and his attendants. The whole body of these unfortunate knights had been accused of the most gross and abominable sensualities. The particulars were revealed, or pretended to be so, by two criminals, who received their pardon for the discoveries they made; and these discoveries were confirmed by the confession of the Templars themselves. But this confession was afterwards retracted, as being extorted from them by the fear of absolute destruc-

tion; and those who suffered asserted their purity to the last; so that, on the whole, it was believed that Philip consulted his avarice more than his justice by this cruel execution.

The latter part of his life was embittered by domestic misfortunes. His three daughters-in-law were accused of infidelity to their husbands, and, after a severe examination, two of them were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, whilst their paramours were flayed alive, and afterwards hung upon a gibbet, together with an usher of the chamber, who had been their confidant. The uneasiness of mind which Philip suffered on this account is supposed to have impaired his health, and he died of a consumption in the year 1314, being the forty-seventh of his age and thirtieth of his reign.

On the accession of Louis, surnamed the Boisterous, he found his treasury so much exhausted that he was obliged to delay for some time the ceremony of his coronation, and that of his queen Clemence, daughter of the king of Hungary. Having found the kingdom otherwise in a distracted state, he applied himself diligently to appease the discontents of his subjects, and conciliate their affection by every means in his power; and in this he was assisted by his uncle, Charles of Valois, on whom he at length entirely devolved the government of the kingdom. This regent, however, behaved with a degree of cruelty, which is supposed to have proved fatal to the king himself; for, having put to death a nobleman who had enjoyed the confidence of the former king, this act was so much resented by his friends that they were thought to have administered poison to the king, who expired suddenly after drinking a glass of cold water, in the twenty-sixth year of his age and second of his reign. Immediately after his death, Charles prepared to dispute the sovereignty with the brothers of the deceased sovereign. Philip, count of Poitou, the eldest brother, was at that time at Rome assisting in the election of a new pope; but, on his arrival

in France, the throne was assigned to him by the unanimous voice of the people. His prospects, however, were for a short time clouded by the queen dowager Clemence being delivered of a son, who has been enrolled amongst the kings of France under the name of John I.

The death of this infant, in three weeks, secured the throne to Philip. The conduct of this monarch, who, on account of his stature, was surnamed the Long, proved superior to that of his predecessor, who had unsuccessfully attempted to subdue the Flemings, and had even suffered himself to be duped by their count. By his vigorous policy Philip compelled their sovereign to consent to a peace upon honorable terms. He also summoned Edward II., of England, to do homage for his possessions in France; but that monarch, finding himself involved in difficulties, which rendered the visit inconvenient, sent excuses to Philip, which the latter was pleased to sustain. As the French monarch had formerly taken the cross during the life-time of his father, he now proposed to perform his vow; but he was dissuaded by the pope himself; and, at the instance of the pontiff, he sent an army into Italy to put an end to the contending factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, who had long filled the country with violence and bloodshed. The event proved unfortunate; and the disgrace was rendered the more mortifying by a contagious distemper, which swept off many thousands of the French. The remaining part of the reign of Philip was spent in attempting to regulate the internal concerns of his kingdom. A design having been formed by his predecessors of establishing a certain standard for the coin, and also of weights and measures, throughout France, this was adopted by Philip, who, in order the more effectually to carry it into execution, purchased, from the Counts of Valois, Clermont, and Bourbon the right of coinage within their respective dominions. But, notwithstanding all his endeavors, the scheme miscarried. He died of a fever and dysentery in

the year 1322, being then in the twenty-eighth year of his age and sixth of his reign.

By the death of Philip the crown of France devolved on his brother, Charles IV., who had obtained the surname of the Fair. After settling some disputes with the Duke of Burgundy, he obtained the dissolution of his marriage with Blanch, who still continued in prison, and espoused Mary the daughter of Henry, emperor of Germany. This marriage was contracted with a view to the imperial crown, which had been so long separated from that of France; and in 1325 an opportunity for Charles to gratify his ambition presented itself. At that time the imperial dignity was disputed between Louis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria, the latter of whom had been taken prisoner in a battle with Louis. But Pope John, who entertained an implacable hatred towards Louis, fulminated a sentence of excommunication against him; and the king of France was induced to embark in the same cause, by a promise of the spoils of Bavaria; whilst Frederick consented to relinquish his pretensions. Louis, however, by instantly releasing his prisoner, and dismissing him in an honorable manner, secured his friendship, and disarmed his most formidable antagonist. But the pope was not to be disappointed. A considerable sum of money induced Leopold, who had been intrusted with the execution of the excommunication, to persevere in hostilities; and it was determined that a new council of electors should be held in order to transfer the imperial crown to Charles. In pursuit of this scheme, the king of France set out with a splendid army for the frontiers of Germany; but he soon found it impossible to attain the object of his ambition. Leopold alone remained his friend, from motives of interest; the others showed the greatest indifference, and even his brother-in-law, the king of Bohemia, absented himself from the diet; whilst in a short time the death of the queen put an end to all connection with that crown. On the decease of Mary, Charles espoused Joanna, daughter of the Count d'Ev-

reux, and, to avert the calamity of an infant succession, he entered into an alliance with Robert, king of Scotland, by which it was provided that, should either of the sovereigns die without an heir apparent, the states of the kingdom should fill the vacant throne, and the survivor of the two kings should, with his whole force, support the legality of such nomination against any other competitor. But even this proved insufficient to avert the danger which now threatened the kingdom.

Charles died in the year 1328, leaving his queen pregnant; and, as the succession depended on the fruit of the queen's pregnancy, a regent was in the mean time necessary. Two candidates accordingly appeared for this important office, urging at the same time their right to the crown as well as to the regency. These were Philip of Valois, cousin-german of the deceased king; and Edward III., king of England, who aspired to the throne in right of his mother, and as nephew of Charles the Fair. The pretensions of the latter, however, were easily set aside, and Philip was confirmed in the regency; from which, on the queen being delivered of a daughter, he soon stepped on the throne, and acquired the surname of Fortunate. But, though the pretensions of Edward, both to the regency and the crown, were rejected by the people, it was still impossible for Philip to think of the claims of such a formidable rival without uneasiness. He therefore summoned the English monarch to do homage for his possessions in France; and, upon the latter not answering his summons, forfeited them, and seized his revenues. This, at last, induced Edward to cross the sea and pay homage, which Philip consented to receive in any form, upon condition of a proper explanation being afterwards given; but as this was studiously delayed after the return of the king of England, the province of Guienne was again seized by the French monarch. Unwilling to lose his continental dominions, or involve himself in a war for the sake of a mere ceremony, Edward sent over

a formal deed, by which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France. The flame was thus smothered for the present, and would perhaps have been entirely extinguished, had it not been for the intrigues of Robert of Artois, brother-in-law to the king of France himself, who had been expelled his country, and had taken refuge in England. For some time, indeed, neither party made any open declaration of hostility; but as both monarchs possessed great sagacity, they soon penetrated each other's designs. Philip, under pretence of taking the cross, began to make great preparations, strengthening himself at the same time by alliances on every side; whilst Edward, determined to renew his claim to the crown of France, projected the conquest of Scotland. This, however, he failed to accomplish; and in the mean time Philip, in order to favor the Scotch, with whom he was in alliance, suffered his subjects to make irruptions into Guienne.

But at length, in 1337, the war broke out in earnest. Philip having detached a squadron of his fleet against the Infidels, employed the rest, consisting chiefly of Genoese vessels, against the English. In this contest the Flemings, whose aid was of importance, were courted by both parties. Louis, Count of Flanders, declared for Philip, but his subjects were more inclined to Edward. James Arteville, a brewer, the most able and artful man in the country, governed them at that time as if he had been their prince; and as the advantages arising from the English commerce determined him in favor of Edward, that prince, at his request, embarked with a numerous army for Sluys, where he arrived in 1338. Upon his landing it was resolved that the German princes in alliance with him should act against France. But for this a pretext was wanting. The vassals of the empire could not act by Edward's orders, nor even as his allies, without directions from the emperor, and he was in league with France. This difficulty, however, was soon overcome. The French had made themselves masters of Cambray, and the emperor resolved that

it should be retaken. With this view he created Edward vicar-general of the empire; an empty title, but one which seemed to give him a right to command the services of the princes of Germany. The Flemings, who were vassals of France, likewise pretended scruples at invading the territories of their liege lord; but, to allay these, Edward, by the advice of Arteville, assumed the title of king of France, and in virtue of this claim challenged their assistance to dethrone Philip of Valois, the usurper of his kingdom. Such a step, which could scarcely fail to beget endless jealousies and animosities, Edward did not take without hesitation; and from this time may be dated the commencement of that animosity which the English have, until very recently, borne towards the French. Edward's first attempt was upon the city of Cambray, to which he laid siege; but in a short time he was prevailed upon by Robert of Artois, to raise the siege and march into Picardy, which he entered with an army of about fifty thousand men, chiefly foreigners. Philip came in sight with an army of nearly a hundred thousand men, composed chiefly of native subjects; and it was daily expected that a battle would ensue. But the English monarch was averse to engage against a force so greatly superior; and Philip thought it sufficient to elude the attacks of his enemy, without running any unnecessary hazard. The two armies faced each other for several days, and mutual defiance was exchanged; but Edward at last retired into Flanders, and dispersed his army. Such was the fruitless and almost ridiculous conclusion of Edward's first expedition, which had plunged him into the greatest difficulties. He had contracted nearly £300,000 of debt; he had anticipated all his revenue; he had pledged every thing of value which belonged either to himself or his queen; and he was obliged in some measure even to pawn himself to his creditors, by desiring their permission to go over to England in order to procure supplies, and by promising, on his word of honor, to return in person if

he did not remit their money. On his arrival in England, however, he obtained a large supply, sufficient to enable him to make all the necessary preparations for a new invasion; and so certain were the English that France would now be conquered, that the parliament, before Edward's departure, protested that they owed him no obedience as king of France, and that the two kingdoms must remain for every distinct and independent.

The king of England set out on his second expedition with a fleet of two hundred and forty vessels. Philip had prepared a fleet of four hundred vessels, manned with forty thousand men; which he stationed off Sluys, in order to intercept Edward on his passage. The two fleets met on the 13th of June, 1340; but the English, either by the superior abilities of Edward, or the greater dexterity of his seamen, gained the wind of the enemy, and with this advantage began the action. The battle was fierce and bloody. The English archers, whose force and address were now much celebrated, galled the French on their approach; and when the ships grappled together, the example of the king and his nobility so animated the seamen and soldiers, that they maintained everywhere a superiority over the enemy. Meanwhile the Flemings, observing the battle, hurried out of their ports, and brought a reinforcement to the English, which contributed to decide the fate of the action. Two hundred and thirty ships were taken, and thirty thousand Frenchmen, including two of their admirals, were killed; whilst the loss of the English was inconsiderable compared to the greatness and importance of the victory. After this brilliant victory Edward landed his forces and laid siege to Tournay. Philip marched to its relief with a numerous army, but acted with so much caution that Edward found himself in a manner blocked up in his camp. At length the Countess Dowager of Hainault, sister of Philip, and mother-in-law of Edward, interposed with so much spirit and address, that she engaged all parties to agree

to a truce for a year, and might perhaps have brought about a peace if she had survived.

In 1341, however, Edward's ambition was once more excited by the invitation of the Count de Montfort, who had possessed himself of the provinces of Bretagne, and applied to Edward to second his claims. An offer of this kind entirely coincided with Edward's views. He was happy in the promised assistance of Montfort, which thus opened to him an entrance into the heart of France. But this flattering prospect was for a time damped by the imprisonment of Montfort, who, on the discovery of his intentions, was besieged in the city of Nantes, and taken prisoner. But Jane of Flanders, his wife, courageously undertook to support the falling fortunes of her family. Having assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided, she appeared before them carrying her infant son in her arms, and having deplored her misfortunes, attempted to inspire the citizens with an affection for her cause. The inhabitants of Nantes instantly espoused her interests, and all the other fortresses embraced the same resolution. The king of England being apprised of her exertions, was entreated to send succor with all possible expedition to the town of Hennebone, in which place she had resolved to sustain the attack of the enemy. Charles de Blois, Philip's general, anxious to make himself master of so important a fortress as Hennebone, and still more to take the countess prisoner, sat down before the place with a large army, and conducted the siege with indefatigable industry. But the defence was not less vigorous than the attack, and several sallies were made by the garrison, in which the countess herself led the assailants. But at length the besiegers made several breaches in the walls, and a general assault was hourly expected. A capitulation was therefore proposed, and a conference already commenced, when the countess, who had ascended a high tower, and was looking with great impatience towards the sea des-

cried some ships in the distance, and immediately exclaiming that reinforcements had arrived, forbade any further negotiations. Nor was she disappointed. The fleet which she had despatched carried a body of English gentlemen, with six thousand archers, whom Edward had prepared for the relief of Hennebone, but who had been long detained by contrary winds. This seasonable relief entered the harbor under the conduct of Sir Walter Manny, one of the most gallant commanders of his time, and served to keep up the spirits of the Bretons until the expiration of the truce, when Edward would be at liberty to renew the war in regular form.

The succors under Sir Walter Manny were speedily followed by a more considerable reinforcement commanded by Robert of Artois, who soon after his arrival made himself master of Vannes; but the French speedily recovered that city, and Robert was compelled to relinquish his prize, after receiving a mortal wound. Edward, eager to revenge the death of his ally, soon landed at Morbihan, near Vannes, at the head of an army of twelve thousand men; and with this small force he undertook at once the siege of Vannes, Nantes, and Rennes; but having divided his troops, he failed in every enterprise, and gave John, duke of Normandy, the king of France's eldest son, an opportunity of besieging him in his camp. In this situation his provisions began to fail; and, notwithstanding all his valor, Edward would have been obliged to surrender, had he not, by a train of artful negotiations, induced Philip to relinquish the advantage he had obtained, and consent to a truce of three years, which was brought about by the mediation of the court of Rome.

Philip now endeavored to secure himself against the power of his rival by alliances, and by purchasing the city of Montpellier from the king of Majorca. But in the meantime the English, under the command of the Earl of Derby, invaded Guicenne, and, having twice defeated the French army, commanded by the Count de Lisle, made them-

selves masters of a great number of towns. Philip, by reason of the exhausted state of his treasury, was for some time incapable of making any opposition; and, to recruit his finances, he was obliged to impose a duty on salt, which gave great offence to his subjects. But when these discontents were allayed, he soon raised an army of a hundred thousand men, whose courage was excited by the presence of the Dukes of Normandy and Burgundy. The English general was therefore compelled to act on the defensive, and one fort after another surrendered to the French, until at length the total extinction of the power of England upon the continent appeared inevitable. In this situation Edward resolved to bring relief in person to his distressed subjects and allies; and accordingly embarked in 1346, at Southampton, on board a fleet of near a thousand sail. Besides the chief nobility of England, he carried along with him his eldest son the prince of Wales, afterwards surnamed the *Black Prince*, from the color of his armor, a youth of about fifteen years old, and already remarkable for understanding and valor far above his age. His army, which consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh infantry, and six thousand Irish, were all landed in safety at La Hogue, a port in Normandy. The intelligence of Edward's landing, and the devastation caused by his troops, who dispersed themselves over the whole country, soon spread consternation in the French court. The rich city of Caen was taken and plundered by the English; the villages and towns as far as Paris shared the same fate; and the French had no other resource but to break down the bridges, in order to check the advance of the invader. In the mean time Philip was not idle in making preparations to oppose the enemy. Having stationed one of his generals, Godemar de Faye, with an army on the opposite side of the river Somme, which Edward had to cross, whilst he himself, at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, advanced to give

the English battle, he so hemmed in Edward that the latter found himself exposed to the danger of being enclosed and starved in an enemy's country. In this dilemma he offered a large reward to any one who should bring him information of a passage across the river Somme; and a peasant of the country, named Gobin Agace, having discovered a ford, Edward had just time to get his whole army across the river, when Philip appeared in his rear. A battle ensued, in which the French were overthrown with great slaughter, and which, under the name of Crecy, the place where it was fought, is equally memorable in the annals of England and France. Edward next laid siege to Calais, which was then defended by John de Vienne, an experienced commander, and supplied with every thing necessary for defence; but it was nevertheless taken, after a twelve-month's siege, the defenders having been reduced to the last extremity by fatigue and famine.

From the beginning of this unfortunate war, Philip had invariably showed himself desirous of peace, and the victory of Crecy rendered him still more so. Edward also, notwithstanding his successes, found himself unable any longer to support the expenses of the war. The mediation of the court of Rome was therefore readily accepted, and a truce for three years concluded. At the same time, Philip met with some recompense for the losses he had sustained, by the acquisition of Dauphiné, which afterwards gave the title of Dauphin to the eldest son of the king of France. The subsequent events of his reign are unimportant, and he expired in the year 1350, at the age of fifty-seven.

On the death of Philip, his eldest son John took possession of the kingdom; but scarcely was he seated on the throne when he disgusted his nobility by a most unseasonable act of severity. Robert de Brienne, count of Eu and Guisnes, had been taken prisoner by the King of England at Caen, and, under the pretence of negotiating his

ransom, had passed several times between France and England; but being accused of maintaining a treasonable correspondence with Edward, he was suddenly arrested, condemned, and beheaded without any form of trial. At his death he is said to have confessed his treasonable practices, but this has not been authenticated by any historian of credit. Having been constable of France, the sword, the badge of his office, was delivered to Charles de la Carda; but the fate of the latter was not less unfortunate than that of his predecessor, inasmuch as he was soon afterwards assassinated by Charles, king of Navarre, surnamed The Wicked. This prince, celebrated for his personal qualifications, but detested for his crimes, was the son-in-law of John. He had demanded the duchy of Angoulême of the king; but as the latter had thought proper to bestow it upon Carda, he sought to revenge himself by assassinating his rival. John did not fail to show a proper resentment; but such was the weakness of his government, that the king of Navarre, set him at defiance, and would not ever condescend to go through the ceremony of asking pardon until John had sent him his second son as an hostage for his personal security. To these offences the king of Navarre added another still more atrocious, namely that of aiming at the crown of France, to which, as grandson by the female side to Louis the Boisterous, he pretended a title in right of his mother. But his more immediate demand was that the countries of Champagne and Brie should be given up to him. To obviate all difficulties on this head, however, John bestowed the duchy of Normandy on his eldest son Charles, and commanded him to seize the estates of the king of Navarre; upon which the latter soon appeared at Paris, and John found himself obliged to appease his opposition at the expense of a hundred thousand crowns.

During all this time the truce with England had been but ill observed on both sides; the French had possessed themselves of the port of St. Jean d'Angli, and the English

had surprised the town of Guisnes. The rival houses of Montfort and Blois also indulged their animosities, whilst Edward continued to threaten war. The king of Navarre also persevered in his intrigues, and even the dauphin was drawn into a confederacy against his father; but John, being informed of their machinations, found means to defeat them. The dauphin was reclaimed by pointing out to him the impropriety of his conduct, and the disadvantage which must unavoidably ensue to himself from the connections which he had formed. The king of Navarre, with his principal adherents, were invited to an entertainment, where they were unexpectedly arrested; the former being sent prisoner to Chateau Gaillard, and several of the most obnoxious of the latter put to death. But the rest of the conspirators, instead of being dismayed by this check, immediately broke out in open rebellion; and finding themselves unable to gain their point without further assistance, they immediately invited Edward to come over from England.

That warlike and enterprising monarch had never lost sight of the object which he had originally contemplated; and on the expiration of the truce had sent his son, the prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, with a squadron towards the coast of France. With this force the prince entered the mouth of the Garonne, burned the towns and villages of Languedoc, and then retired with his plunder into the country of Guienne, whilst Edward himself, who had also passed over to the continent, wasted the country as far as St. Omer; but the French king, notwithstanding all these provocations, determined to avoid a battle, and accordingly prohibited his general, the constable of Bourbon, from coming to an engagement, though his army was much superior to that of the Prince of Wales. With the flower of his troops, however, he pursued Edward from St. Omer to Hesdin, where he defied him to a pitched battle; but the latter, without minding his bravadoes, continued his march towards

Calais, whence he embarked for England. After his departure, John called an assembly of the states at Paris, where he explained the distressed situation of his finances, and showed so fully the necessity of their assisting him in the defence of his kingdom, that they consented to maintain an army of thirty thousand men during the war. To supply the other exigencies of government, they revived the duty upon salt, and added a variety of other imposts; but at the same time appointed a committee of their own number to take care that the money should be strictly appropriated to the public service. But the satisfaction which John received from these grants, and from the suppression of some disturbances which happened about this time, was soon overcast by the news that the Prince of Wales had marched with an army of twelve thousand men from Bordeaux, and after ravaging the Agenois, Querey, and Limousin, had entered the province of Berry. The young warrior had penetrated into the heart of France with this trifling body of forces, in hopes of joining the Duke of Lancaster in Guienne. But he soon found that his scheme was impracticable. The country before him was too well guarded to permit him to advance further; and all the bridges behind were broken down, which effectually barred a retreat. In this embarrassing situation his perplexity was increased by being informed that the king of France was actually marching at the head of sixty thousand men to intercept him. He at first thought of retreating; but soon finding it impossible to retrograde, he determined calmly to wait the approach of the enemy, and, notwithstanding the disparity of forces, to commit all to the hazard of a battle.

At a place called Maupertuis, near Poitiers, both armies arrived in sight of each other. The French king might easily have starved the English into terms; but such was the impatient valor of the French nobility, and such their confidence of success, that it might have been equally fatal to attempt repressing their ardor to engage. In the

mean time, whilst both armies were drawn in order of battle, and expecting the signal to advance, they were stopped by the appearance of the Cardinal of Perigord, who attempted to act as mediator between them. But as John, who made himself sure of victory, would listen to no terms which did not include the restitution of Calais, the Black Prince refused to listen to such a proposition, and the combat was deferred till the next morning, for which both sides waited with anxious suspense. During the interval the young prince strengthened his position with new intrenchments, and placed three hundred men in ambush, with as many archers, who were commanded to attack the enemy in flank during the heat of the engagement. Having taken these precautions to ensure success, he drew up his army in three divisions; the van commanded by the Earl of Warwick, and the rear by the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, and the main body by himself. The king of France also arranged his forces in three divisions; the first commanded by the Duke of Orleans, and the second by the dauphin, attended by his younger brothers, whilst he himself directed the main body, seconded by his youngest son, then about fourteen years of age. As the English could be attacked only by marching along a narrow defile, the French suffered greatly from the English archers, who were posted on each side behind the hedges. Nor were they in a better situation upon emerging from this pass, being met by the Black Prince himself, at the head of a chosen body of troops, who made a furious onset upon their troops, already in great disorder. A dreadful overthrow ensued. Those who were as yet in the defile recoiled upon their own forces; whilst the English troops who had been placed in an ambush took the opportunity, by a flank attack, to increase the confusion and confirm the victory. The dauphin and the Duke of Orleans were amongst the first who fled. The king of France himself made great efforts to retrieve by valor what rashness had forfeited; but his courage was unable to

check that panic which had now become general throughout his army; and his cavalry soon flying, he found himself exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. At length, overpowered with fatigue, and despairing of success, he thought of yielding himself a prisoner, and frequently cried out that he was ready to deliver himself to his cousin, the Prince of Wales. But the honor of taking him was reserved for a more ignoble hand; he was seized by Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly from his country for murder.

This defeat, which happened in the year 1356, almost entirely ruined the French affairs; and the miseries which ensued were greatly augmented by internal commotions. The dauphin, who had now assumed the government, was altogether unfit to govern a turbulent and seditious people at a crisis like this. An assembly of the states, which he called, took the opportunity to limit the power of the prince, to impeach the former ministers, and to demand the liberty of the king of Navarre; and the treasurer of the crown was basely murdered by one Marcel, a partisan of that worthless prince, who had filled the city of Paris with confusion by his intrigues. The public disorders were also augmented by the escape of the king of Navarre; and, though the dauphin was even assured that this royal ruffian had administered poison to him, he was nevertheless obliged to pay him some appearance of regard. A scheme was even formed by the chiefs of the sedition to change the government, to vest all the power in the commons, and to leave the king no more than an empty title; but though this was favorably received by the city of Paris, the other cities of the kingdom refused to concur in the project. The dauphin was likewise recognised as regent by the states-general, and the inhabitants of Picardy and Champagne took up arms in his cause. In this disastrous state of affairs, the miseries of the people were heightened by a new and unexpected evil. The peasants, who had all along been op-

pressed by the nobles, were now treated in such a manner that, having risen in great numbers to revenge themselves, the castles of the nobility were razed to the ground, their wives and daughters ravished, and themselves put to the most cruel torments. At last they were obliged to arm in their own defence. The duke of Orleans cut off ten thousand of the insurgents in the neighborhood of Paris; twelve thousand were massacred by the king of Navarre; and nine thousand who had laid siege to the town of Meaux, where the dauphiness and three other ladies of the first rank resided, were routed and pursued with dreadful slaughter by an officer in the service of Edward. Amidst these confusions, Marcel the seditious leader already mentioned, perished in a tumult of his own raising; and the most virtuous and prudent people of the nation supported the pretensions of the dauphin. But his most dangerous enemy was the king of Navarre, who had enticed to his standard numbers of those Norman and English adventurers who had followed Edward into France, and remained there to seek their fortunes, having associated themselves under the name of the *Companions*. By this formidable competitor the dauphin was reduced almost to the last extremity, when his hopes were revived by an unexpected proposal of peace upon equitable and moderate terms. Historians in general have ascribed this to the natural levity of the king of Navarre; but some have been of opinion that he acted from prudential motives, and that he justly supposed it would be more easy to deal with the dauphin, who was his own kinsman, and humbled by so many misfortunes, than with a haughty and imperious conqueror like Edward.

On the expiration of the truce in the year 1359, Edward, having again set sail for France, anchored before Calais with a fleet of eleven hundred sail, assumed the title of king of France, and augmented his army to a hundred thousand men. The dauphin, finding himself unable to oppose so great a

force, was obliged to act upon the defensive ; and having chosen the city of Paris as his station, he allowed the English to ravage the open country. Thus they were suffered to penetrate through Picardy into Champagne ; but the city of Rheims, where Edward designed to have been crowned king of France, baffled his utmost efforts. From Champagne, therefore, which had already been laid waste, the English monarch marched into Burgundy, pillaging Tonnere, Gaillon, and Avalon. Burgundy was saved by the payment of a hundred thousand merks, and an equal sum was paid for Nivernois. At last, after a long and destructive march, Edward arrived at the gates of Paris ; but the prudence of the dauphin and the citizens had rendered it impregnable to the attacks of famine as well as the assaults of an army. The war proceeded, however, till the year 1360, when the king of England showed himself inclined for peace. Notwithstanding all the victories he had gained, the French nation evinced not the least favor to his claim of succession ; the king of Navarre was a dangerous rival ; and the caution of the dauphin, in avoiding an engagement, deprived him of the advantages he expected from his valor and military skill. Conferences for a peace were accordingly opened at Bretigny in the Chartraine, and it was at last concluded, on the conditions that king John should pay for his ransom, at different periods, three millions of crowns of gold, or about a million and a half sterling ; and that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the kingdom of France, and remain possessed of the territories of Poitou, Xaintonge, l'Agenois, Perigord, the Limousin, Querey, Rouvergne, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montrenil, and the county of Ponthieu. Some other stipulations were also made in favor of the allies of England, as a security for the execution of these conditions. But, upon John's return to his dominions, he found himself unable to ratify the terms of peace which had just been concluded. At the head of an exhausted state, his soldiers were

without discipline, and his peasants without subordination. The latter had in fact risen in great numbers, and one of their chiefs had assumed the title of The Friend of God and the Terror of Man. A citizen of Sens, named John Gouge, also got himself acknowledged king, by means of his robberies, and soon caused almost as many calamities by his depredations as the real king had brought on by his misfortunes. Such was the state of France on the return of its captive monarch ; yet so incredible was his absurdity, that he had scarcely been replaced on the throne, when he prepared for a crusade into the Holy Land. But this folly was prevented by the exhausted state of the country and the misery of the people, who, in fact, were even unable to pay the king's ransom. In these circumstances, however, the conduct of John was truly noble. "Though good faith should be banished from the rest of the earth," said he, "yet she ought still to retain her habitation in the breasts of kings." He accordingly returned once more to England, and yielded himself a prisoner, since he could not be honorably free. It has, indeed been said by some that his passion for the Countess of Salisbury was the real cause of his journey ; but there seems to be no foundation for a report so injurious to his honor. During his captivity he resided in the Savoy, and afterwards closed a long and unfortunate reign by his death, which happened in the year 1364.

Charles, surnamed the Prudent, succeeded his father upon the throne of France ; and by a finely conducted policy, even though he suffered some defeats, restored his country once more to tranquillity and power. He dispersed a horde of banditti, who, having associated themselves under the name of Companions, had long been a terror to the peaceable inhabitants. He had them even enrolled into a body, and led them into the kingdom of Castille against Peter, surnamed the Cruel, whom his subjects had dethroned, and who, by means of an alliance with the English, endeavored to get himself

reinstated in power. The consequence was, that the English and French again came to an engagement; the army of the former being commanded by the Black Prince, and that of the latter by Henry of Trastamarra, and Bertrand du Guesclin, one of the most consummate generals and accomplished men of the age in which he lived. The usual good fortune of the English prince, however, prevailed, and the French lost above twenty thousand men, whilst only four knights and forty private men were slain on the side of the English. Nevertheless, these victories were attended with but little effect. The English, by frequent levies, had become quite exhausted, and were unable to continue an army in the field. Charles, on the other hand, cautiously avoided coming to a decisive engagement, but contented himself with allowing his enemies to waste their strength in attempts to plunder a fortified country; and when they retired, he then sallied forth, possessing himself of such places as they were not strong enough to defend. He first fell upon Ponthieu; the citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to receive him; those of St. Valois, Rue, and Crotoy imitated the example; and the whole country was in a little time reduced to submission. The southern provinces were in the same manner invaded by his generals with equal success; whilst the Black Prince, destitute of supplies from England, and wasted by a cruel disorder, was obliged to return to his native country, leaving affairs in the south of France in a desperate condition. In this exigency the resentment of the king of England was excited to the utmost pitch, and he resolved to take signal vengeance on his enemies of the continent. But the fortunate occasion had now passed, and all his succeeding designs were unsuccessful. The Earl of Pembroke and his whole army were intercepted at sea, and taken prisoners, by Henry, king of Castille. Sir Robert Knolles, at the head of thirty thousand men, was defeated by Bertrand du Guesclin; and the Duke of Lancaster, at the head of twenty-five thousand

men, had the mortification of seeing his troops diminished, without even coming to a battle. At length, when the affairs of the English were totally ruined by the death of the Black Prince and King Edward, the armies of Charles attacked the English on all sides. One, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, entered Artois; another, under the command of the Duke of Berry, penetrated into Auvergne; that which acted in Guienne was commanded by the Duke of Anjou; the forces in Bretagne were under the constable Guesclin; and the king put himself at the head of a powerful body of troops, that he might be able to repair any accident to which the chance of war might give rise. The constable having found it difficult to oppose Sir Thomas Felton and the seneschal of Bordeaux, was joined by the Duke of Burgundy, and soon afterwards attacked and defeated both, making them prisoners of war. At the close of the campaign of 1377, Bayonne and Bordeaux, with the surrounding districts, and the fortress of Calais, with its dependencies, were all that England had now left on the Continent. But Charles having thus once more established the house of Valois on the throne of France, did not long live to enjoy his good fortune. He died in the year 1379, at the age of forty-four, in consequence of the poison formerly administered to him by the king of Navarre, and the immediate operation of which had been suspended by the skill of a physician sent by the emperor Charles IV.

Charles V. was succeeded by his son, Charles VI., surnamed the Well-beloved, who, at the time of his accession to the throne, was only twelve years of age. The Duke of Anjou, eldest brother to the late king, had been appointed guardian during the minority of the prince; but being totally unfit for the office, and distinguished only for his ambition and rapacity, he resigned his charge to the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, the former being uncle to the king by his father's side, the latter by his mother's. None of these tutors, however, proved faith-

ful to the trust reposed in them. At this time Joan, infamous for her profligacy, reigned in Naples, where she had appointed one Charles Durazzo, her relation, to succeed her on the throne; but the inhuman wretch murdered his benefactress, who with her last breath revoked her grant of the kingdom to him, and bestowed it upon the Duke of Anjou. The influence of the latter at the French court enabled him to waste the treasures of the kingdom in support of his pretensions; but he proved ultimately unsuccessful, his forces having been defeated, and his designs frustrated by the superior skill of his adversary. Meanwhile the citizens of Paris, oppressed with taxes, broke out into tumults, and were with difficulty quelled; and the mal-administration of the duke soon involved the nation in hostilities with the Flemings, whose country he invaded at the head of an army of eighty thousand men, accompanied by the young king and by the principal nobility of France. The first operations of the war were favorable to the Flemings; but they were at length totally defeated on the banks of the river Lis, where their leader, with twenty-five thousand men, perished in the field. This victory was followed by the submission of the whole country; but the satisfaction which this event afforded the king was disturbed by new seditions and revolts in Paris and other great towns. His return, however, at the head of a victorious army soon reduced them to their duty, and several of the revolted cities were severely punished; at the same time that the death of the duke of Anjou having freed him from the immediate dependence on his tutors, enabled him to assume the reigns of government, in the year 1384.

The genius which Charles displayed in his early years raised the hopes of the nation; but these were soon overcast, and greater misfortunes than any which had yet occurred were in reserve. His administration was for some time prudent and vigorous. He conciliated the affections of his people by restoring their privileges, punishing their

oppressors, and relieving them from the taxes which had been imposed in his minority. He compelled the Flemings to submit to the authority of his uncle the duke of Burgundy, and detached fifteen thousand archers and fifteen hundred men-at-arms to assist the Scotch in their incursions into England. Lastly, in 1385, he fitted out a mighty armament against England. A vast fleet assembled in the harbor of Sluys, and a numerous army was collected in the neighborhood. According to some writers, the armament consisted of twelve hundred ships, twenty thousand foot variously armed, twenty thousand cavalry, and twenty thousand cross-bow men. There was besides a vast wooden edifice or floating town, which had been contrived for the protection of the soldiers when landed. But all these preparations came to nothing, through the obstinacy of the duke of Berry, who, having been originally opposed to the expedition, conducted his part of the armament so slowly that he did not arrive at Sluys till the middle of September, when the season was too far advanced, and an invasion impracticable. In addition to this, a storm which happened soon afterwards drove the greater part of the fleet on shore, and beat down the wooden edifice, and completely shipwrecked the whole project.

But the destruction of the French fleet was only a prelude to calamities of a more extraordinary description. The *Sieur de Craon*, a profligate nobleman, having been entrusted by the court of France with a considerable sum destined for the support of the Duke of Anjou during his Italian expedition, had dissipated this money at Venice; but, by the credit of the Duke of Orleans, the king's brother, he had obtained his pardon, and even returned to court, where he sought to gratify his private resentment by the assassination of the constable, *Oliver Clisson*, whom he suspected of having promoted his disgrace. The latter was attacked on his return from the *Hôtel de St. Pol*, by a band of twenty ruffians, against whom he

defended himself with wonderful intrepidity, but at last fell, after receiving more than fifty wounds. Happily, however, the veteran recovered from his wounds; and the assassin, in order to screen himself from vengeance, fled for protection to the Duke of Bretagne. The king demanded the surrender of Craon; and the duke, having professed that he knew nothing of him, he marched with all his forces into Bretagne. But when the army had arrived at Mons, the king was seized with a slow fever, during which he became delirious, and killed several persons with his own hand. When the excitement subsided he fell down and lay as if he had been dead; upon which he was taken up, bound in a wagon, and carried back to Mons, where he lay two days in a lethargy, from which he recovered a little, and expressed great sorrow on account of the blood he had shed in his delirium. But it was soon discovered that he no longer possessed that strength of judgment and understanding for which he had formerly been remarkable; and hence a regency became indispensably necessary. The competition for his office brought to light the characters of the queen and the Duke of Orleans, which had not hitherto been displayed to public view. The former was a beautiful and accomplished princess, but vindictive, suspicious, and intriguing, insensible to natural affection, but easily accessible to flattery, and ready to yield to every impulse of lawless passion. The latter was equally remarkable for personal accomplishments, and had married Valentina, daughter of the Duke of Milan; but his engagements with that princess did not prevent him from engaging in a number of licentious amours, and amongst the rest, as was supposed, with his sister-in-law Isabelle. During the king's illness he openly aspired to the regency; but his pretensions were overruled by the states, and the administration of affairs for the present conferred on the Duke of Burgundy. In a few months indeed the health and understanding of the king seemed to be sufficiently restored; but

in the year 1393 it was again disturbed by a sudden alarm, which occasioned a relapse, and he continued delirious at intervals as long as he lived. During his lucid intervals Charles frequently assumed the government; and as the war with England still continued, though in a languid manner, the French monarch in one of those intervals of reason had an interview with Richard of England, in order to put an end to hostilities. But their respective claims were so difficult of adjustment, that, as an intermediate arrangement, they considered a truce of twenty-five years; during which time it was hoped that a lasting peace might be established. Richard gave up Cherbourg to Charles, and Brest to the Duke of Bretagne; and a marriage was also concluded between the king of England and Isabelle, the daughter of Charles, but, by reason of the tender age of the princess, this marriage was never consummated. During this reign France was still further weakened by the succours sent to the Hungarians against the Turks. On this expedition upwards of one thousand of the bravest and most experienced knights were sent under the conduct of John, count of Nevers, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy; the Count of Eu, constable of France; John de Vienne, admiral of France; and the Count of Marche, a prince of the blood royal; together with De Courey, one of the most experienced captains in Christendom. But the prudent counsels of this veteran were not obeyed by the youthful warriors by whom he was accompanied, and who, having attacked the enemy rashly, whilst heated with wine, were all either killed or taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this disaster, however, assistance was in the year 1400 sent to Wenceslaus, emperor of Germany; and the Duke of Orleans, who commanded the army on this occasion, acquitted himself so well that he acquired the duchy of Luxembourg for himself, and left his ally satisfied.

But whilst the friendship of France was thus courted by foreign powers, the kingdom itself was in the most miserable situation

The king's distemper daily gained ground; and the discordant interests of the contending parties kept the whole nation in a ferment. The most violent animosity broke out between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. The former, by means of his interest with the queen, and the ascendancy which his duchess possessed over the king, had for some time got the advantage over his rival, and was made lieutenant-general and governor of the kingdom; but presuming on his power to levy new imposts on the people, and oppress the churchmen, whom in that age he ought to have conciliated, he was deprived of his authority, and obliged to yield to the Duke of Burgundy. For some time, however, these powerful rivals were kept within some bounds by the mediation of the Duke of Bourbon, the only grandee who appears to have maintained a pure and unspotted character; but by his death in 1404, the unhappy nation was left totally exposed to their relentless fury. In 1405 the queen and the Duke of Orleans again seized on the administration, which, however, they were soon deprived of by the unanimous voice of the people. During this period Charles and his children were neglected and abandoned to distress; but they were relieved by the Duke of Burgundy on his obtaining the regency, whilst Isabelle and the Duke of Orleans were obliged to retire from Milan. But a sudden return of the king's reason now deprived both parties of power, and the administration was vested in the queen and a council composed of princes of the blood. The rival dukes being thus prevented from interfering in public affairs, exercised themselves in committing hostilities against the English, with whom the truce had lately been concluded. They were encouraged to commit this infraction of the treaty by the unsettled situation of affairs under Henry IV.; but their attempts having proved unsuccessful, the truce was renewed after obtaining the restoration of the princess, who, as has already been mentioned, had been betrothed to Richard II. The failure of their

enterprises produced a new scene of discord between the dukes, and led to mutual re-creminations. By the interposition of the Duke of Berry they were apparently reconciled; but the Duke of Burgundy pretended friendship only in order to take a more signal vengeance, to which he was now inflamed by jealousy as well as by political animosity. The Duke of Orleans was accordingly attacked one evening by eighteen ruffians hired for the purpose, who set upon him whilst attended by only two pages. A Norman gentleman who had been deprived of an employment headed the assassins, and in person attacked the duke; at the first blow he cut off his grace's hand, at the second he struck him from his mule, and at the third put an end to his life. The Duke of Burgundy escaped to Flanders; and the whole nation was rent into two factions, called the Burgundians and Armagnacs, the latter being the title of the party of the Duke of Orleans, from Armagnac, the father-in-law of that prince. A state of dreadful confusion and anarchy ensued. The Duke of Burgundy soon returned into France, and extorted a pardon from the unhappy king, who was now no longer able to resist him; and some notion may be formed of the state of the kingdom from the circumstance that two thousand people perished in one tumult in the capital. The king himself was alternately the prisoner of both parties, and transferred the power from the one to the other as he happened to fall into their hands.

Henry V. of England judged this a favorable opportunity to recover from France those possessions that had been formerly surrendered by treaty. But, in order to give his intended expedition the appearance of justice, he sent ambassadors to Paris, offering perpetual peace and alliance, on condition of being put in possession of all those provinces which had been ravished from the English during former reigns, and of espousing Catharine, daughter of the French king, with a suitable dowry. Though the French court was at this time extremely averse to war

yet these demands were too extravagant to be complied with ; and Henry probably made them in hopes of meeting a refusal. He therefore assembled a fleet and army at Southampton, and having drawn all the military men of the kingdom to his standard, he put to sea, and landed at Harfleur at the head of an army of six thousand men-at-arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers. His first operations were directed against Harfleur, which, being hard pressed, promised to surrender by a certain day, unless relieved before that time. When the day arrived, and the garrison, unmindful of their engagement, resolved to defend the place, Henry ordered an assault, took the town by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. The victor then advanced further into the country, which had been already rendered desolate by factions, and which he now laid totally waste. But although the enemy made a feeble resistance, the climate seemed to fight against the English ; and a contagious dysentery carried off three-fourths of Henry's army. In this situation he had recourse to an expedient common enough in that age, in order to inspire his troops with confidence in their general. He challenged to single combat the dauphin, who commanded the French army, offering to stake his pretensions on the event. But this challenge, as might have been expected, was refused ; and the French, notwithstanding their internal dissensions, at last seemed to unite at the appearance of a common danger. A numerous army of fourteen thousand men-at-arms and forty thousand foot had by this time assembled under the command of Count Albert, and been placed so as to intercept Henry's weakened forces on their return. The English monarch, when it was too late, began to repent of his rash inroad into a country where disease and a powerful army everywhere threatened destruction, and he therefore determined to retire on Calais. In his retreat, which was at once painful and dangerous, Henry took every precaution to inspire his troops with patience and persever-

ance, and showed them in his own person the brightest example of fortitude and resignation. He was continually harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy ; and when he attempted to cross the river Somme, he observed troops on the other side ready to oppose his passage. He was, however, fortunate enough to seize by surprise, near St. Quintin, a passage which had not been sufficiently guarded, and thus carried over his army in safety. But the enemy being still resolved to intercept his retreat, after he had passed the river Tertois, at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. A battle accordingly took place, in which the English gained a victory, the most remarkable perhaps of any recorded in history, and which deserves to be classed with the triumphs achieved at Cresey and Poitiers. This victory, gained on the 25th of October, 1415, was, however, attended with no immediate effects. Henry still continued to retreat after the battle of Agincourt, and carried his prisoners first to Calais and thence to England.

In 1417, the king of England once more landed an army of twenty-five thousand men in Normandy, and prepared to strike a decisive blow for the crown of France, to which the English monarchs had long made pretensions. That wretched country was now reduced to a most deplorable condition. The whole kingdom appeared one vast theatre of murder, injustice and devastation. The Duke of Orleans had been assassinated by the Duke of Burgundy ; and the Duke of Burgundy, in his turn, fell by the treachery of the dauphin. At the same time the son of the duke, desirous of revenging his father's death, entered into secret negotiations with the English ; and a league was immediately concluded at Arras, between Henry and the young Duke of Burgundy, in which the king promised to revenge the murder of

the late duke, and the son appeared to insist on no further stipulations. Henry therefore proceeded in his conquests without much opposition from any quarter. Several towns and provinces submitted on his approach; the city of Rouen was besieged and taken; and he soon became master of Pontoise and Gisors. He even threatened Paris, and obliged the court to remove to Troyes, where the Duke of Burgundy, who had taken upon him the protection of the French king, met Henry, in order to ratify the treaty by which the crown of France was to be transferred to a stranger. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen made him passive in regard to his treaty, and Henry dictated the terms throughout the whole negotiation. The principal articles of the treaty were, that Henry should espouse the Princess Catharine; that King Charles should enjoy the title and dignity of king for life, but that Henry should be declared heir to the crown, and intrusted with the present administration of the government; that France and England should be forever united under one king, but should still retain their respective laws and privileges; and that Henry should unite his arms with those of King Charles and the Duke of Burgundy, to depress and subdue the dauphin and his partisans. Not long after this treaty had been concluded, Henry married the Princess Catharine; upon which he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and took formal possession of the capital. He next obtained from the estates of the kingdom a ratification of the late compact, and then turned his arms with success against the adherents of the dauphin, who now wandered about a stranger in his own country, and to the success obtained by his enemies opposed only fruitless expostulations.

But Henry's supplies were not provided in such abundance as to enable him to carry on the war without returning in person to prevail with his parliament to grant fresh aid; and on his arrival in England, although he found his subjects highly pleased with the splendor of his conquests, they seemed

somewhat doubtful as to the advantage to be derived from them. A treaty, which, in its consequences, was likely to transfer the seat of empire from England, was not much relished by the parliament, which, therefore, on various pretences, refused his majesty a supply equal to his exigencies. But he was bent on pursuing his schemes of ambition; and, having joined the supplies granted at home to the contributions levied on the conquered provinces, he was able once more to assemble an army of twenty-eight thousand men, with which he landed safely at Calais.

In the meanwhile, the dauphin omitted no opportunity of repairing his ruined fortunes. Taking advantage of Henry's absence from France, he prevailed upon the Regent of Scotland to send him a body of eight thousand men; and with these, and some few forces of his own, he attacked the Duke of Clarence, who commanded the English troops in the king's absence, and gained a complete victory. This was the first action which turned the tide of success against the English. But it was of short duration; for Henry having soon afterwards appeared with a considerable army, the dauphin fled at his approach; and many of the places which held out for the latter in the neighborhood of Paris surrendered to the conqueror. Henry, everywhere victorious, now fixed his residence at Paris; and whilst Charles had only a small court, he was attended with one of great magnificence. In the meantime the dauphin, driven beyond the Loire, and almost totally dispossessed of the northern provinces, was pursued into the south by the united arms of the English and the Burgundians, and threatened with total destruction. In this exigency, he found it necessary to protract the war, and to evade all hazardous actions with a rival who had long been accustomed to victory. His prudence was everywhere remarkable; and, after a train of persecutions from fortune, he found her at length willing to declare in his favor by the death of the King of England. Charles VI. died a short time afterwards; and

Charles VII. succeeded his father on a nominal throne.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation of France when this monarch assumed his title to the crown. The English were masters of almost all France; and Henry VI. though yet an infant, was solemnly invested with regal power by legates from Paris. The Duke of Bedford was at the head of a numerous army in the heart of the kingdom, ready to oppose every insurrection; whilst the Duke of Burgundy, who had entered into a firm confederacy with the English commander, still remained steadfast, and seconded his claims. Yet notwithstanding these unfavorable appearances, Charles found means to break the leagues formed against him, and to bring back his subjects to their natural interest and duty. His first attempts, however, were totally destitute of success. Wherever he endeavored to face the enemy he was overthrown, and he could scarcely rely even on the friends next his person. His authority was insulted by his own servants; advantage after advantage was gained over him; and a battle fought near Verneuil, in which he was totally defeated by the Duke of Bedford, seemed to render his affairs altogether desperate. But, from the impossibility of the English keeping the field without new supplies, Bedford was obliged to retire into England; and in the absence of this commander his vigilant enemy began to recover from his late consternation. Dunois, one of his generals, at the head of a thousand men, compelled the Earl of Warwick to raise the siege of Montargis; and this advantage, slight as it was, served to convince the French that the English were not invincible.

But they had soon still greater reason to triumph in their change of fortune, and a new revolution was produced, by means apparently the most unlikely to bring about such a result. In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl, about twenty-seven years of age, called Joan d'Arc. This

girl had been a servant in a cabaret or small inn, and in that humble station had submitted to those hardy employments which fit the body for the fatigues of war. She was of an irreproachable life, and had exhibited none of those enterprising qualities which she soon afterwards displayed. She contentedly fulfilled the duties of her station, and was remarkable only for her modesty and love of religion. But the miseries of her country seem to have occupied the thoughts of this lowly maiden; and her mind, inflamed by the subject, and brooding with melancholy steadfastness thereon, began to feel impulses, which she was willing to mistake for inspirations of heaven. Convinced of the reality of her own visions, she had recourse to one Baudricourt, Governor of Vaucouleurs, whom she informed of her destination by heaven to free her native country from its fierce invaders. Baudricourt treated her at first with neglect; but her importunities at length prevailed, and, willing to make a trial of her pretensions, he gave her some attendants, who conducted her to the court, which at that time resided at Chinon. The French courtiers were probably sensible of the weakness of her pretensions, but they were willing to make use of every artifice to support their declining fortunes. It was, therefore, given out that Joan was actually inspired; that she had been able to discover the king amongst the number of his courtiers, although he had laid aside all the distinctions of his authority; that she had told him some secrets, which were only known to himself; and that she had demanded, and minutely described, a sword in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois, which she had never seen. The minds of the vulgar being thus prepared, she appeared armed *cap-à-pied*, and was shown in that martial dress to the people. She was then brought before the doctors, who, tinctured with the credulity of the times, or willing to second the imposture, declared that she had actually received her commission from above. When the preparations for her mission had been

completely blazoned, the next object was to send her against the enemy. The English were at this time besieging the city of Orleans, the last resource of Charles, and everything promised them a speedy conquest. Joan undertook to raise the siege; and, in order to render herself still more remarkable, girded herself with the miraculous sword, of which she had before had such extraordinary notices. Thus equipped, she ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out, displayed in her hand a consecrated banner, and assured the troops of certain success. Such confidence on her side soon raised the spirits of the French army; and even the English, who pretended to despise her efforts, felt themselves secretly influenced with the terrors of her mission. A supply of provisions was to be conveyed into the town; Joan, at the head of some French troops, covered the embarkation, and entered Orleans at the head of the convoy which she had safely protected. Whilst she was leading her troops along, silence and astonishment reigned amongst the English; and they regarded with religious awe that temerity, which they thought nothing but supernatural assistance could inspire. But they were soon roused from their state of amazement by a sally from the town; Joan led on the besieged, bearing the sacred standard in her hand, encouraging them with her words and actions, bringing them to the trenches, and overpowering the besiegers in their own redoubts. In the attack of one of the forts, she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; but instantly pulling out the weapon with her own hands, and getting the wound promptly dressed, she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the hostile ramparts. As these successes continued, the English found it impossible to resist troops who were animated by such superior energy; and Suffolk, who conducted the attack, thinking that it might prove extremely dangerous to remain any longer in the presence of such an enemy, raised the siege, and retreated with all imaginable pre-

caution. From being attacked, the French now became in turn the aggressors. Charles formed a body of six thousand men, and sent them to besiege Jergeau, whither the English, commanded by the Earl of Suffolk, had retired. The city was taken; Suffolk yielded himself a prisoner; and Joan marched into the place in triumph at the head of the army. A battle was soon after fought near Patay, where the English were again worsted, and Generals Seales and Talbot were taken prisoners.

The raising of the siege of Orleans formed one part of the promise which Joan had made to the King of France, the crowning him at Rheims was the other; and as she now declared that it was time to complete that ceremony, Charles, in pursuance of her advice, set out for Rheims at the head of 12,000 men. The towns through which he passed opened their gates to receive him; and Rheims sent him a deputation, with its keys, upon his approach. The ceremony of his coronation was there performed with the utmost solemnity; and the Maid of Orleans, as she was now called, seeing the completion of her mission, desired leave to retire, alleging that she had now accomplished the end of her calling. But her services had been so great that the king could not think of parting with her; he pressed her earnestly to remain, and she at length complied with his request. A train of success followed the performance of this solemnity; Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Provins, and many other fortresses in that neighborhood, submitted to him on the first summons.

On the other hand, the English, discomfited and dispirited, fled in every direction, not knowing whether to ascribe their misfortunes to the power of sorcery or to a celestial influence, but equally terrified at both. They now found themselves deprived of the conquests they had gained, in the same manner as the French had formerly submitted to their power. Their own divisions, both abroad and at home, unfitted them entirely for carrying on the war; and the Duke of Bedford

notwithstanding all his prudence, saw himself divested of his strongholds in the country, without being able to arrest the enemy's progress. In order, therefore, to revive the declining state of his affairs, he resolved to have Henry crowned king at Paris, knowing that the natives would be allured to obedience by the splendor of the ceremony. In 1430, Henry was accordingly crowned, all the vassals who still continued under the English power swearing fealty and homage. But it was now too late to give a turn to the affairs of the English by the ceremonies of a coronation; the generality of the kingdom had declared against them, and the remainder only waited a convenient opportunity to follow the example. An accident which soon afterwards occurred, though it promised to advance the English cause in France, served in the end to render it odious, and conducted to the total evacuation of that country. The Duke of Burgundy, at the head of a powerful army, had laid siege to Compeigne; and the Maid of Orleans had thrown herself into the place, contrary to the wishes of the governor, who desired not the company of one whose authority would be greater than his own. The garrison, however, were rejoiced at her appearance, and believed themselves invincible under her protection. But their joy was of short duration; for Joan having the day after her arrival headed a sally, and twice driven the enemy from their intrenchments, was at last obliged to retire, placing herself in the rear, to cover the retreat of her forces. But in the end, attempting to follow the troops into the city, she found the gates shut and the bridge raised, by order of the governor, who is said to have long wished for an opportunity of delivering her up to the enemy. Nothing could exceed the joy of the besiegers in having taken a person who had been so long a terror to their arms. The service of *Te Deum* was publicly celebrated on the occasion; and it was hoped that the capture of this extraordinary person would restore to the English their former victories and successes. The Duke of Bed-

ford was no sooner informed of her being taken, than he purchased the heroine of the Count Vendome, who had made her prisoner, and ordered her to be committed to close confinement.

The credulity of both nations was at this time so great, that anything which coincided with their passions was not too absurd to gain belief. As Joan had a little before, when successful, been regarded as a saint, she was now, on her captivity, considered as a sorceress, forsaken by the demon who had given her a temporary and fallacious assistance. It was accordingly resolved in council to send her to Rouen to be tried for witchcraft; and the Bishop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the English interest, having presented a petition against her, the university of Paris was mean enough to join in the request. Several prelates, amongst whom the Cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed her judges, and held their court at Rouen, where Henry then resided; whilst the maid, clothed in her military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before the tribunal. Her behavior on this occasion in no way disgraced her former gallantry; she betrayed neither weakness nor womanish submission, but appealed to God and the Pope for the truth of her former revelations. Nevertheless, she was found guilty of heresy and witchcraft, and sentenced to be burned alive, the common punishment for such offences. But, previously to the execution of this sentence, they resolved to make her abjure her former errors; and at length, by terror and rigorous treatment, so far prevailed that her spirit was entirely broken by the hardships she was forced to endure. Her former visionary dreams began to vanish, and a gloomy distrust took place of her late inspirations; she publicly declared herself willing to recant, and promised never more to give way to the vain delusions which had hitherto misled her, and imposed upon the people. This was what her oppressors desired; and, willing to show some appearance of mercy, they





changed her sentence into that of perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed for life on bread and water. But the rage of her enemies was not yet satiated. Suspecting that the female dress, which she had consented to wear, was disagreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel, and watched the effect of this temptation. The despicable artifice succeeded. Joan, struck with the sight of a dress in which she had gained so much glory, immediately threw off her penitent robes, and put on the forbidden garment. Her enemies caught her equipped in this fashion, and her imprudence was considered as a relapse into her former transgressions. No recantation would now suffice, no pardon could now be granted. She was condemned to be burned alive in the marketplace of Rouen; and this disgraceful sentence was carried out with the most rigorous severity.

One of the first misfortunes which befel the English after this sacrifice was the defection of the Duke of Burgundy, who had for some time seen the error of his conduct, and wished to break an unnatural connection, which only served to involve his country in ruin. A treaty was therefore concluded between him and Charles, in which the former agreed to assist him in driving the English out of France. This proved a mortal blow to the cause of the latter; and such were its effects on the populace of London when informed of it, that they killed several of the Duke of Burgundy's subjects who happened at the time to be living amongst them. It might perhaps also have hastened the Duke of Bedford's death, who died at Rouen a few days after the treaty had been concluded; and the Earl of Cambridge was appointed his successor to the regency of France. From this period the English affairs were irretrievably ruined. The city of Paris returned once more to a sense of its duty, and Lord Willoughby, who commanded it, was contented to stipulate for the safe retreat of his troops to Normandy. Thus ground was continually, though

slowly, gained by the French; and notwithstanding that their fields were laid waste, and their towns depopulated, they yet found protection in the weakness and divisions of the English. At length both parties began to grow weary of a war, which, though carried on feebly, was still a burden greater than either could support. But the terms of peace insisted on by both were so exorbitant that little hopes of an accommodation could reasonably be entertained. In 1443, therefore, a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, which left everything between the parties on the footing upon which it actually stood. And no sooner had this been agreed upon, than Charles applied himself with great industry and judgment to repair the numberless evils to which, from the continuance of wars, both foreign and domestic, his kingdom had so long been exposed. He established discipline amongst his troops, and justice amongst his governors; he revived agriculture, and repressed faction. Having prepared once more for taking the field, he seized the first favorable opportunity to break the truce. Normandy was at the same time invaded by four powerful armies; one commanded by Charles himself, a second by the Duke of Bretagne, a third by the Count of Alençon, and a fourth by the Count Dunois. Every place opened its gates almost as soon as the French appeared before them. Rouen was the only city which threatened to hold out; but the inhabitants clamored so loudly for a surrender, that the Duke of Somerset, who commanded the garrison, was obliged to capitulate. The battle, or rather skirmish, of Fourmings, was the last stand which the English made in defence of their French dominions; but here they were put to the rout, and above a thousand slain. Normandy and Guienne, which had so long acknowledged subjection to England, were lost in the space of a year; and the English saw themselves entirely dispossessed of a country which for above three centuries they had considered as annexed to their native dominions. Of all their conquests, Calais alone

remained to them ; but this was a small compensation for the blood and treasure which had been lavished in France.

In the year 1450, accordingly, the power of the English in France was entirely destroyed ; and Charles obtained the surname of Victorious, on account of the vigor which he had shown in expelling the invaders of his country. But his satisfaction was greatly diminished by domestic misfortunes. The Dauphin, forgetting the allegiance and filial duty which he owed to his father, had already impeded his conquests by his seditious intrigues. He had used every effort to thwart the designs of the king's ministers, and it was even supposed that he had destroyed by poison Agnes Soreille, his father's favorite mistress. He had also married Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, which Charles had resented by a declaration of war against the duke ; but he had been persuaded to recall his denunciation, in order to prosecute the war against Guienne. At length, weary of the disobedience of his son, he commanded him to be arrested ; but Louis, informed of his design, withdrew to Franche Comté, and afterwards to Brabant, where the Duke of Burgundy, then sovereign of the country, ordered him to be supplied with every necessary, and treated with all imaginable respect. The duke, however, refused to see him until he had obtained the approbation of his father ; upon which Louis employed himself in sowing dissension between his benefactor and the Count of Charolois, his son, at the very time that he himself was receiving a pension of twelve thousand crowns annually from the father. He thus destroyed the domestic peace of his benefactor, whilst his unnatural conduct created continual suspicions in the mind of his father. Being repeatedly informed that his own domestics, along with his undutiful son, were in a conspiracy against his life, the miserable monarch lived in continual fear of being poisoned, and, having none in whom he could repose confidence, obstinately refused for some days to receive any sustenance : and

when at last prevailed upon by the importunities of his attendants to take some food, his stomach had become incapable of receiving it, and he died of inanition, in the year 1461. His body, neglected by his unnatural son, was interred at the expense of Tannequi de Chastel, who had ever been his faithful companion.

On the death of Charles, his son Louis succeeded to the throne to which he had so long aspired. He was reckoned one of the greatest politicians that ever existed, though his character was not upon that account the more amiable ; on the contrary, there are few princes whose character appears in a more detestable light. So destitute was he of natural affection, that he did not even attempt to conceal his joy at his father's death. He pretended much friendship for the Count of Charolois, son to the Duke of Burgundy, on account of the protection which he had received at his father's court, and even conferred upon him a pension of twelve thousand crowns annually. But all this show of affection soon degenerated into a mortal aversion on both sides. Some differences, which took place between the courts of France and Castille, produced an interview between the two monarchs, Louis, and Henry surnamed the Impotent. They met at Mauleon, on the confines of Navarre ; but their negotiations came to nothing, and they parted with a feeling of mutual contempt ; Henry despising the mean and sordid appearance of Louis, and the latter in his turn deriding the gaudy magnificence of Henry. In his negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy, Louis proved more successful, having persuaded him to restore some towns situated on the river Somme, which had been ceded by Charles VII., and by the possession of which the duke was in effect master of Picardy. This cession was opposed by the Count of Charolois ; but Louis, by corrupting John de Croy, the duke's minister, succeeded in his object, and for the sum of four hundred thousand crowns the cities were delivered to him. In this transaction, by which he effec-

usually ensured the hatred of Charolois, the duplicity of Louis was eminently displayed; for, though he had agreed to retain in those towns the officers appointed by the duke, he had no sooner obtained possession than he displaced all of them, and appointed others in their stead.

The duchy of Bretagne was at this time governed by Francis, a weak but generous prince, whose defect of capacity was supplied by the abilities of his ministers. This prince Louis had insulted in the grossest manner; and as Francis found himself unable alone to oppose such a powerful adversary, he formed a close alliance with the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Charolois, who had also been grievously offended by Louis. The confederacy was joined by several of the principal French nobility, who had been oppressed by the king; and though the secret was confided to upwards of five hundred persons, not one of them ever divulged it. Finding matters becoming very critical, Louis marched with an army towards the capital, which the Count of Charolois had already threatened; and a battle ensued, in which both princes exerted themselves to the utmost, though their valor was but ill seconded by the bravery of their troops. About fifteen hundred men perished on each side, but the Count of Charolois remained master of the field. Louis, however, after this engagement entered the capital, where he endeavored, by every kind concession, to conciliate the affection of his subjects; and in this he succeeded so well, that, though the army of the insurgents was soon augmented to a hundred thousand men, they were unable to make themselves masters of the city. At last a treaty was concluded between Louis and the Count of Charolois, by which the latter obtained the towns which had been formerly ceded, with the districts of Bologne, Guisne, Peronne, Mondidior and Roye, as a perpetual inheritance for himself; and by granting favors to the other confederates, the league was completely broken. But as soon as Louis found himself freed from danger,

he protested against the whole treaty as contrary to the interest of his crown; and therefore waited the first favorable opportunity to crush one by one those who, by their united efforts, had been ready to destroy him. The Duke of Bourbon, one of the most able of the confederates, was gained over, by bestowing upon him in marriage Jane, a natural daughter of the king, with the dowry of Usson in Auvergne, together with Moras, Beaurepaire and Cormillon in Dauphiné; and, by the discontents between the Dukes of Bretagne and Normandy, he was enabled to secure the neutrality of the former, and to recover from the latter some territories which had been unwillingly ceded to him.

In 1467, Philip, duke of Burgundy, surnamed from his amiable qualities the Good, died, and left his dominions to his son Charles, count of Charolois. That fiery and impetuous prince, jealous of the growing power of France, and an implacable enemy of Louis, had entered into a secret treaty with Francis; but Louis had driven the Bretons from the posts which they had occupied in Normandy before the Duke of Burgundy could pass the Somme. The king, however, alarmed at the power of the confederates, concluded a peace with Bretagne; and, confiding in his talents for negotiation, determined to risk a personal conference with the Duke of Burgundy. This memorable interview took place in the year 1468; and Peronne, a fortified town of Picardy, belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, was appointed as the place of rendezvous. Thither the politic Louis repaired with a slender train, being attended only by Cardinal Balue, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Count de St. Pol, constable of France; apparently without reflecting that he was entering a hostile city, where he might be confined for any length of time, or treated at the pleasure of the duke, who was his mortal enemy. Nor had he been long in the place when he began to perceive the extent of his error; and, by the daily concourse of Burgundian lords and other persons of rank, his avowed enemies, he be

came alarmed for his personal safety. His fears even suggested to him more serious apprehensions; and he requested apartments in the castle, where it was in the power of his rival in a moment to make him a close prisoner. This event accordingly took place, through the machinations of Louis himself. From the first his policy had been to keep the Duke of Burgundy constantly employed in domestic wars; and with this view he had, immediately before his interview with Charles, excited the inhabitants of Liège, who were subject to the Duke of Burgundy, to revolt against their sovereign. It is probable, indeed, that he did not anticipate that the effects of this treachery would so soon begin to manifest themselves. But at the very time when Louis was in the castle of Peronne, the people of Liège revolted, seized the bishop and governor, and having massacred many of the adherents of Charles, retired with their prisoners to the capital. Charles was soon informed of this massacre, with the additional circumstance that the emissaries of Louis were seen animating the insurgents to their work of destruction. Transported with rage, he commanded the gates of the castle to be shut and strictly guarded, and denounced the severest vengeance on the perfidious monarch who had so often deceived him. Louis, however, though justly alarmed for the consequences of this premature explosion, did not neglect to take the proper methods for securing himself. He distributed large sums of money amongst those officers to whom he imagined the duke was most inclined to pay any regard, and by splendid promises and presents endeavored to allay the resentment of his other enemies. The resentment of Charles, as short-lived as it was violent, quickly subsided, and he entered into a treaty with the king, upon much the same terms as those which had been agreed to before. He insisted, however, that Louis should be present at the punishment he inflicted upon the inhabitants of Liège for the massacre they had committed; and this being acceded to, these

princes in conjunction formed the siege of the city, which, notwithstanding the obstinate defence of the people, was at length taken by storm, and delivered over to a general massacre.

But, as might have been foreseen, the new alliance was soon dissolved. A confederacy against Louis, whom neither promises nor treaties could bind, was formed between his own brother, the Duke of Normandy, and the Duke of Burgundy; but before their measures were ripe for execution, Louis had already commenced hostilities. The Duke of Burgundy, as a peer of France, was summoned to parliament, and on his refusal the constable St. Pol made himself master of St. Quintin. Several other cities were also reduced; and Baldwin, the natural brother of Charles, having, at the instigation of Louis, deserted his cause, the duke, notwithstanding his haughty spirit, was at last obliged to solicit a peace. This, however, was not of long duration. Charles, encouraged by the success of Edward IV. of England, his brother-in-law, began once more to league against Louis, with the Dukes of Bretagne and Guienne, the king's brother, and formerly Duke of Normandy, but who had exchanged that duchy for the territory of Guienne. But whilst the affairs of the confederates seemed likely to prosper, their prospects were suddenly overcast by the death of the Duke of Guienne, who was universally supposed to have been poisoned by order of Louis. The abbot of St. Jean d'Angeli was fixed upon as the immediate perpetrator of the deed; but upon the day appointed for his trial he was found strangled in his cell; and as the dead tell no tales, Louis escaped the ignominy which the trial would probably have fixed on him, and was enabled to seize upon the territory of Guienne, which he annexed to the dominions of France.

By this unexampled villany Charles was so much exasperated that he vowed the most dreadful vengeance against the people of France, and threatened to sacrifice to the memory of the Duke of Guienne every one

who fell into his hands. The citizens of Nesle were massacred without distinction of sex or age; but Beauvis resisted his attacks, after which Charles wreaked his fury on other places. Having entered the country of Caux, he reduced the cities of Eu and St. Valery, burned Longueville, and wasted the whole country as far as Rouen. Louis, on the other hand, steady and constant in his designs, determined to dissolve the league between the Duke of Bretagne and Edward IV. of England, encamped with his army on the frontiers of Bretagne; whilst the duke, not meeting with the assistance promised by Edward, was obliged to consent to a truce for a year. In a little time, however, he began again to conspire with the king of England against Louis, and a powerful invasion was determined upon. Edward was to cross the sea with an army of ten thousand men, whilst Charles assembled all his forces to join in the attack. The former was also to set up a claim to the crown of France; and at all events to obtain the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; whilst the duke was to have Champagne, with some adjacent districts, and to free his dominions from homage; and neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other. It was supposed that the Duke of Bretagne would naturally accede to the confederacy; and the Count de St. Pol, constable of France, had engaged to deliver up the town of St. Quintin and others which he occupied on the river Somme. Louis, however, had still the good fortune to avoid the storm. Charles, instead of advancing to the assistance of Edward, who had entered France at the head of fifteen thousand archers and fifteen hundred men-at-arms, laid siege to the city of Nuiz on the Rhine; whilst the Constable St. Pol, instead of delivering up the towns as he had promised, deceived his allies, and enabled Louis to dissolve a confederacy, which, had it been vigorously maintained, might have involved him in the greatest difficulties. To procure the departure of Edward, however, he was obliged to consent

to a tribute of seventy-five thousand crowns, as well as to settle on the king himself fifty thousand crowns for life, and also to betrothe the dauphin to the eldest daughter of the king of England. The Duke of Burgundy exclaimed loudly against this treaty; but Edward persisting in his resolution, it was executed, at a place called Pecquigny, near Amiens, though in such a manner as showed the little confidence which the two sovereigns reposed in each other. A power was reserved by Edward for the Duke of Burgundy to accede to the treaty; but the latter haughtily replied that he was able to support himself without the assistance of England, and that he would make no peace with Louis until three months after the return of Edward to his own country. To this resolution he adhered; but no sooner had the term expired than he concluded a truce with Louis for nine years. The Constable St. Pol having rendered himself obnoxious to all parties by his complicated treachery, fled to Mons in Hainault; but the Duke of Burgundy had already consented to deliver him up, upon condition of receiving his estates and moveables as the price of his treachery.

Thus had Louis, without any other remarkable qualification than the mere arts of dissimulation and falsehood, got rid of all his enemies excepting the Duke of Burgundy, whose growing power rendered him a constant object of jealousy and terror. The imprudence and temerity of the latter, however, soon proved his ruin. Having rashly engaged in a war with the Swiss, he was defeated in the first encounter, with the loss of his military chest and baggage, and of his plate and jewels, supposed to be the richest in Europe. His disappointment on this occasion was so great that he was seized with a severe sickness; but he had hardly recovered when he resumed his insane scheme of conquering the Swiss. Another battle ensued, in which, after an obstinate struggle, Charles was defeated with the loss of eighteen thousand men—a disaster which was fol-

lowed by the defection of most of his allies. The Duke of Lorraine recovered the city of Nancy, and the greater part of his dominions, which Charles had seized; whilst the latter, overwhelmed with shame and disappointment, spent his time in solitude and inactivity. But from this state he was at length roused by the misfortunes which fell upon him in rapid succession. He now invested the city of Nancy, acting in this, as in every other instance, against the advice of his best officers. The Duke of Lorraine advanced with a strong body of Germans to the relief of the city, whilst Charles had scarcely four thousand men to oppose him. His troops were therefore defeated, and he himself, notwithstanding the most heroic efforts of valor, was hurried away in the crowd. The Count de Campobasso, an Italian nobleman, in whom he put great confidence, but who was in reality a traitor, had deserted with about eighty men at the commencement of the action; but he left twelve or fifteen fellows about the duke's person, with strict orders to assassinate him in the tumult; and this order they punctually obeyed. The body of Charles was found two days after the battle, pierced with three wounds. This occurred in the year 1477.

The news of Charles's death was received with the most unfeigned joy by Louis, whose sole object it now was to unite the territories of the Duke of Burgundy to those of his own. This might be done in two ways; either by a match between the dauphin and Mary, the heiress of Burgundy, or by marrying this lady to the Duke of Angoulême, a prince of the blood royal of France. The king, however, to whom duplicity and falsehood seem to have been absolutely necessary, chose a third method, which was more agreeable to his character. The match with the dauphin, for various reasons, might be considered as impracticable. The disparity of age was great, the dauphin being only eight years old, and the princess twenty; the Flemings were besides averse to submit to a prince whose powerful resources would enable him

to oppress their liberties. But, notwithstanding these difficulties, Louis chose to insist upon the match, at the same time that he endeavored to make himself master of her dominions by force of arms. He addressed circular letters to the principal cities of Burgundy, representing that the duchy had been given by King John to the heirs male of his son Philip, and that now, when these were extinct by the death of Charles, the territory reverted of course to the crown; and, to render this argument more effectual, he corrupted the governors of some towns, and seduced the inhabitants of others, whilst he himself at the head of an army prepared to enforce obedience from those who could not be worked upon by other methods. And by these means the province of Burgundy was entirely reduced. But Flanders could not be brought under subjection either by fraud or force. In this, as on almost all other occasions, Louis displayed the most detestable falsehood, and the meanest treachery. In order to render Mary odious to her subjects, he negotiated with her ministers, and having prevailed on them to disclose the most important state secrets, he communicated their letters to the states of Flanders. This double treachery, however, did not answer his purpose. The two ministers he had betrayed were indeed put to death in the presence of their sovereign; but Mary was induced to bestow her hand upon the emperor Maximilian, and Louis had the mortification to find that all his arts had contributed only to aggrandise a rival power, whom he had already sufficient cause to dread. To repair this oversight, he entered into an alliance with Edward IV. of England, whom he had inspired with a jealousy of his brother Clarence; and thus a peace was concluded between the two monarchs, intended to continue during the life of each, and a year thereafter. Meanwhile the marriage of Mary with Maximilian secured the independence of Flanders; whilst the return of the prince of Orange to the party of that princess once more extended the war to the cities of Bur-

gundy, and the French were on the point of being expelled from that country. But Maximilian unexpectedly made proposals of peace, and a truce was concluded, but without any term fixed for its duration, or without stipulations in favor of the Burgundians; so that the whole country was soon afterwards reduced by Louis.

The king being now freed from the apprehensions of foreign enemies, turned his vindictive disposition against his own subjects, and, under pretence of former rebellions, exercised the most insupportable tyranny. The principle victim of his sanguinary disposition was James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, one of the first noblemen in the kingdom, who had formerly been a zealous confederate in the league with Edward and Charles. This unfortunate nobleman, knowing that vengeance was determined on, fled to the fortress of Carlat, in the mountains of Auvergne, where he was besieged by the Seigneur de Beaujeu, who had married Anne the daughter of Louis. The place, however, being almost impregnable, his enemies were obliged to make the most solemn promises of safety in order to induce him to surrender, and he was at last persuaded to trust himself in the hands of the faithless tyrant. But no sooner had the latter got the unfortunate nobleman in his power than he shut him up in an iron cage in the Bastille, and reprimanded the judges for having released him from this close confinement during his examination. He was condemned to be beheaded; but the king's cruelty extended beyond the sentence, for he ordered the two sons of the duke, though yet in childhood, to be placed directly under the scaffold, that they might be covered with the blood of their father. Four thousand persons are supposed to have perished upon this occasion without any form or trial; and were it not for the concurring testimony of the historians of that age, the inhuman barbarities of this monster would scarcely be credited. By these means he broke the spirit of the French nobility, and gradually extended the power

of the crown, until at last it was limited only by the pleasure of the sovereign.

In 1479, the emperor Maximilian, who had lightly abandoned the duchy of Burgundy when he might have reduced it, now renewed his claims when it was no longer in his power to enforce them. After a variety of actions of little note, and the destruction of cities on both sides, a battle was fought at Guinegate, where the Flemings were routed; but as the French pursued with too great ardor, the infantry of the enemy rallied, and the battle was renewed with great slaughter on both sides. A more decisive advantage was afterwards gained by the capture of eighty Flemish vessels, which induced that commercial people to think of peace.

In the mean time, Louis, after a life spent in continual deceit, hypocrisy, and cruelty, received warning of his approaching end by a fit of apoplexy, with which he was seized in the year 1480. He lay speechless and motionless for two days; after which he in some degree recovered, but never completely regained his health and strength. His illness, however, neither prevented him pursuing the schemes of his ambition, nor using the same methods as formerly to attain them. He seized, without any pretence, the estates of the Duke of Bourbon, the only nobleman in the kingdom whose power gave him any cause of suspicion; and, notwithstanding his assiduity for the interest of the dauphin, kept him a kind of prisoner in the castle of Amboise. He banished his own consort, the mother of the dauphin, to Savoy, and endeavored to inspire the prince with aversion for her. By the death of Charles, titular king of Naples, and the last of the second house of Anjou, he became master of the county of Provence; but his satisfaction on this occasion was marred by a second stroke of apoplexy. Still, however, he revived, and again began to pursue his ambitious intrigues. The death of Mary of Burgundy, who perished by a fall from her horse, inspired him with new views; and he betrothed his son to the infant daughter of the emperor, by

which means he deeply offended Edward IV., whose eldest daughter had previously been contracted to the dauphin, and a war would in consequence have ensued, had it not been for the death of the king of England. This event was ere long followed by that of Louis himself, who had in vain exhausted the skill of his physicians, and wearied the clergy with prayers and processions to avert the impending stroke. He expired in the year 1483, after a reign of twenty-three years, during which he was detested by his subjects, whom he had continually oppressed, and equally dreaded and hated by his neighbors, whom he had constantly deceived. But, in spite of all this, he obtained from his holiness the title of Most Christian King, which his successors retained until the year 1830, when a sudden revolution placed a new and more popular dynasty on the throne. Notwithstanding the dark character of this prince, it must be allowed that he laid the foundations of the future greatness of the French monarchy. By his arts he deprived the common people of their liberty, depressed the power of the nobility, established a standing army, and even induced the states to render many taxes perpetual which formerly were only temporary. From this time the people became accustomed to submit entirely to the voice of their sovereign as their only legislator; and being always obedient in matters of the greatest consequence, they cheerfully contributed whatever sums were required to fulfill the king's pleasure.

Charles VIII., who succeeded his father, Louis XI., in 1483, was only fourteen years of age at the time of his father's death. But though he might, even at that age, have ascended the throne without any material violation of the laws of France, yet it was judged necessary to appoint a regent, on account of the king's delicacy of constitution and want of education. Three competitors appeared as candidates for this important trust: John, duke of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, and who had, till the age of sixty, maintained the most unblemished character; Louis, duke of

Orleans, presumptive heir to the crown, but who from his youth seemed incapable of undertaking so important an office; and Anne, the eldest daughter of Louis, to whom he had in the last moments of his life committed the charge of the kingdom. The claim of this lady was supported by the assembly of the states general at Tours; and though she had only entered the twenty-second year of her age, the office, it appears, could not have been more properly bestowed. Being married to Peter of Bourbon, seigneur of Beaujeu, she was styled the Lady of Beaujeu; but she seems to have acted independently of her husband, who was a man of but moderate capacity.

Her first step was to ingratiate herself with the people by some popular acts, and particularly by punishing the instruments of her father's cruelties. One of these, Oliver le Dain, who, from the humble station of a barber, had raised himself to the confidence and favor of the king, and had distinguished himself by the invention of new modes of torture, was publicly hanged. Another, named Jean Doyac, who by continual acts of violence and rapacity had oppressed the people, after being whipped in all the public places and squares of Paris, was condemned to have one of his ears cut off, and his tongue pierced through with a hot iron; upon which he was conveyed to his native city of Montferrand, where he was again whipped, and had his other ear cut off. Jacques Coitier, the physician of Louis, who had availed himself of the terror of death, with which the king was strongly influenced, to extort large sums of money from him, was ordered to account for the immense wealth he had acquired; but he prudently averted the danger by paying a fine of fifty thousand crowns. Thus the Lady of Beaujeu secured the affection of the people at large, and was equally successful in gaining those who had at first been averse to her government. The Duke of Bourbon was made constable, an office which he had long desired; the Duke of Orleans having behaved in such a manner as to exclude all hopes of favor

Incensed at the determination against him of a trifling dispute at tennis by the Lady of Beaujeu, he furiously had exclaimed, that whoever had decided in that manner was a liar if a man, or a strumpet if a woman. After this insolent declaration he fled to the castle of Beanjeney, where, however, he was soon forced to surrender. He then applied to Henry VII., who had newly ascended the throne of England; but that prince, naturally cautious and deliberate, paid little attention to his application. On this he next made application to the court of Bretagne, where he was received with great marks of esteem, and began to entertain hopes of marrying the daughter of the duke; but he was looked upon with a jealous eye by the nobility, who entered into secret negotiations with Anne, and even solicited her to invade the country, stipulating that only a certain number of troops should enter the province, and that no fortified place should remain in the hands of the French; conditions which were indeed agreed to by the regent, though she determined to keep them no longer than it suited her purpose so to do. Bretagne was therefore invaded by four armies, each superior to the stipulated number, who quickly made themselves masters of the most important places in the country; whilst the troops of the duke retired in disgust, leaving the invaders to pursue their conquests as they pleased. Finding, however, that the entire subjugation of their country was determined upon, the nobility at last began to exert themselves in its defence, and, inflamed by the enthusiasm of liberty, they raised an army of sixty thousand men, by which the French were compelled to abandon the siege of Nantes. But this proved only a transient gleam of success. Anne persevered in her design of completing the conquest of the country, and the state of Europe was at that time favorable to the design. Of all the European nations, England alone was then capable of affording effectual assistance; but the slow caution of Henry prevented him from giving the aid which in this case he ought to have

afforded. The Bretons were thus left to defend themselves as they best could; and having ventured a battle, they were entirely defeated, most of their leaders being taken prisoners, whilst a small body of English who assisted them were entirely cut to pieces. The duke soon afterwards died by a fall from his horse, leaving his dominions to his daughter Anne, at that time only thirteen years of age. A marriage was now negotiated between this princess and Maximilian, king of the Romans, who had previously been married to Mary of Burgundy; but, by reason of the poverty of that prince, it was never completed. The Lady of Beaujeu then determined to conclude a marriage between the young king of France and the duchess, though the former had already been married to Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Maximilian. But this marriage was not consummated, by reason of the tender age of the princess, who had been sent to Paris for her education, and for several years treated as queen of France; and in 1491 Margaret returned, like rejected goods, to her father. Anne of Bretagne, however, long refused to violate the engagement into which she had entered; but at last, finding herself pressed on all sides, and incapable of resisting the numerous forces of France, she reluctantly consented to the match. Maximilian, whose poverty had prevented him from giving any assistance to his bride, or even from coming to see her, enraged at the double disgrace which he had suffered, began, when too late, to bethink himself of revenge. France was now threatened with an invasion by the united forces of Austria, Spain and England. But this formidable confederacy was soon dissipated. Henry, whose natural avarice had induced him to withhold the necessary assistance, was bought off with the immediate payment of 745,000 crowns, and the promise of 25,000 annually ever afterwards; Ferdinand, king of Spain, had the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne restored to him; whilst Maximilian was gratified by the cession of part of Artois.

The young king of France agreed to these terms the more readily, that he was impatient to undertake an expedition into Italy, in order to conquer the kingdom of Naples, to which he laid claim. Most of his counsellors were opposed to this expedition; but the king was inflexible, even though Ferdinand, king of Naples offered to do homage for his kingdom, and to pay him a tribute of fifty thousand crowns a year. He appointed the Duke of Bourbon regent in his absence, and then set out for Italy, with few troops, and but little money. On the march he fell ill of the small-pox, but in a short time recovered, and having entered Italy with a force of twelve thousand foot and six thousand horse, the greater part of which consisted of regular troops, he obtained the most surprising success, traversing the whole country in six weeks, and rendering himself master of the kingdom of Naples in less than a fortnight. To vulgar observers, his extraordinary good fortune seemed miraculous; and he was reckoned an instrument raised up by God to destroy the execrable tyrants by which Italy was at that time afflicted; and had Charles availed himself of this prepossession in his favor, and acted up to the character generally ascribed to him, he might have raised his name as high as that of any hero of antiquity. But his conduct was of a very different description. Instead of following up his successes, he amused himself with feasts and shows, leaving his power in the hands of favorites, who abandoned it to such as chose to purchase titles, places, or authority, at the rates imposed; and the whole force he proposed to leave in his newly conquered dominions amounted to no more than four thousand men. But whilst Charles was thus idly losing precious time, a league was forming against him at Venice, to which the pope, the emperor Maximilian, the archduke Philip, Ludovico Sforza, and the Venetians, were all parties. The confederates assembled an army of forty thousand men, commanded by Francis, marquis of Mantua, and waited for

the king in the valley of Fornova, in the duchy of Parma, into which he had descended with nine thousand men. On the 6th of July, 1495, he attacked the allies, and notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, defeated them, with but little loss on his part. By this victory he got safe to France; but his Italian dominions were lost almost as soon as he departed. Some schemes were proposed for recovering these conquests, but they were never put in execution; and the king died of an apoplexy in 1498.

By the death of Charles VIII. the crown of France passed from the direct line of the house of Valois, and Louis, duke of Orleans, succeeded to the throne. At the time of his accession he was in his thirty-sixth year, and had long been taught prudence in the school of adversity. During the administration of the Lady of Beaujeu he had been constantly in disgrace, and, after his connections with the Duke of Bretagne, had spent a considerable time in prison; and though afterwards set at liberty by Charles, he had never possessed any share of that monarch's confidence or favor. Towards the close of the preceding reign he fell under the displeasure of the queen; and afterwards continued at his castle of Blois till he was called thence to take possession of the throne. He had been married in early life, against his will, to Jane, the youngest daughter of Louis the XI., a princess of an amiable disposition, but deformed in person, and supposed to be incapable of bearing children. He afterwards entertained thoughts of having his marriage dissolved, and was supposed to possess the affections of the Duchess of Bretagne before she became queen of France. After the death of her husband, that princess retired to Bretagne, where she pretended to assume independent sovereignty; but Louis having got his marriage with Jane dissolved by Pope Alexander VI., made proposals to the queen dowager, which were accepted without hesitation, though it was stipulated that, if she had two sons, the youngest should inherit the duchy of Bretagne.

As Louis, while Duke of Orleans, had some pretensions to the crown of Naples, he now set about realizing them by conquest, and found circumstances favorable to his design. The pope, Alexander VI., was devoted to his interests, in the hope of getting his son, Cæsar Borgia provided for. Louis had conciliated the friendship of the Venetians by promising them a part of the Milanese; he had also concluded a truce with the archduke Philip, and renewed his alliances with the crowns of England, Scotland, and Denmark. He then entered Italy with an army of twenty thousand men; and, being assisted by the Venetians, conquered one part of the duchy, whilst they conquered the other, the archduke himself being obliged to fly with his family to Inspruck. He then attacked Ferdinand of Spain with three armies simultaneously; but as none of these performed any thing remarkable, he was obliged to evacuate the kingdom of Naples in 1504. But in 1506 the people of Genoa revolted, drove out the nobility, chose eight tribunes, and declared Paul Nuova, a silk dyer, their duke; after which they expelled the French governor, and reduced a great part of the Riviera. This induced Louis to return into Italy, where, in 1507, he obliged the Genoese to surrender at discretion, and in 1508 entered into a league with the other princes who at that time desired to reduce the overgrown power of the Venetians. But Pope Julius II., who had been the first contriver of this league, known as the league of Cambray, soon repented of his contrivance, and declared that if the Venetians would restore the cities of Faenza and Rimini, which had been unjustly taken from him, he would be contented. This was refused, and in 1509 the forces of the republic received an entire defeat from Louis, in consequence of which they agreed to restore not only the two cities demanded by Pope Julius, but whatever else the allies required. The pope, instead of executing his treaties with his allies, made war on the king of France. Upon this, Louis convoked an assembly of his clergy, at which

it was determined that in some cases it was lawful to make war upon the pope. The king, therefore, declared war against his holiness, and committed the command of his army to the Marshal de Trivulce, who soon obliged the pope to retire to Ravenna. In 1511, Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, gained a great victory at Ravenna, but was himself killed in the engagement. After his death the army was disbanded for want of pay; and the French affairs in Italy, and indeed everywhere else, fell into great confusion. The duchy of Milan was recovered and lost again in a few weeks. Henry VIII. of England, invaded France, and took Ternerne and Tournay; whilst the Swiss invaded Burgundy with an army of twenty-five thousand men. In this desperate situation of affairs the queen died, and Louis put an end to the opposition of his most dangerous enemies by negotiating marriages. To Ferdinand of Spain he offered his second daughter for either of his grandsons, Charles or Ferdinand, and promised to renounce, in favor of that marriage, his claims on Milan and Genoa. This proposal was accepted; and Louis himself married the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII. of England. But he did not long survive this marriage; and having died on the 2d of January, 1514, he was succeeded by Francis I., count of Angoulême and duke of Bretagne and Valois.

The new king had no sooner been seated on the throne than he resolved to undertake an expedition into Italy. In this he was at first successful, having defeated the Swiss at Marignan, and reduced the duchy of Milan. In 1518 the emperor Maximilian having died, Francis showed himself ambitious of becoming his successor, and thereby restoring to France a splendid title which had been so long lost. But Maximilian, before his death, had exerted himself so much in favor of Charles V. of Spain, that Francis found it impossible to succeed; and from that time an irreconcilable hatred took place between these two monarchs. In 1521 this

bad feeling produced a war, which, however, might perhaps have been terminated, if Francis could have been prevailed upon to restore the town of Fontarabia, which had been taken by his admiral Bonivet. But this being refused, hostilities were renewed with greater vigor than ever; nor were they concluded till France had been brought to the very brink of destruction. The war was continued with various success until the year 1524, when Francis having invaded Italy, and laid siege to Pavia, was utterly defeated before that city, and taken prisoner, on the 24th of February. This disaster threw the whole kingdom into the utmost confusion. The Flemish troops made continual inroads; many thousand boors assembled in Alsace, in order to invade the country from that quarter; Henry VIII. had assembled an army, and also threatened France on the side of the Channel; and a party was formed in the kingdom to dispossess the duchess of the regency, and confer it upon the Duke de Vendôme. This prince, however, who after the constable was the head of the house of Bourbon, proceeded to Lyons, where he assured the regent that he had no view but for her service and that of his country; and he then formed a council of the ablest men of the kingdom, of which the queen appointed him president. Henry VIII., acting under the influence of Cardinal Wolsey, resolved not to oppress the oppressed, and therefore assured the regent that she had nothing to fear from him; at the same time that he advised her not to consent to any treaty by which France was to be dismembered. To the emperor, however, he is said to have held different language, telling him that the time had now arrived when this puissant monarchy lay at their mercy, and that therefore an opportunity so favorable should not be lost; that, for his part, he should be content with Normandy, Guienne, and Gascony; that he trusted the empire would make no scruple of owning him as king of France; and that he expected the emperor would make a right use of his victory, by

entering Guienne in person, in which case he was ready to bear half the expenses of the war. Alarmed at these proposed conditions, and not caring to have Henry as a neighbor, the emperor agreed to a truce with the regent for six months. In Picardy the Flemings were repulsed; whilst the Count de Guise and the Duke of Lorraine, with a handful of troops, defeated and cut to pieces the German peasants.

In the meantime Francis was detained a captive in Italy; but being wearied of his confinement in that country, and the princes of Italy having begun to cabal for his deliverance, he was carried to Madrid, where, on the 14th of January, 1525, he signed a treaty, the principal articles of which were, that he should resign to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy in full sovereignty; desist from the homage which the emperor owed him for Artois and Flanders; renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Asti, Tournay, Lisle, and Hesdin, and certain other places; persuade Henry d'Albert to resign the kingdom of Navarre to the emperor, or at least to give him no assistance; restore within forty days the Duke of Bourbon and all his party to their estates; pay the king of England five hundred thousand crowns which the emperor owed him; and, when the emperor went to Italy to receive the imperial crown, to lend him twelve galleys, four large ships, and a land force, or instead of it two hundred thousand crowns. All these articles the king of France promised, on the faith and honor of a prince, to execute; or, in case of non-performance, to return as a prisoner into Spain. But, notwithstanding these professions, Francis had already protested, before certain notaries and witnesses in whom he could confide, that the treaty he was about to sign was compulsory, and therefore null and void. On the 21st of February the emperor released him from his prison, in which he had been closely confined ever since his arrival in Spain; and, after receiving from his own lips the strongest assurances that he would literally fulfill

the terms of the treaty, sent him under a strong guard to the frontiers, where he was exchanged for his two eldest sons, who were to remain as hostages for his fidelity.

But when the king returned to his dominions, his first care was to get himself absolved by the pope from the oaths which he had taken; and when this had been accomplished, he entered into a league with the pontiff, the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, and the king of England, for preserving the peace of Italy. In the month of June he received publicly remonstrances from the states of Burgundy, in which they told him, without ceremony, that by the treaty of Madrid he had done what he had no right to do, in breach of the laws and his coronation oath; and that if he persisted in his resolution of placing them under a foreign yoke, they must appeal to the general states of the kingdom. The viceroy of Naples and the Spanish ministers were present at these remonstrances, and, perceiving the end at which the king aimed, expostulated with him in pretty warm terms. The viceroy, in fact, told him that he had now nothing left but to keep his royal word in returning to the castle of Madrid, as his predecessor John had done in a similar case. To this Francis replied, that John acted rightly, because he returned to a king who had treated him like a king; but that at Madrid he had received such usage as would have been unbecoming to a gentleman, and he had often declared to the emperor's ministers that the terms they extorted from him were unjust and impracticable. However, he was still willing to do all that was fit and reasonable, and to ransom his sons at the rate of two millions of gold, in lieu of the duchy of Burgundy.

Hitherto the treaty for tranquilizing Italy had been kept secret, in hopes that some mitigation of the treaty of Madrid would have been obtained; but now it was judged expedient to publish it, though the viceroy of Naples and the Spanish lords still remained at the French court. The emperor was to be admitted as a party to this treaty,

provided he accepted the king's offer of two millions for the release of his children, and left the duke of Milan and other Italian princes in quiet possession of their dominions. But it is the common misfortune of all leagues, that the powers which enter into them keep only their own particular interests in view, and thus defeat the general intention of the confederacy. In the present instance, the king's great aim was to obtain his children upon the terms he had proposed: and he was desirous of knowing what hopes there were of accomplishing that object, before he acted against the monarch who had them in his power. Thus the duke of Milan and the pope were both sacrificed. The former was obliged to surrender to the duke of Bourbon, and the latter was surprised by the Colonnas; disasters which would have been prevented if the French succors had entered Italy in time.

According to an agreement which had been entered into between Francis and Henry, their ambassadors entered Spain, attended each of them by a herald, to summon the emperor to accept the terms which had been offered him, or, in case of refusal, to declare war. But as the emperor's answer was foreseen in the court of France, the king had previously called together an assembly of the Notables, to whom he proposed the question, whether he was bound to perform the treaty of Madrid? or whether, if he did not perform it, he was obliged in honor to return to Spain? To both these questions the assembly answered in the negative, declaring that Burgundy was united to the crown of France, and could not be separated by the king's own authority; that his person also was the property of the public, of which therefore he could not dispose; but as to the two millions, which they looked upon as a just equivalent, they undertook to raise it for his service. When the ambassadors delivered their propositions, Charles treated the English herald with respect, and the French herald with contempt; a circumstance which induced Francis to challenge

the emperor. But all differences were at length adjusted, and a treaty concluded at Cambray on the 5th of August, 1528. By this treaty, instead of actual possession, the emperor contented himself with reserving his right to the duchy of Burgundy, and the payment of the two millions of crowns already mentioned. Of these, he was to receive one million two hundred thousand in ready money; the lands in Flanders belonging to the house of Bourbon, valued at four hundred thousand, were to be delivered up; and the remaining four hundred thousand were to be paid by France in discharge of the emperor's debt to England. Francis was likewise to pay the penalty of five hundred thousand crowns which the emperor had incurred by not marrying his niece the princess Mary of England, and further to release a rich jewel which many years before had been pawned by the house of Burgundy for fifty thousand crowns. The town and castle of Hesdin were also surrendered, together with the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and all the king's pretensions in Italy. As for the allies of France, they were, as usually happens, abandoned to the emperor's mercy, without the least stipulation in their favor; but Francis consoled himself for this disgraceful dereliction by protesting against the validity of the treaty before he ratified it, as did also his attorney-general before he registered it in parliament, though in both instances with the greatest secrecy imaginable. The remainder of this reign was not distinguished by any events of consequence. The war was renewed by Charles, who invaded France, though without success; nor was peace fully established until the death of the French king, which happened on the 3d of March, 1547.

Francis was succeeded by his son Henry II., who ascended the throne at the age of twenty-nine. In the beginning of his reign an insurrection broke out in Guienne, owing to the oppressive conduct of the officers who levied the salt tax, and was not put down without considerable difficulty. In 1548 the

king began to enforce the edicts issued against the Protestants with the utmost severity; and, thinking even the clergy too mild in the prosecution of heresy, he for that purpose erected a chamber composed of members of the parliament of Paris. At the queen's coronation, which happened this year, he caused a number of Protestants to be burned, and was himself present at the horrid spectacle, which, however, shocked him so much that he never forgot it. In 1549 a peace was concluded with England, and Henry purchased from the latter Boulogne, for the sum of four hundred thousand crowns, one half to be paid on the day of restitution, and the other half a few months afterwards. Scotland was included in the treaty, and the English restored some places which they had taken in that country. This was the most advantageous peace which France had hitherto concluded with England; the vast arrears due to that crown being in effect remitted, and the pension, which looked so like tribute, being tacitly extinguished. The Earl of Warwick himself, who had concluded the peace, was in fact so sensible of the disgrace suffered by his nation on this occasion, that he pretended to be sick, in order to avoid setting his hand to so scandalous a compact. This year, also, an edict was made to restrain the extravagant remittances which the clergy had been in use to make to Rome, and for correcting other abuses committed by the papal notaries. With this edict Pope Julius III. was highly displeased; and the following year, 1550, war was declared by the king of France against the pope and the emperor, on the ground that Henry protected Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, whom the pope was desirous of depriving of his dominions. In this war the king was threatened with the censures of the church; but as the emperor soon found himself in such danger from these new enemies, that he could not support the pope as he intended, the latter was obliged to sue for peace. Henry continued the war against the emperor with success; and hav-

ing reduced the cities of Toul, Verdun, and Metz, entered the country of Alsace, and reduced all the fortresses between Hagenau and Wissenburg. He failed, however, in his attempt on Strasburg; and was soon afterwards obliged by the German princes and the Swiss to desist from all further conquests on that side. This war continued with little interruption, and but small success on the part of the French, till the year 1557, when a peace was concluded; and soon afterwards the king was killed at a tournament by the Count de Montgomery, one of the strongest knights in France, who had done all he could to avoid this encounter.

The reign of his successor, Francis II., was remarkable only for the persecution of the Protestants, which became so grievous that they were obliged to take up arms in their own defence. This occasioned several civil wars, the first of which commenced in the reign of Charles IX., who succeeded to the throne in 1560. This contest continued until the year 1562, when a peace was concluded, by which the Protestants were to have a complete amnesty, and enjoy entire liberty of conscience. But in 1565 the war broke out afresh, and was continued with little interruption until 1569, when peace was again concluded, upon terms advantageous to the Protestants.

After this, Charles, who had now taken the government into his hands, caressed and flattered the Protestants in an extraordinary manner. Their destruction had been resolved on, but as they were too powerful to be openly attacked, it was judged necessary to lull them into security by means of systematic dissimulation, and to fall upon them when off their guard. With this view the king invited to court Admiral de Coligni, the head of the Huguenot party, and so effectually enjoined him, that the gallant veteran was lulled into a fatal security, notwithstanding the warnings given by his friends that the king's fair speeches were by no means to be trusted. And he had soon reason to repent his confidence. On the 22d

of August, 1571, as he was returning from court to his lodgings, he received a shot from a window, which carried away the second finger of his right hand, and wounded him grievously in the left arm. This he himself ascribed to the malice of the Duke of Guise, the head of the Catholic party. After dinner, the king went to pay him a visit, and amongst other things observed, "You have received the wound, but it is I who suffer;" at the same time desiring that he would order his friends to establish themselves around his residence, and promising to prohibit the Catholics from entering that quarter after dark. This satisfied the admiral of the king's sincerity, and prevented him from complying with the wishes of his friends, who desired to carry him away, and were strong enough to have forced a passage out of Paris, if they had attempted it.

In the evening of the same day, the queen-mother, Catharine de' Medici, held a cabinet council to fix the execution of the massacre of the Protestants, which had long been meditated. The persons of whom this council was composed, were Henry duke of Anjou, the king's brother; Gonzagua, duke of Nevers; Henry of Angoulême, grand prior of France, the bastard brother of the king; Marshal de Tavannes; and Albert de Gondi, count de Retz: and the direction of the whole was intrusted to the Duke of Guise, to whom the administration had during the former reign been entirely confided. The guards were appointed to be in arms, and the city officers were ordered to predispose the militia to execute the king's orders, of which the signal was to be the ringing of a bell near the Louvre. It is said, indeed, that when the fatal hour, which was that of midnight, approached, the king grew undetermined, and expressed great horror at the idea of shedding so much blood, especially considering that the people about to be destroyed were his subjects, who had come to the capital at his command, and in dependence on his word, and particularly the admiral, whom he had so lately detained by

his caresses. The queen-mother, however, reproached him with cowardice, and representing to him the danger which he incurred from the Protestants, at last induced him to consent. According to others, the king himself urged on the massacre, and, when it was proposed to him only to take off a few of the leaders, exclaimed, "If any are to die, let there not be one left to reproach me with breach of faith."

As soon as the signal had been given, a body of Swiss troops, headed by the Duke of Guise and the Chevalier d'Angoulême, accompanied by many persons of quality, attacked the admiral's house; and having forced open the doors, the foremost of the assassins rushed into the apartment. One of them asked if he was Coligni; to which he answered that he was, adding, "Young man, respect these gray hairs." The assassin replied by running him through the body with a sword. The Duke of Guise and the chevalier growing impatient below stairs, loudly demanded if the business was done; and being answered in the affirmative, commanded the body to be thrown out at the window. As soon as it fell on the ground, the chevalier, or, as some say, the Duke of Guise, wiped the blood from the face, and kicked it with his foot. The body was then abandoned to the fury of the populace, who, after a series of indignities, dragged it to the common gallows, to which they chained it by the foot, whilst the head, being cut off, was carried to the queen-mother, who, it is said, caused it to be embalmed and transmitted to Rome. The king himself went to see the body hanging upon the gibbet, where a fire being kindled under it, part was burned, and the rest scorched. In the Louvre, the gentlemen belonging to the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were murdered under the king's own eye. Two of them, wounded and pursued by the assassins, fled into the bedchamber of the queen of Navarre, and jumped upon her bed, beseeching her to save their lives; and as she proceeded to solicit this favor of the queen-

mother, two more, under the same circumstances, rushed into the room and threw themselves at her feet. The queen-mother repaired to the window to enjoy these dreadful scenes; and the king, seeing the Protestants who lodged on the other side of the river flying for their lives, called for his long gun and fired upon them. In the space of three or four days many thousands were destroyed in the city of Paris alone. Peter Ramus, professor of philosophy and mathematics, after being robbed of all he had, was cruelly mutilated in the abdomen, and thrown from a window. During the first two days, the king denied that the massacre was done by his orders, and threw the whole blame upon the house of Guise; but on the 28th of August he went to the parliament, avowed the incomparable atrocity, was complimented on it, and directed a process against the admiral, by which he was stigmatized as a traitor. Two innocent gentlemen suffered as his accomplices in a pretended plot against the life of the king, in order, as was alleged, to place the crown on the head of the prince of Condé. They were executed by torchlight; and the king and the queen-mother, together with the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, who were forced to be present, were spectators of the horrid deed. Nor was the massacre confined to the city of Paris alone. On the eve of St. Bartholomew, orders had been sent to the governors of provinces, either to fall upon the Protestants themselves, or to let loose the people on them; and though an edict was published before the end of the week, assuring them of the king's protection, and protesting that he by no means designed to exterminate them on account of their religion, yet private orders were issued of a directly contrary nature, in consequence of which the Matins of Paris were repeated in Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Angers, Toulouse, Rouen, and Lyons; so that in the space of about two months thirty thousand Protestants were butchered in cold blood. The next year Rochelle, the only fortress which the Protestants occupied



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MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

from the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

Johnson, Wilson & Co. Publishers New York



in France, was besieged and taken, but not until twenty-four thousand of the besiegers had fallen before its walls. After this a pacification ensued, on terms nominally favorable to the Protestants; but as a body they had been destroyed; St. Bartholomew had completely broken their power; and those who survived the massacre had no alternative but to accept whatever terms were offered them.

This year the Duke of Anjou was elected king of Poland, and soon afterwards set out to take possession of his new kingdom. Charles accompanied him to the frontiers; but during the journey he was seized with a slow fever, which from the commencement portended death. He lingered for some time under the most terrible agonies both of mind and body, and at last expired on the 30th of May, 1572. It is said that ever after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, this prince had a fierceness in his looks and a deadly paleness in his cheeks; he slept little, but never soundly, and waked frequently in agonies, which the soft music employed to lull him into repose often failed to allay. The sting of remorse was deeply infixed in his soul, and in a little time its poison drank up his spirit.

During the first years of the reign of Henry III., who succeeded his brother Charles IX., the war with the Protestants was carried on with indifferent success upon the part of the Catholics. In 1575 a peace was concluded, which by way of eminence was called the Edict of Pacification. The treaty consisted of no fewer than sixty-three articles, the substance of which was, that liberty of conscience and the public exercise of religion were granted to the reformed, without any restriction except that they were not to preach within two leagues of Paris, nor in any other part where the court might be. The judgments against the admiral, and others who had either fallen in the war or been executed, were also reversed, and eight cautionary towns were given up to the Protestants.

This edict induced the Guises to form an association in defence (as was pretended) of the Catholic religion, which afterwards became known by the name of the Catholic League. This confederacy, though the king was mentioned with respect, struck at the very root of his authority; for, as the Protestants had their leaders, so the Catholics were in future to be entirely dependent on the chief of the league, and to execute whatever he commanded, for the good of the cause, without exception of persons. In order to neutralize the bad effects of this association, the king, by the advice of his council, declared himself the head of the league; and in this character he recommenced the war against the Protestants, which was not extinguished as long as he lived. In the mean time, the faction of the Duke of Guise resolved to support Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, a weak old man, as presumptive heir of the crown; and having entered into a league with Spain, they in 1584 took up arms against the king; and though peace was concluded the same year, yet in 1587 they again proceeded to such extremities that the king was forced to fly from Paris. Another reconciliation was soon afterwards effected; but it is generally believed that the king from this time resolved on the destruction of the Duke of Guise. Accordingly, finding that this nobleman still behaved with his usual haughtiness, the king caused him to be stabbed by his guards on the 23d of December, 1587. But Henry himself did not long survive this deed, being stabbed by one Jacques Clement, a Jacobin monk, on the first of August, 1588. His wound was not at first thought mortal, but his frequent swooning quickly discovered his danger, and he died the following morning, in the thirty-ninth year of his age and sixteenth year of his reign.

Before the king's death he had nominated Henry Bourbon, king of Navarre, as his successor on the throne of France; but as the latter was a Protestant, or at least one who greatly favored their cause, he was at

first owned by very few except those of the Protestant party. He met with the most violent opposition from the members of the Catholic League, and was often reduced to such extremities that he went to people's houses under color of visits, when in reality he had not a dinner in his own. By his activity and perseverance, however, he was at last acknowledged by the whole kingdom, a consummation to which his abjuration of the Protestant religion not a little contributed. As the king of Spain had laid claim to the crown of France, Henry no sooner found himself in a fair way of being firmly seated on the throne, than he formally declared war against that kingdom; and having proved successful, he, in 1597, entered upon the quiet possession of his kingdom.

The king's first care was to put an end to the religious disputes which had so long distracted the kingdom. For this purpose he passed the famous edict, dated at Nantes, 13th April, 1598, which re-established in a solid and effectual manner all the favors which had been granted to the reformed, and added some which had not been thought of before, particularly that of allowing them a free admission to all employments of trust, profit, and honor, establishing chambers in which the members of the two religions were equal, and the permitting their children to be educated without restraint in any of the universities. Soon afterwards he concluded peace with Spain upon advantageous terms; an event which afforded him an opportunity of restoring order and justice throughout his dominions, repairing the ravages occasioned by the civil war, and abolishing all those innovations which had been made, either to the prejudice of the prerogatives of the crown or the welfare of the people. His schemes of reformation, indeed, he intended to have carried much beyond the boundaries of France. If we may believe the Duke of Sully, he had in view no less a design than the new-modelling of all Europe. He imagined that the European powers might be formed into

a kind of Christian republic, by rendering them as nearly as possible of equal strength; and that this republic might be maintained in perpetual peace, by bringing all their differences to be decided before a senate of wise, disinterested, and able judges. The number of these powers was to be fifteen—the Papacy, the empire of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, Great Britain, Bohemia, Lombardy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, the republic of Venice, the States General, the Swiss Cantons, and the Italian commonwealth, comprehending the states of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Modena, Parma, Mantua, and Monaco. In order to render the states equal, the empire was to be given to the Duke of Bavaria; the kingdom of Naples to the pope; that of Sicily to the Venetians; Milan to the Duke of Savoy, who, by this acquisition, was to become king of Lombardy; the Austrian Low Countries were to be added to the Dutch republic; and Franche Comté, Alsace, and the country of Trent, were to be given to the Swiss. With the view, it is now thought, of executing this grand project, but under pretence of reducing the exorbitant power of the house of Austria, Henry made immense preparations both by sea and land; but if he really entertained such a design, he was prevented by death from attempting its execution. He was stabbed in the coach by Ravallac, on the 12th of May, 1608.

On the death of Henry IV., the queen-mother assumed the regency. Ravallac was executed, after suffering the most exquisite tortures. It is said that he made a confession, which was so written by the person who took it that not a word of it could be read, and thus his instigators and accomplices were never discovered. The regency, during the minority of Louis XIII., was only remarkable for the cabals and intrigues of the courtiers. In 1617 the king assumed the government, banished the queen-mother to Blois, caused Marshal D'Ancre, her favorite, to be put to death, and chose as his minister the celebrated Cardinal Richelieu. In 1620 a new war broke out between the Catholics

and Protestants, which was carried on with the greatest fury on both sides. Of this we have an instance in what took place at Ne-greplisse, a town in Querey. This place was besieged by the king's troops, and it was resolved to make an example of the inhabitants, who had absolutely refused to surrender upon any terms. They defended themselves with desperate valor; and when at last the city was taken by storm, they were all massacred, without distinction of rank, sex, or age. But both parties soon became weary of so destructive a war; and a peace was concluded in 1621, by which the edict of Nantes was confirmed. This treaty, however, was not of long duration. A new war broke out, which lasted till the year 1628, when the edict of Nantes was again confirmed; but the Protestants were deprived of their cautionary towns, and consequently of the power of defending themselves in time to come. This put an end to the civil wars on account of religion, in which a million of men lost their lives, 150,000,000 livres were expended, and nine cities, four hundred villages, two thousand churches, two thousand monasteries, and ten thousand houses, were burned or otherwise destroyed. The next year the king was attacked with a slow fever, extreme depression of spirits, and swelling in the stomach and abdomen. But the year following he recovered, to the great disappointment of his mother, who had hopes of regaining her power. Meanwhile, Richelieu, by a masterly system of policy, supported the Protestants of Germany and Gustavus Adolphus against the house of Austria; and, after suppressing all the rebellions and conspiracies which had been formed against him in France, died some months before Louis XIII., in 1643.

Louis XIV., surnamed the Great, succeeded to the throne of France when he was only five years of age. During his minority, the kingdom, under the administration of his mother, Anne of Austria, was thrown into confusion by the factions of the great, and the divisions between the court and parlia-

ment. The Prince of Condé blazed like an erratic star—sometimes a patriot, sometimes a courtier, sometimes a rebel. He was opposed by Turenne, who from being a Protestant had become Catholic. The kingdom of France was involved both in civil and domestic wars; but the queen-mother having made choice of Cardinal Mazarin as her first minister, the latter found means to turn the arms even of Cromwell against the Spaniards, and so effectually divided the domestic enemies of the court, that when Louis assumed the reins of government he found himself the most absolute monarch who had ever sat upon the throne of France. On the death of Mazarin, he had the good fortune to put the administration of affairs into the hands of Colbert, a minister who formed new systems for improving the commerce and manufactures of France, which he carried to a surprising height of prosperity. The king himself, vain and selfish, was blind to every patriotic duty, promoting the interests of his subjects only that they might the better answer the purposes of his greatness; and, actuated by an overweening ambition, embroiled himself with all his neighbors, and wantonly rendered Germany a scene of devastation. By his impolitic and unjust revocation of the edict of Nantes in the year 1685, with the dragonade which followed it, he obliged the Protestants to take shelter in England, Holland, and different parts of Germany, where they established the silk manufacture, to the great prejudice of their own country. He was so blinded by flattery, that he arrogated to himself the heathen honors paid to the emperors of Rome; he made and violated treaties for his convenience; and in the end raised up against himself a confederacy of almost all the princes of Europe, at the head of which was King William III. of England. He was so well served, however, that for some years he made head against this alliance, and France seemed to have attained the highest pitch of military glory. But having provoked the English by his repeated

perfidy, their arms under the Duke of Marlborough, and those of the Austrians under Prince Eugene, rendered the latter part of his life as miserable as the beginning had been splendid. From 1702 to 1711 his reign was one continued series of defeats and disasters; and he had the mortification of seeing those places reduced, which in the former part of his reign were acquired at an enormous expense of blood and treasure. But when Marlborough and Eugene were preparing to invade France at the head of their victorious troops, and to march directly to the capital, Louis, now tottering on the verge of destruction, was saved from ruin by the English Tory ministry deserting the cause, withdrawing from their allies, and concluding the inglorious peace of Utrecht in 1713. The last years of Louis were also embittered by domestic misfortunes, which, added to those of a public nature which had befallen him, impressed him with a deep melancholy. He had been for some time afflicted with a fistula, which, though successfully cut, ever afterwards affected his health. The year before the peace was concluded, his only son, the Duke of Burgundy died—a blow which was the more severely felt because it admitted of no alleviation. The king himself survived until the month of September, 1715, when he expired, leaving the kingdom to his grandson Louis, then a minor. The reign of Louis XIV. is considered as the Augustan age of French literature.

By the last will of Louis XIV. the regency during the minority of the young king devolved upon a council, at the head of which was the Duke of Orleans. That nobleman, however, disgusted with an arrangement which gave him only a casting vote, appealed to the parliament of Paris, who set aside the will of the late king, and declared him sole regent. His first acts were extremely popular, and gave a favorable impression of his government and character. He restored to the parliament the right which had been taken from them of remonstrating against the edicts of the crown, and compelled those

who had enriched themselves during the former reign to restore their ill-gotten wealth. He also took every method to efface the calamities occasioned by the unsuccessful wars in which his predecessor had engaged; promoted commerce and agriculture; and, by a close alliance with Great Britain and the United Provinces, seemed anxious to lay the foundation of lasting tranquillity. But this happy prospect was soon overcast by the intrigues of Alberoni, the Spanish minister, who had formed a design of recovering Sardinia from the emperor, and Sicily from the Duke of Savoy, and also of establishing the Pretender on the throne of Britain. To accomplish these objects he negotiated with the Ottoman Porte, Peter the Great of Russia, and Charles XII. of Sweden; the Turks were to resume the war against the emperor and the two latter powers to invade Great Britain. But, as long as the Duke of Orleans retained the administration of France he found it impossible to bring his schemes into play. To remove this obstacle, therefore, he fomented divisions in the kingdom. An insurrection having taken place in Bretagne, Alberoni sent small parties into the country in disguise to support the insurgents, and even laid plots to seize the regent himself. But the intrigues of the Spanish minister misgave in every direction. His partisans in France were put to death; the king of Sweden was killed at Fredericks-hall, in Norway; the Czar, intent on improving his own institutions, could not be persuaded to make war upon Britain; and the Turks refused to engage in a war with a power from which they had recently suffered so deeply. The cardinal, however, persevered in his intrigues, which soon produced a war between Spain on the one hand, and France and Britain on the other. But the Spaniards, unable to resist the union of two such formidable powers, were soon reduced to the necessity of suing for peace; and the terms were dictated by the regent of France, one of which was the dismissal of Alberoni.

The spirit of conquest having now in a

great measure subsided, that of commerce came in its stead, and France became the scene of as remarkable a project as ever was known in any country. John Law, a Scotchman, who had found it convenient to leave his own country, formed the plan of a company which by its notes was to pay off the debt of the nation, and reimburse itself by the profits. Law had wandered throughout various parts of Europe, and had successively endeavored to engage the attention of various courts. The same proposal had been made to Victor Amadeus, King of Sicily; but the latter dismissed Law with the reply, that he was not rich enough to ruin himself. In France, however, it was looked upon in a more favorable light; and as the nation was at this time involved in a debt of two hundred millions, the regent and the people in general were ready to embark in almost any new scheme which might be proposed. The bank thus established proceeded at first with some degree of caution; but having gradually extended its credit to more than eighty times its real stock, it soon became unable to answer the demands made upon it, and the company was dissolved the very same year in which it had been instituted. The confusion into which the kingdom was thrown by this fatal scheme required the utmost exertions of the regent to stop it; and scarcely had this been accomplished when the king, in the year 1723, took the government into his own hands. The duke then became minister, but did not long enjoy this office. His irregularities had broken his constitution, and brought on a number of maladies, under which he in a short time sunk, and was succeeded in the administration by the Duke of Bourbon. The king, as we have already remarked, had been married when young to the infanta of Spain, though by reason of his tender years the marriage had never been completed. This princess, however, had been brought to Paris, and for some time treated as Queen of France; but as Louis grew up, it was easy to perceive that he had contracted an inveterate hatred against the

intended partner of his bed. The minister, therefore, at last consented that the princess should be sent back; an affront so much resented by the queen, her mother, that it had almost produced a war between the two nations. The dissolution of the marriage of Louis was the last act of Condé's administration, and the negotiating a new match was the first act of his successor, Cardinal Fleury. The princess pitched upon was the daughter of Stanislaus Leczinski, King of Poland, who had been deposed by Charles XII. of Sweden. This princess was destitute of personal charms, but of an amiable disposition; and though it is probable that she never possessed the affections of her husband, her excellent qualities could not but extort his esteem; whilst the birth of a prince soon after their marriage removed all the fears of the people, if they had any, concerning the succession.

Cardinal Fleury continued the pacific policy pursued by his predecessors, though it was somewhat interrupted by the war which took place in the year 1733. But notwithstanding the connection between the sovereign of Poland and the French nation, Fleury was so parsimonious of his assistance, that only fifteen hundred soldiers were sent to relieve Dantzic, where Stanislaus was at that time besieged by the Russians. This pitiful reinforcement was soon overpowered by the Russians; and Stanislaus was at last obliged to renounce all thoughts of the crown of Poland, though he was permitted to retain the title of king. Fleury so steadily pursued his pacific plans, that the disputes between Spain and England in 1737 but little affected the peace of France; and it should be remembered to his praise, that instead of fomenting quarrels between the neighboring potentates, he labored incessantly to maintain peace and concord. He reconciled the Genoese and Corsicans, who were at war; and his mediation was accepted by the Ottoman Porte, which, through his intercession, concluded a treaty with the emperor. But all his endeavors to preserve the general peace proved at

last ineffectual. The death of the emperor, Charles VI., in 1740, the last prince of the house of Austria, set all Europe in a flame. His eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, claimed the Austrian succession, comprehending the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the duchy of Silesia, Austrian Suabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four forest towns, Burgau, Brigau, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tyrol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia. Amongst the many competitors who pretended a right to share, or wholly to inherit, these extensive dominions, the King of France was one. But as he cared not to awaken the jealousy of the European princes by preferring directly his own pretensions, he chose rather to support those of Frederick III., who laid claim to the duchy of Silesia. This brought on the war of 1740, which was terminated in 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. But Louis, who had secretly meditated a severe vengeance against Britain, only consented to give his aid, that he might have time to repair his fleet, and put himself somewhat more upon an equality with so formidable a power. Meanwhile the internal tranquillity of the kingdom was disturbed by violent disputes between the clergy and parliaments of France. In the reign of Louis XIV. there had been vehement contests between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning free will, and other obscure points of theology; and the opinions of the Jansenists had been declared heretical by the celebrated bull, *Unigenitus*, the reception of which was enforced by the king, in opposition to the parliaments, the Archbishop of Paris, and the great body of the people. The archbishop, with fifteen other prelates, protested against it as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church and the laws of the realm, and also as an infringement of the rights of the people themselves. The Duke of Orleans favored the bull by inducing the bishops to submit to it, but at the same time he stopped a persecution which had been commenced against its opponents. Matters

continued in this state until the conclusion of the peace. But a short time afterwards the jealousy of the clergy was awakened by an attempt of the minister to inquire into the wealth of individuals of their order. To prevent this they revived the contest about the bull *Unigenitus*, and it was resolved that confessional notes should be obtained of dying persons; that these notes should be signed by priests who maintained the authority of the bull; and that, without such notes, no person could obtain the viaticum, or extreme unction. On this occasion the new Archbishop of Paris and the parliament of that city having taken opposite sides, the latter imprisoned such of the clergy as refused to administer the sacraments. Other parliaments followed the example of that of Paris; and a contest was instantly kindled up between the civil and ecclesiastical departments of the state. But the king having interfered in the dispute, forbade the parliaments to take cognizance of ecclesiastical proceedings, and commanded them to suspend all prosecutions relative to the refusal of the sacraments. Instead of acquiescing, however, the parliaments presented new remonstrances, refused to attend to any other business, and resolved that they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty as well as their oath. They cited the Bishop of Orleans before their tribunal, and ordered all writings in which its jurisdiction was disputed to be burned by the executioner. With the assistance of the military they enforced the administration of the sacraments to the sick, and ceased to distribute that justice to the subject for which they had been originally instituted. Enraged at their obstinacy, the king arrested and imprisoned four of the members who had been most obstinate, and banished the remainder to Bourges, Poitiers, and Auvergne; whilst, to prevent any impediment to the administration of justice in their absence, he issued letters patent, by which a royal chamber for the prosecution of civil and criminal suits was instituted. But the counsellors refused to plead before these new courts; and the king,

finding that the whole nation was about to fall into a state of anarchy, thought proper to recall the parliament. The banished members entered Paris amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants; and the archbishop, who still continued to encourage the priests in refusing the sacraments, was banished to his seat at Conilans, as were also the Bishops of Orleans and Troyes; and for the present tranquillity was restored to the kingdom.

But the tranquillity thus established was not of long duration. In the year 1756, the parliaments again fell under the displeasure of the king, by their imprudent persecution of those who adhered to the bull *Unigenitus*, and even proceeded so far in this opposition as to refuse to register certain taxes absolutely necessary for carrying on the war. Louis was so provoked at this, that he suppressed the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests, the members of which had distinguished themselves by their opposition to his will. He commanded the bull *Unigenitus* to be respected, and prohibited the secular judges from ordering the administration of the sacraments. On this, fifteen counsellors of the great chamber resigned their offices, and a hundred and twenty-four members of the different parliaments followed their example; and the most grievous discontent pervaded the kingdom. Meanwhile an attempt was made by a fanatic, named Damien, to assassinate the king; and he was actually wounded, though slightly, in the midst of his guards. The assassin was put to the most exquisite tortures, under which he persisted in declaring that he had no intention to kill the king, but that his design was only to wound him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to restore peace to his dominions. But these expressions, which undoubtedly indicated insanity, had no effect on his judges, who consigned him to one of the most horrid deaths which the ingenuity of man ever invented. This attempt, however, seems to have produced some effect upon the king; for he soon afterwards banished the Archbishop of Paris, who had been recalled,

and once more accommodated matters with his parliament.

The unfortunate issue of the war of 1755 had brought the nation to the brink of ruin, when Louis implored the assistance of Spain; and upon this occasion was signed the celebrated Family Compact, by which, with the single exception of the American trade, the subjects of France and Spain were naturalized in both kingdoms, and the enemy of the one sovereign was to be invariably looked upon as the enemy of the other. At this time, however, the assistance of Spain availed but little, for both powers were reduced to the lowest ebb, and the arms of Britain were triumphant in every quarter of the globe.

The peace which was concluded at Paris in the year 1763, though it freed the nation from a most destructive and bloody war, did not restore internal tranquillity. The parliament, eager to pursue the victory which they had formerly gained over their religious enemies, now directed their efforts against the Jesuits, who had obtained and enforced the bull *Unigenitus*. But that once powerful order was now on the brink of destruction. A detestation of its principles, and even of its members, had for some time prevailed; and a conspiracy, formed, or said to have been formed, by this order against the King of Portugal, and from which he narrowly escaped, roused the indignation of Europe, which was still further inflamed by some fraudulent practices of which they had been guilty in France. La Valette, the chief of their missionaries in Martinico, had, ever since the peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, carried on an extensive commerce, inasmuch that when the war with Great Britain commenced in 1755, he even aspired to monopolize the whole West India trade. Leonay and Gouffre, merchants at Marseilles, in expectation of receiving from him merchandise to the value of two millions, had accepted bills drawn by the Jesuits to the amount of a million and a half. But unhappily, owing to the vast number of captures made by the British, the returns were not made; in consequence of

which the missionaries were obliged to apply to the society of Jesuits at large. But the latter, either ignorant of their true interest, or too tardy in giving assistance, suffered the merchants to stop payment, and thus not only to bring ruin upon themselves, but to involve a great many others in the same calamity. Their creditors demanded indemnification from the society at large, and, upon the refusal of the latter to satisfy them, brought the cause before the parliament of Paris. And that body, again, being eager to avenge itself on such powerful adversaries, carried on the most violent persecutions against them, in the course of which the volume containing the constitution and government of the order itself was appealed to, and produced in court. It then appeared that the order of Jesuits formed a distinct body in the state, submitting implicitly to their chief, who alone was absolute over their lives and fortunes; and it was likewise discovered that, after a former expulsion, they had been admitted into the kingdom upon conditions which they had never fulfilled, and to which their chief had obstinately refused to subscribe; and, consequently, that their actual existence in the nation was merely the effect of sufferance. The result was, that the writings of the Jesuits were found to contain doctrines subversive of all civil government, and injurious to the security of the sacred persons of sovereigns; the attempt of Damien against the king was attributed to this body; and every thing seemed to prognosticate their speedy dissolution. At this critical moment, however, the king interfered, and by his royal mandate suspended all proceedings against them for a year. A plan of accommodation was then drawn up, and submitted to the pope and the general of the order; but the latter, by his ill-timed haughtiness, entirely destroyed all hope of reconciliation. The king withdrew his protection, and the parliament redoubled its efforts against them. The bulls, briefs, constitutions, and other regulations of the society, were declared to be encroachments on the public authority, and

abuses of government; the society itself was finally dissolved, and its members were declared incapable of holding any clerical or municipal offices; their colleges were seized, their effects confiscated, and the order itself in fact annihilated.

The parliament, having gained this victory, next made an attempt to set bounds to the power of the king himself. They now refused to enregister an edict which Louis had issued for the continuation of some taxes which should have ended with the war, and likewise to conform to another by which the king was enabled to redeem his debts at an inadequate rate. The court attempted to get the edicts enregistered by force, but the parliaments everywhere showed a disposition to resist to the uttermost. In 1766, the parliament of Bretagne having refused the crown a gift of seven hundred thousand livres, were in consequence singled out for royal vengeance; but whilst matters were on the point of coming to extremities, the king thought proper to drop the process altogether; and to publish a general amnesty. The parliaments, however, now affected to despise the royal clemency—a circumstance which exasperated the king so much that he ordered the counsellors of the parliament of Bretagne who had refused to resume the functions of which he deprived them, to be included in the list of those who were to be drafted for militia, which was accordingly done. The parliament of Paris remonstrated so freely against this proceeding that they also fell under the royal censure; but Louis, in the most explicit manner, declared that he would suffer no earthly power to interfere with his will.

The interval of domestic tranquillity which now ensued was employed by the king in humbling the pride of the pope. The French monarch reclaimed the territories of Avignon and Venaissin; and whilst the pontiff denounced his unavailing censures, the Marquis de Rochedouart, with a single regiment of his soldiers, drove out the troops of his holiness, and took possession of these terri-

tures. But a much more formidable opposition was made by the natives of the small island of Corsica, the sovereignty of which had been transferred to France by the Genoese, its former masters, on condition of Louis reinstating them in possession of the island of Capraia, which the Corsicans had lately reduced. These islanders defended themselves with desperate intrepidity; and it was only after two campaigns, in which several thousands of the bravest troops of France were killed, that they could be brought under subjection.

The satisfaction which this unimportant conquest afforded to Louis was clouded by the distress of the nation. The East India Company had totally failed, and most of the principal commercial houses in the kingdom were involved in the same calamity. The minister, the Duc de Choiseul, by one desperate stroke, reduced the interest of the funds one half, and at the same time took away the benefit of survivorship in the ton-tines, by which means the national credit was greatly affected; the altercation between the king and his parliaments also revived, and the dissensions became worse than ever. The Duc de Choiseul attempted in vain to conciliate these differences; but his efforts tended only to bring misfortunes upon himself, and in 1771 he was banished by the king, who suspected him of favoring the popular party. This was soon afterwards followed by the banishment of the parliament of Paris, and by that of a number of others, new parliaments being chosen in the room of those which had been expelled. But the people were by no means disposed to pay the same regard to these new parliaments as they had done to the old ones, though every appearance of opposition was at last silenced by the absolute authority of the king. In the midst of this plenitude of power, however, his majesty's health daily declined, and the end of his days was evidently at no great distance. As he had all along indulged himself to excess in sensual pleasures, so now these proved the immediate means of his

destruction. His favorite mistress, Madame de Pompadour, who for a considerable time governed him with an absolute sway, had been long dead, and the king had become equally enslaved by the charms of Madame du Barry. But even her beauty at length proved insufficient to excite desire; and a succession of mistresses became necessary to rouse the languid appetites of the king. One of these, who happened to be infected with the small pox, communicated the disease to the king, who in a short time died of it, notwithstanding all the assistance which could be afforded him by the physicians.

The new king, Louis XVI., grandson to the former, ascended the throne in the year 1774, in the twentieth year of his age; and, to secure himself against the disease which had proved fatal to his predecessor, submitted to inoculation, together with several other members of the royal family. Their quick and easy recovery contributed much to extend the practice throughout the kingdom, and to remove the prejudices which had been entertained against it.

The king had no sooner regained his health than he applied himself diligently to extinguish the differences which had arisen between his predecessor and the people. He removed from their employments those persons who had given just cause of complaint by their arbitrary and oppressive conduct; and he conciliated the affection of his subjects by discharging the new and recalling the old parliaments. But though the prudence of Louis had suggested to him these compliances, he still endeavored to preserve entire the royal authority. He explained his intentions in a speech delivered in the great chamber of parliament. The step which he had taken to ensure the tranquility and happiness of his subjects ought not, he observed, to invalidate his own authority; and he hoped, from the zeal and attachment of the assembly, an example of submission to the rest of his subjects. Their repeated resistance to the commands of his grandfather had compelled that monarch to maintain his

prerogative by their banishment; but they were now recalled in the expectation that they would quietly exercise their functions, and display their gratitude by their obedience. He declared that it was his desire to bury in oblivion all past grievances; that he should ever behold with extreme disapprobation whatever might tend to create divisions and disturb the general tranquillity; and that the chancellor would read an ordonnance to the assembly, from which they might be assured he would not suffer the smallest deviation to be made. This ordonnance was conceived in the most explicit terms, and immediately registered. It limited within narrow bounds the pretensions of the parliament of Paris. The members were forbidden to look upon themselves as one body with the other parliaments of the kingdom, or to take any step or assume any title which might tend towards or imply such a union. They were enjoined never to relinquish the administration of public justice, excepting in cases of absolute necessity, for which the first president was to be responsible to the king; and it was provided, that in the event of disobedience, the grand council might replace the parliament without any new edict for the purpose. They were still, however, permitted to exercise the right of remonstrating before the registering of edicts or letters-patent which they might conceive injurious to the welfare of the people, provided they preserved in their representations the respect due to the throne. But these remonstrances were not to be repeated, and if they proved ineffectual, the parliament were to enregister the edict objected to within a month at furthest from the day of its publication. They were forbidden to issue any arrêts which might tend to excite trouble, or in any manner retard the execution of the king's ordonnances; and they were assured that, as long as they adhered to the bounds prescribed, they might depend upon the countenance and protection of the sovereign. In short, the terms on which Lonis consented to re-establish the parlia-

ments were such that they were reduced to mere ciphers, and the will of the king still continued to be the only law in the kingdom. The Archbishop of Paris, who had likewise presumed to raise some commotions regarding the bull *Unigenitus*, was obliged to submit, and severely threatened if he should afterwards interfere in such a matter.

The final conquest of the Corsicans, who had once more attempted to regain their former liberty, was the first event of importance which took place after the restoration of tranquillity. But, from various causes, the kingdom was still filled with disorder. A scarcity of corn having taken place at the time when some regulations had been made by M. Turgot, the new minister of finance, the populace rose in great numbers, and committed such outrages that a military force became necessary to quell them; and it was not until upwards of five hundred of these starving creatures were destroyed that they could be reduced. The king, however, by his prudent and vigorous conduct on this occasion, put a stop to all riots, and displayed his clemency as well as prudence in the methods which he adopted for the restoration of the public tranquillity. He also seized the first moments of peace to fulfill those promises of economy which on his accession he had given to the people. Particular attention was likewise paid to the state of the marine. The appointment of M. de Sartine, in 1776, to the naval department, did honor to the penetration of the sovereign. That minister, fruitful in resources, and unwearied in application, was incessantly engaged in augmenting the naval strength of his country, and the various preparations which filled the ports and docks created no small uneasiness on the other side of the Channel. The next appointment made by the king was equally fortunate, and in one respect singular and unprecedented. M. Turgot, though possessed of integrity and industry, had not been able to command the public confidence. On his retreat, M. Clugny, intendant-general of Bordeaux, had been

elevated to the vacant office; but the latter having soon afterwards died, M. Taboureaux des Reaux was appointed his successor; and the king associated with him in the management of the finances M. Neckar, who was a Swiss and a Protestant.

Although the French monarch was of a pacific disposition, and not destitute of generosity of sentiment, yet his own and the public exultation had been openly and constantly proportioned to the success of the Americans in their contest with Britain. The princes of the blood and the chief nobility were eager to embark in support of the cause of freedom; and the prudence of the king and his most confidential ministers alone restrained their ardor. The fatal events of the former war were still impressed on the mind of Louis; and he could not readily consent to expose his rising marine in a contest with a nation which had so frequently asserted the dominion of the seas, and had so lately broken the united strength of the house of Bourbon. At the same time he was sensible that the opportunity of humbling England should not be entirely neglected; and that some advantage should be taken of the present commotions in America. Two agents from the United States, Silas Deane and Dr. Benjamin Franklin, had successively arrived at Paris; and though all audience was denied them in a public capacity, still they were privately encouraged to hope that France only waited for a favorable opportunity to assist in conquering the independence of America. In the meanwhile, the American cruisers were hospitably received in the French ports; artillery and all kinds of warlike stores were freely sold or liberally granted to the colonists; and, with the connivance of government, French officers and engineers entered their service.

Some changes were about this time introduced into the different departments of state. The conduct of M. Neckar in the finances had given general satisfaction; and M. Taboureaux des Reaux, his colleague, had resigned his situation, but still retained the

dignity of counsellor of state. To afford full scope to the genius of M. Neckar, Louis determined that he should no longer be clogged with an associate, and, with the title of director-general of the finances, submitted to him the entire management of the revenue of France. In the ensuing year, the Count de St. Germain's secretary at war, died; and the Prince de Montbarey, who had already filled an inferior situation in that department, was now appointed to succeed him. In the meantime negotiations with foreign courts were not neglected. Louis concluded a new treaty of alliance with Switzerland; and, on the death of the elector of Bavaria, vigilantly observed the motions of the different princes of Germany. When closely questioned by the English ambassador, Lord Stormont, respecting the warlike preparations which were diligently continued throughout the kingdom, he replied, that at a time when the seas were covered with English fleets and American cruisers, and when such armies were sent to the New World as had never before appeared there, it became prudent for him also to arm for the security of his colonies and the protection of the commerce of France. The king was not ignorant that the remonstrances of Great Britain, and the importunities of the agents of the United States, would soon compel him to adopt some decisive line of conduct; and this was accelerated by an event most disastrous to Britain, namely, the failure of General Burgoyne's expedition, and the capture of his army. The news of that calamity was received at Paris with unbounded exultation. M. Sartine, the minister of marine, was eager to measure the naval strength of France with that of Great Britain; the queen, who had long seconded the applications of the American agents, now espoused their cause with fresh ardor; and the pacific inclinations of Louis being overborne by the suggestions of his ministers and the influence of his queen, it was at length determined openly to acknowledge the independence of the United States. Accordingly, Dr. Franklin and Silas

Deane, who had hitherto acted as private agents, were now acknowledged as public ambassadors from those states to the court of Versailles; and a treaty of amity and commerce was signed between the insurgent colonists and France in the month of February, 1778. The Duke of Noailles, ambassador to the court of London, was in the month of March instructed to acquaint that court with the above treaty, and at the same time to declare that the contracting parties had not stipulated any exclusive advantages in favor of France, and that the United States had reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatsoever upon the footing of equality and reciprocity. But this declaration was treated with contempt by the British; and the recall of Lord Stormont became the signal for the commencement of hostilities.

In the year 1780, new changes took place in the French ministry. M. Bertin had resigned the office of secretary of state; and the Prince de Montbarey had retired from the office of secretary at war, in which he was succeeded by the Marquis de Segur. But the most important removal was that of M. Sardine, who had for several years presided over the marine department, and whose ability and unwearied application had raised the naval power of France to a height which astonished Europe. His colleagues in the cabinet, however, had loudly arraigned a profusion which would have diverted into one channel the whole resources of the kingdom; and his retreat opened a road to the ambition of the Marquis de Castries, who was appointed in his stead. This year the king abolished the inhuman custom of putting the question by torture—a custom which had been so established by long practice that it seemed an inseparable part of the constitution of courts of justice in France. At the same time, in order to defray the charges of war, he diminished his own expenditure; and sacrificing splendor to popularity, dismissed at once above four hundred officers belonging to his court.

But unhappily the popular discontents were next year excited by the dismissal of M. Neckar. He had conceived the arduous but popular project of supporting a war by means of loans without taxes; and the rigid economy which he had introduced into all the departments of the royal household, together with the various resources which were thus rendered available, had supported him amidst the difficulties that attended this system. But his austerity of temper had not rendered him equally acceptable to the sovereign and his subjects; and the repeated reforms which he had recommended were represented as inconsistent with the dignity of the crown. He was therefore, in 1781, dismissed from his office of comptroller-general; and M. Joli de Fleury, counsellor of state, was appointed to that important department. But the defeat of the Count de Grasse, which happened the following year, produced general fear and consternation. The victory of Rodney was indeed the most severe blow which the navy of France had ever yet sustained, and its effects were felt in every part of the kingdom. Immense preparations were, however, made for the operations of 1783; and, in conjunction with the courts of Madrid and the Hague, Louis determined this year to make the most powerful efforts to bring the war to a conclusion. But in the midst of these preparations the voice of peace was again heard; and Louis was induced to listen to the proffered mediation of the Emperor of Germany and of the Empress of Russia. The Count de Vergennes, who still held the portfolio of foreign affairs, was appointed to treat with Mr. Fitzherbert, the British minister at Brussels, who had lately proceeded to Paris to conduct this important negotiation. The way was already smoothed by provisional articles, which had been signed at the close of the preceding year between Great Britain and the States of America, and which were now to constitute the basis of a treaty of peace between Great Britain and France. Preliminaries were accordingly agreed upon and signed at Ver

sailles; and these were soon afterwards succeeded by a definite treaty, so that France, throughout her extensive dominions, beheld peace once more established. Though the war had been attended by the most brilliant success, and the independence of America seemed to strike deep at the sources of British power, yet France herself had not by any means been free from difficulties. The retreat of Neckar had diminished the public confidence, and the failure of the celebrated *caisse d'escompte* completed the consternation of the people.

The general peace was soon afterwards followed by a particular treaty between France and Holland, which was effected by the Count de Vergennes. It included all the principles which can serve to cement nations in the closest union, and by which, in peace or in war, they may mutually participate in good or evil, and in all cases administer to each other the most perfect aid, counsel, and succor. Thus Holland was converted into the firm ally of that power against the encroaching spirit of which she had formerly armed the most powerful kingdoms of Europe; whilst France having asserted the independence of America against Great Britain, and converted an ancient and formidable foe into an useful friend, seemed to have attained an influence over the nations of Europe which she had never before been possessed of.

But, however exalted her present situation might appear, the seeds of future commotion had already been extensively sown. The applause which had attended the parliament of Paris in their protracted struggles with the late king might be considered as the first dawn of freedom; the language of that assembly had boldly indicated to their countrymen their natural rights, and taught them to look with a less enraptured eye upon the splendor which encompassed the throne. The war in America had contributed to enlarge the political ideas of the French; they had on that occasion stood forth as the champions of liberty, in opposition to regal power; and the

officers who had served in the struggle for independence, accustomed to think and speak without restraint, and familiarized with republican institutions, on their return imparted to the provinces of France a portion of the spirit which had been kindled in the wilds of America. From that moment the French, instead of silently acquiescing in the edicts of their sovereign, canvassed each action with bold inquisition; whilst the attachment of the army, which has ever been considered as the sole foundation of despotism, gave way to the noble enthusiasm of liberty.

We have already noticed the public dissatisfaction which had attended the dismissal of Neckar. His successor, M. de Fleury, had retired from the management of the finances in 1783, and the still more short-lived administration of M. d'Ormesson had expired in the same year which gave it birth. Upon the retreat of the latter, M. de Calonne, who had successively filled with acknowledged reputation the office of intendant of Mentz, and afterwards of the provinces of Flanders and Artois, was nominated to the office of comptroller-general. This person, who was flexible and insinuating, eloquent in conversation and polished in his manners, fertile in resources, and liberal in the disposal of the public money, soon rendered himself acceptable to the sovereign. But he did not enter upon his new and arduous station favored by the breath of popularity; he was, in fact, reported to be more able than consistent, and not to have tempered the ardor of his spirit by the severity of deep research; and the people, amidst repeated loans, regretted that severe simplicity which had characterized the administration of Neckar. It was, however, by the bold and judicious measures of Calonne that credit was restored to the *caisse d'escompte*, which had stopped payment a few weeks before his accession. His next measure, in 1784, the establishment of the *caisse d'amortissement*, or sinking fund, was entitled to a still higher degree of applause. The plan of that fund was simple and moderate

It was, that government should pay annually into the hands of a board set apart for that purpose, the entire interest of the national debt, whether in stock or annuities, together with the additional sum of £120,000. The annuities which would thus be extinguished every year were estimated at £50,000, and in that proportion the sum set apart for the redemption of the national debt would annually increase. The operation of this new fund was limited to the term of twenty-five years; and during that period the annual receipt of the *caisse d'amortissement* was declared unalterable, and incapable of being diverted to any other object.

The principal measure of the following year was the establishment of a new East India Company, a measure which did not fail to excite violent complaints. The time, however, was now approaching, when the necessities of the state compelled the king to adopt measures still more unpopular, and destined to undergo a severer scrutiny. Although peace had for three years been re-established throughout Europe, yet the finances of France seemed scarcely affected by this interval of tranquillity, and it was found requisite to close every year with a loan. The public expenditure of 1785, indeed, seemed to sanction this measure; for it had been thought proper to fortify Cherbourg upon a grand scale; the claim of the emperor to the navigation of the Scheldt had obliged the French to increase their land forces; and the Marquis de Castries, fond of war, and profuse in his designs, had not suffered the navy which M. Sartine had surrendered into his hands to decline during the interval of peace. The treaty of commerce concluded with Great Britain in the year 1786 was also a new source of discontent. Though regarded by the English manufacturers as far from advantageous, it excited in France still louder murmurs, and was represented as likely to extinguish those infant establishments which were yet unable to compete with the manufactures of England, that had attained to maturity. The market which it held out for

the wines and oils of France was passed over in silence, whilst the distress of the artisan was painted in the most striking colors. But when the edict for registering the loan of the preceding year, amounting to three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds, was presented to the parliament of Paris, the murmurs of the people, through the remonstrances of the assembly, assumed a more legal and formidable aspect. The king, however, signified to the select deputation commissioned to convey to him their remonstrances, that he expected to be obeyed without further delay. The ceremony of the registration accordingly took place on the following day; but it was accompanied with a resolution importing that public economy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the necessities of the state, and of restoring that credit which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin. The king was no sooner informed of this step than he commanded the attendance of the grand deputation of parliament, when he erased from their records the resolution which had been adopted; and observed, that though it was his pleasure that the parliament should communicate, by its respectful representations, whatever might concern the good of the public, yet he never would permit them so far to abuse his clemency as to erect themselves into the censors of his government. At the same time, in order the more strongly to mark his displeasure at their expostulations, he superseded one of their officers, who had appeared most active in forwarding the obnoxious resolution.

M. de Calonne, however, though gratified by the approbation of his sovereign, could not but feel himself deeply mortified by the opposition of the parliament. His attempts to conciliate that assembly had proved ineffectual; and he experienced their inflexible aversion at the critical juncture when their acquiescence might have proved of the most essential service. An anxious inquiry into the state of the public finances had convinced

nim that the expenditure far exceeded the revenue. In this situation, to impose new taxes was impracticable, to continue the method of borrowing was ruinous, to have recourse to economical reforms would be found wholly inadequate; and he hesitated not to declare, that it would be impossible to place the finances upon a solid basis, except by the reformation of whatever was vicious in the constitution of the state. But, to give weight to this reform, M. de Calonne was sensible that something more was necessary than even the royal authority; he perceived that the parliament was neither a fit instrument for introducing a new order into public affairs, nor would submit to be a passive machine for sanctioning the plans of a minister, even if those plans were the emanations of perfect wisdom. In this dilemma, the only expedient which suggested itself was to have recourse to some other assembly more dignified and solemn in its character, and which should in a greater degree consist of members selected from the various orders of the state and the different provinces of the kingdom. This promised to be a popular measure; it implied a deference to the people at large, and might be expected to prove highly acceptable.

But the true and legitimate assembly of the nation, the States General, had not met since the year 1614, nor could the minister flatter himself with the hope of obtaining the royal assent to a meeting which a despotic sovereign could not but regard with secret jealousy. Another assembly had occasionally been substituted in the room of the States General. This was distinguished by the title of the Notables, and consisted of a number of persons from all parts of the kingdom, chiefly selected from the higher orders of the state, and nominated by the king himself. This assembly, which had been convened by Henry IV. and also by Louis XIII., was now once more summoned by the authority of Louis XVI. The writs for calling them together were dated the 29th of December, 1786, and addressed to

seven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field-marsals, twenty two nobles, eight counsellors of state, four masters of requests, eleven archbishops and bishops, thirty-seven of the heads of the law, twelve deputies of the *pays d'états*, the civil lieutenant, and twenty-five magistrates of the different towns of the kingdom. The number of members was thus a hundred and forty-four; and the 29th of January, 1787, was the period appointed for their meeting.

Upon the arrival of the Notables at Paris, however, the minister found himself as yet unprepared to submit his system for their consideration, and therefore postponed the opening of the assembly until the 7th of February. A second delay until the 14th of the same month was occasioned by the indisposition of M. de Calonne and that of the Count de Vergennes, president of the council of finance and first secretary of state; and a third procrastination necessarily resulted from the death of the count on the day previous to that which had been fixed for the opening of the assembly. M. de Vergennes was succeeded in the department of foreign affairs by the Count de Montmorin, a nobleman of unblemished character; but his loss at this critical juncture was severely felt by M. de Calonne, as he alone, of all the ministers, had entered with warmth and sincerity into the plans of the comptroller-general. The Chevalier de Miromesnil, keeper of the seals, was avowedly the rival and enemy of Calonne; the Marshal de Castries, secretary for the department of marine, was personally attached to M. Neckar; and the Baron de Breteuil, secretary for the household, was the creature of the queen, and deeply engaged in what was called the Austrian system.

It was under these difficulties that M. de Calonne, on the 22d of February, first met the Assembly of the Notables, and unfolded his long-expected plan. He began by stating, that the public expenditure had for centuries past exceeded the revenue, and that a very considerable deficiency had of course

existed; that the Mississippi scheme of 1720 had not, as might have been expected, restored the balance; that under the economical administration of Cardinal Fleury the deficit still existed; that the progress of this derangement under the last reign had been extreme, the deficiency amounting to three millions sterling at the appointment of the Abbé Terray, who, however, reduced it to one million six hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds; that it decreased a little under the short administrations which followed, but rose again, in consequence of the war, under the administration of M. Neckar; and that upon his own accession to office it amounted to three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds. In order to remedy this growing evil, M. Calonne recommended a territorial impost, of the nature of the English land-tax, from which no rank or order of men was to be exempted, and an inquiry into the possessions of the clergy, who hitherto had been exempted from bearing their proportion of the public burdens. It was also proposed that the various branches of internal taxation should undergo a strict examination; and a considerable resource was anticipated in mortgaging the demesne lands of the crown.

The necessity for these reforms, however, was combated with a degree of boldness and force of reasoning which could not fail to make a deep impression on the assembly; and, instead of meeting with a ready acquiescence, the comptroller-general found that he had launched into the boundless ocean of political controversy. M. Neckar, previously to his retirement, had published his *compte rendu au roi*, in which France was represented as possessing a clear surplus of above four hundred thousand pounds sterling. This performance had been read with avidity, and probably contributed to deprive the author of the royal favor; but the credit of the work was ably vindicated by M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse. M. de Calonne met with a still more formidable adversary in the Count de Mirabeau. This

extraordinary man, restless in disposition, licentious in morals, but bold, penetrating, and enterprising, had occasionally visited every court in Europe. He had been admitted at one time to the confidence of the minister, and had been directed, though not in an ostensible character, to observe at Berlin the disposition of the successor of the great Frederick; but whilst employed in this capacity he was frequently exposed to neglect and disappointment, and his letters were often left unanswered. Disgust succeeded to admiration; and he who had entered the Prussian court the intimate friend, returned to Paris the declared enemy, of M. de Calonne. Accordingly, whilst the archbishop arraigned the understanding, Mirabeau impeached the integrity of the comptroller-general.

The eloquence of M. de Calonne, however, might have successfully vindicated his system and reputation against the calculations of Brienne and the invectives of Mirabeau; but he could not support himself against the influence of the three great bodies of the nation. The ancient nobility and the clergy had ever been free from all public assessments; and had the evil gone no further, it might still perhaps have been borne with patience; but, through the shameful custom of selling patents of nobility, such crowds of new noblesse started up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with them. The first object with those who had rapidly acquired fortunes was to purchase a patent, which, besides gratifying their vanity, afforded an exemption to them and their posterity from contributing to the exigencies of the state. The magistracies likewise throughout the kingdom enjoyed their share of these exemptions; so that the whole weight of taxation fell upon those classes who were least able to bear it. Hence, the minister's design of equalizing the public burdens, and diminishing the load borne by the lower and most useful classes of the people, by rendering the taxes general, though undoubtedly great and patriotic, at once united against him the nobility, the clergy,

and the magistracy; and the result was such as might have been expected. The intrigues of these three bodies raised against him so loud a clamor, that, finding it impossible to stem the torrent, he not only resigned his office on the 12th of April, but soon afterwards withdrew to England from the storm of persecution which now impended over him.

In the midst of these domestic transactions, the attention of Louis was called to the state of affairs in Holland. The Prince of Orange, having been stripped of all authority by the aristocratic party, had retired from the Hague, and now maintained the shadow of a court at Nimeguen. But his brother-in-law, the new king of Prussia, exerted himself to promote the interests of the stadtholder, and offered, in concert with France, to undertake the arduous task of composing the differences which distracted the republic.

But the republican party were totally disappointed in the hopes which they had formed of assistance from France. The court of Versailles had indeed long trusted to the natural strength of this party, and had been assiduous during the summer in endeavoring to second them by every species of succor which could be privately afforded. Crowds of French officers arrived daily in Holland, and either received commissions in the service of the states, or acted as volunteers in their troops; several hundreds of tried and experienced soldiers were selected from different regiments, furnished with money for their journey, and dispatched in small parties to join the troops and assist in disciplining the burghers and volunteers; and a considerable corps of engineers were also directed to proceed in disguise towards Amsterdam, in order to assist in strengthening the works of that city. But these aids, which might have proved effectual had the contest been confined to the states of Holland and the stadtholder, were rendered unavailing by the rapid invasion of the Prussians; the court of Berlin had taken its

measures with so much celerity, and the situation of the republicans had already become so desperate, that it was doubtful whether their affairs could be restored by any assistance which France was capable of immediately affording. Nevertheless, on Great Britain fitting out a strong squadron of men of war at Portsmouth, to give confidence to the operations of the king of Prussia, the court of Versailles sent orders to equip sixteen sail of the line at Brest, and recalled a small squadron which had been commissioned to cruise on the coast of Portugal. But in these preparations, Louis seemed rather to regard his own dignity than to be actuated by any purpose of effectually relieving his allies. All opposition in Holland might already be considered as extinguished. The states assembled at the Hague had officially notified to the court of Versailles, that the disputes between them and the stadtholder were now happily terminated; and as the circumstances which gave occasion to their application to that court no longer existed, they intimated that the succors which they had formerly requested would not now be necessary. Under these circumstances, as the chief concern of France was to extricate herself with honor from her present difficulty, she readily listened to a memorial from the British minister at Paris, in which it was proposed that, in order to preserve a good understanding between the two crowns, all warlike preparations should be discontinued, and that the navies of both kingdoms should again be reduced to the footing of a peace establishment; a proposition which was gladly acceded to by the court of Versailles, and the harmony which had been transiently interrupted was thus restored.

But though the French king could not but sensibly feel the mortification of thus relinquishing the ascendancy which he had obtained in the councils of Holland, the internal situation of his kingdom furnished matter for more serious reflection. The dismissal of M. de Calonne had left France

without a minister, and almost without a system of government; and though the king bore the opposition of the Notables with temper, yet the disappointment he had experienced sunk deep in his mind. Without obtaining any relief for his most urgent necessities, he perceived when too late that he had opened a way for the restoration of the ancient constitution of France, which had been undermined by the craft of Louis XI. and nearly extinguished by the daring councils of Richelieu under Louis XIII. The Notables had indeed conducted themselves with respect and moderation, but at the same time they had not been deficient in firmness. The appointment of the Archbishop of Toulouse, the avowed adversary of M. de Calonne, to the office of comptroller-general, probably contributed to preserve the appearance of good humor in that assembly; but notwithstanding this, the proposed territorial impost or general land-tax, an object so ardently desired by the court, was rejected. Deprived of all hope of rendering the convention subservient to the relief of his embarrassments, and also dreading the spirit which it had on several occasions evinced, Louis determined to dissolve the assembly, which he did accordingly, in a mild and conciliatory speech addressed to the members on their dismissal.

Being thus disappointed of the advantage which he had hoped to deprive from the acquiescence of the Notables, the king was now obliged to revert to the usual mode of raising money by royal edicts; and amongst the measures proposed for this purpose were the doubling of the poll-tax, the re-establishment of the third-twentieth, and a stamp duty. But, as might have been expected, this summary method was strongly disapproved by the parliament of Paris; and that assembly refused, in the most positive terms, to register the edict. In the last resort, therefore, Louis was obliged to have recourse to his absolute authority; and, by holding what is called a bed of justice, he compelled the parliament to register the impost. But

the latter, though defeated, were not subdued; and on the day after the king had held his bed of justice they entered a formal protest against the edict, declaring that it had been registered against their approbation and consent, by the express command of the king; that it neither should nor ought to have any force; and that the first person who presumed to carry it into execution would be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys. This spirited declaration left the king no alternative but either to proceed to extremities in support of his authority, or to relinquish for ever afterwards the power of raising money upon any occasion without the consent of the parliament. But, though naturally of a mild disposition and averse to violent measures, Louis determined not to surrender, without a struggle, that authority which had so long been exercised by his predecessors. Ever since the commencement of the discontents, considerable bodies of troops had been gradually marched into the capital; and, about a week after the parliament entered their protest, an officer of the guards, with a party of soldiers, proceeded at daybreak to the house of each member, to signify to him the king's command, that he should immediately get into his carriage and withdraw to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about seventy miles from Paris, without writing or speaking to any person out of his own house previously to his departure. These orders were all served at the same instant; and before the citizens of Paris became acquainted with the transaction, their magistrates were already on the road to their place of banishment. Previously to their relegation, however, they had presented a remonstrance on the recent measures of government and the alarming state of public affairs. In stating their opinions on taxes, they declared that neither the parliaments nor any other authority, excepting that of the three estates of the kingdom collectively, could warrant the imposition of any permanent tax on the people; and they strongly urged the renewal of those national

assemblies which had rendered the reign of Charlemagne at once so illustrious and beneficent.

This demand for the convocation of the national council or States General was the more honorable to the parliament, as the latter assemblies had uniformly sunk under the influence of the former, and returned to their original condition of mere courts of registration and law. The confidence and attachment of the people therefore rose in proportion to this disinterestedness; their murmurs were openly expressed in the streets of the capital, and the general dissatisfaction was augmented in consequence of the stop put to public business by the exile of the parliament. Meanwhile the cabinet appeared weak, disunited, and fluctuating; and continual changes took place in every department of the state. Averse to rigorous counsels, Louis wished to allay the growing discontent by every concession consistent with his dignity; but the queen, it was believed, strongly dissuaded him from taking any step which might tend to diminish the royal authority. The influence of this princess in the cabinet was undoubtedly great; but the popularity which she had once enjoyed was no more, and some imputations of private levity, which had been scattered through the capital, were far from rendering her acceptable to the majority of the people. The Count d'Artois, the king's brother, who had expressed himself in the most unguarded terms against the conduct of the parliament, also stood exposed to all the consequences of popular hatred. Nor was it in the capital alone that the flame of liberty burst forth; it blazed with equal strength in the provincial parliaments. Amongst various instances of this, the parliament of Grenoble passed a decree against *lettres de cachet*, declaring the execution of these odious instruments of arbitrary power, within their jurisdiction, by any person, and under any authority whatsoever, to be a capital crime.

The king had endeavored to soothe the Parisians by new regulations of economy,

and by continual retrenchments in his household; but these proofs of a desire to lessen the public burdens, though they would at one time have been received with the loudest acclamations, were now disregarded, and the absence of the parliament was considered as an evil for which nothing could atone. In order, therefore, to regain the affections of his subjects, his majesty consented to restore that assembly, and at the same time to abandon the stamp duty and the territorial impost, which had been the chief subjects of dispute. But these measures were insufficient to establish harmony between the court and the parliament. The necessities of the state still remained unprovided for; nor could the deficiency of the revenue be supplied, except by extraordinary resources, or a long course of rigid frugality. About the middle of November, 1787, in a full meeting of the parliament, attended by all the princes of the blood and the peers of France, the king entered the assembly, and proposed for their approbation two edicts; one for a new loan of four hundred and fifty millions of francs, or about nineteen millions sterling, and the other for the re-establishment of the Protestants in all their ancient civil rights, a measure which had long been warmly recommended by the parliament, and which was now brought forward to procure a better reception for the loan. On this occasion the king delivered a speech of unusual length, filled with professions of regard for the people, but at the same time dwelling strongly upon the obedience he expected to his edicts. An animated debate ensued, and was continued for nine hours, when the king, wearied by opposition, and chagrined at some freedoms used in the course of the discussion, suddenly rose and commanded the edict to be registered, without further delay. But this order was most unexpectedly opposed by the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who protested against the whole proceedings of the day as an infringement on the rights of parliament, and therefore null and void. The king, though he could not

conceal his astonishment and displeasure at this decisive step, contented himself with repeating his demands, and immediately afterwards left the assembly. On his departure, the parliament confirmed the protest of the Duke of Orleans, and declared, that as their deliberations had been interrupted, they considered the whole business of that day as of no effect.

But as it could not be supposed that Louis would suffer so bold an attack on his power to pass with impunity, a letter was next day delivered to the Duke of Orleans, commanding him to retire to Villars-Cotterel, one of his seats, about fifteen leagues from Paris, and to receive no company there except his own family; and at the same time the Abbé Sabbatière and M. Fréteau, both members of the Parliament, who had distinguished themselves in the debate, were seized under the authority of *lettres de cachet*, and conveyed, the former to the castle of Mont St. Michel, in Normandy, and the latter to a prison in Picardy. This act of despotism immediately roused the indignation of the parliament, which on the following day waited on the king, and expressed their astonishment and concern that a prince of the blood royal should have been exiled, and two of their members imprisoned, for having declared in his presence what their duty and consciences dictated, and at a time when his majesty had announced that he came to take the sense of the assembly by a plurality of voices. The answer of the king was reserved, forbidding, and unsatisfactory. But this did not prevent the parliament from attending to the exigencies of the state; and, convinced of the emergency, they consented to register the loan for four hundred and fifty millions of livres, which had been the principal cause of this unfortunate difference. This concession contributed to soften the mind of the king; and the sentence of the two magistrates was in consequence changed from imprisonment to exile; M. Fréteau being sent to one of his country-seats, and the Abbé Sabbatière to a convent of Benedictines.

The parliament, however, was not so far propitiated by this measure as to give up the points against which they had originally remonstrated. In a petition, conceived with great freedom, and couched in the most animated language, they boldly reprobated the late acts of arbitrary violence, and demanded the entire liberation of the persons against whom these had been exercised. At the court of Versailles there was nothing but uncertainty and fluctuation; now vigor and now weakness; violence one day and attempts at conciliation the next; a king without energy or decision of character, and counsellors destitute alike of wisdom, prudence, and moderation. In the beginning of the year 1788, Louis recalled the Duke of Orleans, who soon afterwards obtained permission to retire to England; whilst the Abbé Sabbatière and M. Fréteau were about the same time allowed to return to the capital.

But the parliament had not confined their demands to the liberation of these gentlemen; they had also echoed the remonstrances of the parliament of Grenoble; and had loudly inveighed against the execution of *lettres de cachet*. These repeated remonstrances, mingled as they were with personal reflections, seconded the suggestions of the queen; and Louis was once more instigated to adopt measures of severity. MM. d'Espremenil and Monsambert, whose bold and pointed harangues had given the greatest offence, were doomed to experience the immediate resentment of the court. A body of armed troops having surrounded the hôtel in which the parliament were convened, Colonel Degout entered the assembly and secured the persons of the obnoxious members, who were instantly conducted to different prisons. This new instance of arbitrary violence drew forth a remonstrance from parliament, which in boldness far exceeded all the former representations made by that body. They declared they were now more firmly convinced than ever that the entire subversion of the constitution was aimed at; but they added, that the French nation would never sanction

the despotic measures which the king had been advised to adopt; that the fundamental laws of the kingdom must not be trampled on; and that the royal authority could only be esteemed as long as it was tempered with justice.

Language so pointed and decisive, asserting the controlling power of the laws above the regal authority, could not fail to alarm the king; and, with a view to diminish the influence of the parliament, it was determined again to convene the Notables. Accordingly, about the beginning of May, Louis appeared in that assembly, and after complaining of the excesses in which the parliament of Paris had indulged, and which had drawn down his reluctant indignation on a few of the members, he declared his resolution, instead of annihilating them as a body, to recall them to their duty and obedience by a salutary reform. M. de la Moignon, as keeper of the seals, then explained his majesty's intention to establish a plenary court, or supreme assembly, composed of princes of the blood, peers of the realm, great officers of the crown, the clergy, marshals of France, governors of provinces, knights of different orders, a deputation of one member from every parliament, and two members from the chambers of council, which should be summoned as often as any public emergency should, in the royal opinion, render it necessary to do so.

But if the Assembly of the Notables listened in silent deference to the project of their sovereign, the parliament of Paris received it with undisguised aversion. That body protested in the strongest manner against the establishment of any other tribunal, and declared their unalterable resolution not to assist at any deliberations in the supreme assembly which his majesty proposed to institute. A more unexpected mortification occurred to the king in the opposition of several peers of the realm, who expressed their regret at beholding the fundamental principles of the constitution violated; and, though lavish in professions of

attachment to the person of the sovereign, concluded with apologizing for not entering on the functions assigned them in the plenary court, which, in their opinion, was inconsistent with the true interests of his majesty, no less than with those of the nation at large. Nor was this opposition confined to the parliament. The flame quickly spread throughout the more distant provinces. At Rennes in Bretagne, and at Grenoble in Dauphiné, the populace broke out in acts of the most daring outrage. In the latter city several hundred of the inhabitants perished in a conflict with the military; but they nevertheless maintained their ground against the regulars, and the commanding officer, on the entreaty of the first president, withdrew his troops from a contest into which he had entered with reluctance. The different parliaments of the kingdom at the same time expressed their feelings in the most animated language, strongly urging the necessity of calling together the States General, the lawful council of the kingdom, as the only means of restoring public tranquillity and promoting needful reforms.

It now became evident to the king, that compliance with the public wishes for the convocation of the States General was absolutely necessary, to avoid the calamities of a civil war, which a refusal would render inevitable.

An arrêt was, therefore, issued in August, fixing the meeting of the States General for the first day of May in the ensuing year; and, during the interval, every step was taken to secure the favorable opinion of the public. New arrangements took place in the administration; Neckar, who had long enjoyed the confidence of the people, was again called to the management of the finances; the torture, which by a former edict had been in part restricted, was now entirely abolished; every person accused was allowed the assistance of counsel, and permitted to avail himself of any point of law necessary to his defence; and it was decreed, that in future sentence of death should

not be passed on any person, unless the accused had been pronounced guilty by a majority of at least three judges.

As the time appointed for the convention of the States General approached, the means of assembling them formed a matter of very grave deliberation in the cabinet. The last meeting, in 1614, had been convened by application to the bailiwicks. But this mode was liable to strong objections, as the bailiwicks had been increased in number and jurisdiction, several provinces having since that period been united to France; and as the numbers and quality of the members were no less an object of serious attention, it was not till the close of the year that the proposal of Neckar, which fixed the number of deputies at a thousand and upwards, and ordained that the representatives of the third estate or commons should equal in number those of the nobility and clergy united, was adopted. Meanwhile the eyes of all Europe were turned towards the States General; but the moment of their meeting was far from being auspicious. The minds of the French had long been agitated by various rumors; the unanimity which had been expected from the different orders of the states was destroyed by the jarring pretensions of each; and their mutual jealousies were attributed by the suspicions of the people to the intrigues of the court, which, it was supposed already repented of the hasty assent which had been extorted from it. A scarcity which pervaded the kingdom increased the general discontent; and the people, pressed by hunger and inflamed by resentment, were ripe for revolt. The sovereign also, impatient of the obstacles which he continually encountered, could not conceal his chagrin; whilst the influence of the queen in the cabinet manifested itself by the immediate removal of Neckar. The dismissal of this minister, who had so long been the favorite of the public, was the signal of open insurrection. The Parisians assembled in great numbers; the guards refused to stain their arms with the blood of their fellow-citizens;

the Count d'Artois and the most obnoxious of the nobility thought themselves happy in eluding by flight the fury of the insurgents; and in a moment a revolution was accomplished, which, in all its circumstances, is the most remarkable of any recorded in history.

The States had been summoned to meet at Versailles on the 27th of April, and most of the deputies arrived at that time; but as the elections for the city of Paris were not concluded, the king deferred the commencement of their sessions until the 4th of May. During this period the members, left in idleness, began to find out and form acquaintance with one another. In particular, a few from Bretagne formed themselves into a club, into which they gradually admitted such other deputies as were found to be zealous in the popular cause, and also many persons who were not deputies. This society, which took the name of the *Comete Breton* was originally established at Versailles, and was destined, under the appellation of the Jacobin Club, to give laws to France, and to diffuse terror and alarm throughout Europe. On the other hand, the aristocratic party established conferences at the house of Madame de Polignac, for the purpose, as was alleged, of uniting the nobles and the clergy. An event occurred at this time which all parties ascribed to some malicious motive. In the populous suburb of St. Antoine, where a person named Reveillon carried on a great paper manufactory, a false report was spread that this individual intended to lower the wages of his workmen, and that he had declared that bread was too good for them, and that they might subsist well enough on potato-flour. A commotion was raised, Reveillon was burned in effigy, and his house thereafter burned and pillaged by the mob, who were not dispersed till the military were called in, and many lives lost. The popular party asserted that this commotion had been artfully excited by the party of the queen and the Count d'Artois, to afford a pretence for bringing great bodies of the military to the

neighborhood, in order to overawe the States General, or induce the king to resolve on assembling that body at Versailles in preference to Paris, where they and the popular minister Neckar wished the assemblage to take place.

On the 4th of May the States General assembled at Versailles, and commenced business by going to church in solemn procession, preceded by the clergy, and followed by the king, according to ancient custom, to perform an act of devotion. The nobles were arrayed in splendid robes, and, like the higher clergy, glittered in gold and jewels. The commons appeared in black, the dress belonging to the law. The assembly was thereafter opened by a short speech from the throne, in which the king congratulated himself on thus meeting his people assembled; alluded to the national debt, and the taxes, which were severely felt because unequally levied; and noticed the general discontent and spirit of innovation which prevailed, but declared his confidence in the wisdom of the assembly for remedying every evil. M. Barretin, the keeper of the seals, next addressed the assembly in a congratulatory speech, and was followed by Neckar. The latter spoke for three hours; but though much applauded on account of the clear financial details which his speech contained, he encountered a certain degree of censure from all parties, on account of the cautious ambiguity which he observed regarding the future proceedings of the States General.

The following day the three orders assembled separately. The deputies of the *tiers état* amounted to six hundred in number, and those of the nobles and clergy to three hundred each. During the earlier sittings much time was spent in unimportant debates about trifling points of form; and the first important question which came under discussion was the verification of their powers, or production of the commissions of the members, and the investigation of their authenticity. The commons laid hold of this as a pretext for opening the grand controversy,

whether the States General should sit in one or in three separate chambers; and they sent a deputation inviting the nobles and the clergy to meet along with them in the common hall, for the purpose of verifying their powers in one common assembly. In the chamber of the clergy a hundred and fourteen members voted for the performance of this ceremony in the general assembly, and a hundred and thirty-three against it; but in the order of the nobles the resolution for the verification in their own assembly was carried by a majority of a hundred and eighty-eight to forty-seven. The commons, however, paid no regard to this. Conducted by bold and skillful leaders, who discerned the importance of the point in contest, they resolved not to abandon it. Hence the latter, though fully cognisant of the exigencies of the state, and aware that, owing to the deficiency in the revenue, a short delay might lead to the absolute dissolution of the government, suffered five weeks to pass away in total inactivity. During this period proposals were made on the part of the ministry for a pacification between the three orders, and conferences were opened by commissioners from each; but no art could induce the commons to abandon their original purpose, or prevail with them to enter upon the business of the state.

The nation having expected much from the assembling of the States General, received the intelligence of their inaction with no small degree of concern. But as the *tiers état* was naturally popular, public censure could not readily fall upon that favorite order. Besides, from the period of their assembling, the commons had made every effort to augment their own popularity. They admitted all persons promiscuously into the galleries, and even into the body of their hall; no restraint was attempted to be laid upon the most vehement marks of popular applause or censure; lists of the names of the voters were publicly taken and sent to Paris upon every remarkable occasion; and thus the members suddenly found that, according

to their political sentiments, they became objects of general execration or applause. The new and bold notions of liberty which were daily advanced by the leaders of the *tiers état* were received with acclamation by their hearers; the capital became interested in the issue of every debate; and the political fervor thus generated thrilled along every nerve and sinew of society. The commons accused the nobles of obstinately impeding the business of the state, by refusing to verify their powers in one common assembly; and the accusation was greedily swallowed by the multitude. The nobles accordingly became every day more unpopular. Their persons were insulted; and new publications daily appeared, in which their order was reviled, and represented as an useless or pernicious incumbrance, not to be tolerated in a free state. Whoever adhered to them was branded with the odious appellation of aristocrat. The clergy, from the influence of the parish curés or parsons, seemed ready to desert their cause; and they were even opposed by a minority of their town body, which derived lustre from having at its head the Duke of Orleans. Still, however, the majority of the nobles remained firm; well aware, that if they once consented to sit in the same assembly, and to vote promiscuously, with the more numerous body of the commons, their whole order, with all its exclusive privileges, must speedily be overthrown.

Meanwhile the leaders of the commons saw that a change was taking place in the minds of men; and regarding the period as at length arrived when they might emerge from their inactivity, and seize the whole legislative authority, they declared that the representatives of the nobles and the clergy were only the deputies of particular incorporations, who might sit and vote along with them, but who had no title in a collective capacity to act as the legislators of France. For conducting business with more facility, twenty committees were named. On the suggestion of the Abbé Sieyès, a final message was sent to the privileged orders, requiring their attendance

as individuals, and intimating that the commons, as the deputies of ninety-six out of every hundred of their countrymen, were about to assume the exclusive power of legislation. None of the nobles obeyed the summons; but three curés, named Cesve, Ballard and Jallot, presented their commissions, and were received with loud acclamations; and the following day these were followed by five more, amongst whom were Grégoire, Dillon and Bodineau. After some debate concerning the appellation which they ought to assume, the commons, with such of the clergy as had joined them, solemnly voted themselves the sovereign legislators of their country, under the name of the National Assembly. When the result of the vote was declared, the hall resounded with shouts, from an immense concourse of spectators, of *Vive le Roi at vive l'Assemblée Nationale*. M. Bailly was chosen president for four days only MM. Camus and Pison de Galand were appointed secretaries, and the assembly proceeded to business.

The first acts of the National Assembly were decisively expressive of its own sovereignty. All taxes imposed without the consent of the representatives of the people were declared to be null and void; but a temporary sanction was given to the existing taxes, though illegal, till the dissolution of the assembly, and no longer; and it was added, that as soon as the assembly should be able to fix, in concert with his majesty, the principles of national regeneration, it would take into consideration the national debt, and place the creditors of the state under the safeguard of the national honor.

The popular cause now gained ground so fast, that on the 19th of June a majority of the clergy voted for the verification of their powers in common with the National Assembly, and resolved to unite with them on the following day. Affairs had thus come to a crisis, and the nobles perceived that they must instantly make a decisive stand, or yield up their cause as utterly lost. So great indeed was their alarm, that M. d'Espremenil

proposed, at one of the sittings of their order, to address the king, entreating him to dissolve the States General. Hitherto that prince had gone along with Neckar in favoring the popular cause in opposition to the aristocracy. But every art was now used to alarm his mind regarding the late assumptions of power on the part of the commons; and these arts were at length successful. Repeated councils were held; and as Neckar was absent attending a dying sister, the king was prevailed upon to enter into the views of the aristocratical leaders. But the first measure which they adopted was so ill conducted as to afford little prospect of final success to their cause. On the 20th of June, when the president and members were about to enter as usual into their own hall, they found it unexpectedly surrounded by a detachment of the guards, who refused them admission, whilst the herald at the same time proclaimed a royal session. Alarmed at this unforeseen event, the meaning of which they knew not, but apprehending that an immediate dissolution of the assembly was intended, they instantly retired to a neighboring tennis-court, where, in the heat of their enthusiasm, they took a solemn oath never to separate until the constitution they had promised the country should be completed. On the 22d a new proclamation intimated that the royal session was deferred till the following day. It was now alleged that the assembly had been excluded from their hall merely because the workmen were occupied in preparing it for the intended solemnity. But this information was not calculated to excite favorable expectations of the measures about to be adopted at a royal session, ushered in by such circumstances of disrespect to the representatives of the people. The assembly, after wandering about in quest of a place of meeting, at length entered the church of St. Louis, and were immediately joined by the majority of the clergy, with their president, the Archbishop of Vienne, at their head. Two nobles of Dauphiné, the Marquis de Blagon and the Count d'Agoult, at the same time presented

their commissions. Encouraged by these events, and by the applause of the multitude, the assembly now waited with firmness the measures about to be adopted.

The royal session was held in the most splendid form, but altogether in the style of the ancient despotism. Soldiers surrounded the hall. The two superior orders were seated, whilst the representatives of the people, who had been left standing a full hour in the rain, were in no humor, when at last admitted, to receive with much complacency the commands of their sovereign. The king read a discourse, in which he declared null and void the resolutions of the 17th, but at the same time presented the programme of a constitution for France. This scheme contained many good and patriotic principles, but preserved the distinction of orders, and the exercise of *lettres de cachet*; it said nothing about any active share in the legislative power to be possessed by the States General, and was silent respecting the responsibility of ministers and the liberty of the press. The king concluded by commanding the deputies immediately to retire, and to assemble again on the following day; after which he then withdrew, and was followed by all the nobles and a part of the clergy. The commons remained in their seats in gloomy silence; but this was at length interrupted by the grand master of the ceremonies, who reminded the president of the intentions of the king. The words were scarcely uttered when Mirabeau, starting from his seat, exclaimed, "The commons of France have determined to debate. We have heard the intentions which have been suggested to the king; and you cannot be his agent with the States General—you, who have here neither seat nor voice, nor a right to speak, are not the person to remind us of his speech. Go tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing shall expel us but the bayonet." The applause of the assembly seconded the enthusiasm of the orator, and the master of the ceremonies withdrew in silence. M. Camus then rose,

and having in a vehement speech stigmatized the royal session by the obnoxious appellation of a bed of justice, he concluded by moving that the assembly should declare their unqualified adherence to their former decrees. This motion was followed by another, declaring the persons of the deputies inviolable; and both were unanimously decreed. The assembly accordingly continued their sittings in the usual form. On the following day the majority of the clergy attended as members; and on the 25th the Duke of Orleans, along with forty-nine of the deputies belonging to the order of nobility, also joined them. The remaining nobles, as well as the small minority of the clergy, now found themselves awkwardly situated; but whether on this account, or because their leaders had by this time formed a plan for carrying their point by the aid of the military force, the king, by a pressing letter, invited both orders to join the commons; and this request was immediately complied with, though many of the nobility highly disapproved the measure.

The situation of France had now become truly alarming. When the king retired from the assembly after the royal session, he was followed by more than six thousand citizens, with loud clamors and every mark of disapprobation. At Versailles all was speedily in an uproar. Neckar had repeatedly solicited his dismissal, the report of which increased the popular clamor. The court was in consternation. The king now discovered that his minister was more popular than himself. At six o'clock in the evening the queen sent for M. Neckar; and when he returned from the palace, he assured the crowd who waited for him that he would not abandon them, upon which they retired satisfied. At the same time the news of the royal session had thrown the city of Paris into violent agitation. The peace of that capital was at this time endangered by a variety of causes. A dreadful famine raged throughout the land, and, as is usual in such cases, was most severely felt in the capital. This prepared the minds of men for receiving unfavorable im-

pressions as to the political state of the country; and, besides, every effort was made to disorganize the government, and produce a dislike of the ancient order of things. The press poured forth innumerable publications, filled with new and seducing, though generally impracticable, theories of liberty; and these were not only distributed gratis among the people of Paris, but dispersed in the same manner throughout the provinces. Philip, duke of Orleans, presumptive heir to the crown, after the children and brothers of the king, is with good reason believed to have supplied out of his more than princely revenues the expense of these publications. In the gardens of the Palais Royal, which belonged to him, an immense multitude was daily assembled, listening from morning till night to orators who descanted upon the most exciting topics of popular politics, and many of whom were suspected to be in his pay. It was even believed that his money found its way into the pockets of some of the most distinguished leaders in the National Assembly.

But the government was, if possible, still more endangered by the methods which were now employed to seduce the military from their duty. Every officer of the French army belonged to the order of nobility; and hence it might have been imagined that but little danger was to be apprehended from a body so commanded. But this very circumstance became the means of disorganizing that great engine of despotism. As the soldiers could not avoid imbibing the new opinions, their officers became the first objects of their jealousy, especially in consequence of the impolitic edict of Louis XVI., which required every officer to produce proofs of four degrees of nobility, and thus insulted, by avowedly excluding the plebians from promotion. With a view to what might eventually occur, the instructions to the deputies of the *tiers état* had recommended an increase of the pay of the soldiers; and now every art was employed to gain them to the popular cause. They were conducted to the

Palais Royal, and there caressed and flattered by the populace, whilst they listened to the popular harangues. Nor were the arts of corruption unsuccessful. On the 23d of June the military refused to fire on the mob in a tumult; and when some of their number were on the 30th reported to be in confinement for this offence, a crowd instantly collected and rescued them, the dragoons who were brought to suppress the tumult grounding their arms. A deputation of the citizens solicited the assembly to obtain the pardon of the prisoners, and the assembly applied to the king, who pardoned them accordingly.

All these events, together with the tumultuous state of the capital, which was daily increasing, rendered it necessary for the king to call out the military force, in order, if possible, to restore the public peace. That his intentions were to re-establish order, the actual state of affairs will not permit us to doubt; but the aristocracy, with the Count d'Artois at their head, were engaged in bringing forward other measures, which ultimately contributed to ruin the king and the monarchy. Crowds of soldiers were collected, from all parts of the kingdom, around Paris and Versailles; and it was observed that these consisted principally of foreign troops. Camps were traced out, and Marshal Broglio, an officer of exaggerated reputation, was placed at the head of the army. The king was supposed to have entirely yielded to new counsels, and every thing betokened a desperate effort to restore the energy of the ancient government. It was rumored at the time that Paris was to be subdued by a bombardment, and that the assembly was to be dissolved, and its leaders put to death. But although such reports were entitled to small credit, the crisis of French liberty was at hand, and the existence of the National Assembly as an independent body, at least upon any other footing than that proposed by the king on the 23d of June, was also involved. An able and eloquent address to the king against the assemblage of foreign troops in their neighborhood

was in the mean time brought forward by Mirabeau, and voted by the assembly. The king replied that the state of the capital was the cause of assembling the troops, and offered to transfer the States General to Noyons or Soissons. "We will remove neither to Noyons nor to Soissons," exclaimed Mirabeau; "we will not place ourselves between two hostile armies, that which is besieging Paris, and that which may fall upon us through Flanders or Alsace; we have not asked permission to run away from the troops; we have desired that the troops should be removed from the capital."

Thirty-five thousand men were now stationed in the neighborhood of Paris and Versailles. The posts which commanded the city were occupied, and camps were marked out for a greater force. The Count d'Artois and his party regarded their plans as ripe for execution; and Neckar received an order from the king, ordaining him to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours. That popular minister dined with his family after receiving the commands of his sovereign, and the same evening set out for Brussels. In his dismissal the democratic party perceived that a resolution had been adopted to accomplish their ruin. The assembly, therefore, again addressed the throne, and requested anew the removal of the troops, offering to become responsible for the public peace, and to proceed in a body to Paris to encounter personally every danger which might occur. But they were coolly told that the king was the best judge of the mode of employing the troops, and that the presence of the assembly was necessary at Versailles. On receiving this reply, it was instantly decreed, on the motion of the Marquis de Lafayette, that the late ministry had carried with them the confidence of the assembly; that the troops ought to be removed; that the ministry should be held responsible to the people for their conduct; that the assembly persisted in all its former decrees; and that, as it had taken the public debt under the protection of the nation, no power in France was en-

titled to pronounce the degrading word bankruptcy.

The city of Paris was thrown into great consternation by the news of Neckar's retreat. His bust, and that of the Duke of Orleans, were dressed in mourning and carried through the streets. But the royal Alлеманд, a German regiment, having broken in pieces the busts, dispersed the populace; and the Prince de Lambesc, grand-ecuyer of France, was ordered to advance with his regiment of cavalry, and take post at the Tuilleries. Being a man of a violent temper, and enraged at the appearances of disapprobation which were visible around him, the latter furiously cut down with his sword an old man who was walking peaceably in the gardens. The consequences of this inhuman act were such as might have been expected. A shout of execration instantly arose; the cry to arms was heard; the military was assaulted on all sides; the French guards joined their countrymen, and compelled the Germans, overpowered by numbers, and unsupported by the rest of the army, to retire. All order was now at an end, and as night approached, universal terror diffused itself throughout the city. Bands of robbers were collecting; and from them, or from the foreign soldiery, a general pillage was expected. The night passed away in consternation and tumult; and it was found in the morning that the hospital of St. Lazare had already been plundered. The alarm bells were rung, and the citizens having assembled at the Hotel de Ville, adopted a proposal, which was there made, for enrolling themselves as a militia, under the appellation of the National Guard. This day and the succeeding night were spent in tolerable quietness, without any attempt being made on the part of the army. But on the morning of the 14th of July, it was discovered that the troops encamped in the Champs Elisées had moved off, and an immediate assault was therefore expected. The national guard now amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand men, but they were in general destitute of

arms. They assumed a green cockade; but on recollecting that this was the livery of the Count d'Artois, they adopted one of red, blue and white; and this was the origin of the tricolor cockade. M. de la Salle was named commander in chief; officers were chosen, and detachments were sent round in quest of arms. In the Hotel des Invalides were found upwards of thirty thousand stand of arms, together with twenty pieces of cannon. A variety of weapons were also procured from the *garde-meuble de la couronne*, and from the shops of armorers, cutlers, and others.

The too famous fortress of the Bastile was an object of natural hatred to the Parisians. Within its walls, courage, genius, and innocence had long wept unseen, and its doleful echoes had often responded to the stifled cries of despair. At eleven o'clock in the morning, M. de la Rosière, at the head of a numerous deputation, waited upon M. Delaunay, the governor, who promised, along with the officers of his garrison, that they would not fire upon the city unless they were attacked. But a report was soon spread throughout Paris that M. Delaunay had a short time thereafter admitted into the fortress a multitude of persons, and then treacherously massacred them. The origin of this rumor has never been discovered. The fact itself has been denied; but it was attested at the time by the Duke of Dorset, then British ambassador at the court of France. The effect of it was the adoption of a resolution to assault the Bastile, in consequence of which an immense and furious multitude rushed into its outer, and soon forced their way into its inner courts, where they received and returned a severe fire for the space of an hour. The French guards, who were now embodied into the national guard, conducted the attack with equal skill and coolness. They dragged three wagons loaded with straw to the foot of the walls, and there set them on fire, by which means the garrison were prevented from taking aim, whilst the smoke proved no hindrance

to the assailants. The besieging multitude pressed the attack with incredible obstinacy for the space of four hours; the garrison was thrown into confusion; the officers served the cannon in person, and fired muskets in the ranks; whilst the governor in despair thrice attempted to blow up the fortress. A capitulation was at length sought, but refused to the garrison, and an unconditional surrender demanded. This at length took place, and the governor, with M. de Losme Salbrai, his major, became victims of the popular fury, in spite of every effort which could be made for their protection; but the French guards succeeded in saving the lives of the garrison. Only seven prisoners were found in the Bastille. A guard was placed in it, and the keys were sent to the celebrated M. Brissot, who a few years before had inhabited one of its dungeons. The remaining part of this eventful day was spent at Paris in a mixture of wild triumph and excessive alarm. In the pocket of the governor of the Bastille there had been found a letter written by M. de Flesselles, the *prévôt des marchands*, or chief city magistrate, who had pretended to be a most zealous patriot, encouraging him to resistance by the promise of speedy support. This piece of treachery was punished by instant death; and the bloody head of Flesselles was carried through the city on a pole, along with that of M. Delaunay. On the approach of night a body of troops advanced towards the city by the Barrière d'Enfer; but the national guard hurried thither, preceded by a train of artillery, and the troops withdrew upon the first fire. Barricades were everywhere formed, the alarm-bells were rung, and a general illumination continued throughout the night.

In the meantime, it was obvious that the new ministry were entering upon a difficult scene of action, where one false step might lead to ruin, and where their own plans of conduct required to be maturely digested. Marshal Broglio was appointed minister of war; the Baron de Breteuil, president of finance; M. de la Galezière, comptroller-gen-

eral; M. de Laporte, intendant of the war department; and M. Foulon, intendant of the navy: but they were only destined to act as official men under the Count d'Artois and the other leaders of the aristocracy. To the latter there scarcely remained even a choice of difficulties; in fact, no resource was left but that of overawing by military force the National Assembly and the capital, and risking the desperate measure of a national bankruptcy, to avoid which the court had convoked the States General. But no trace exists of any attempt to employ this last and desperate resource. The evening after the departure of M. Neckar was spent by the court of Versailles in festivity, as if a victory had been gained; and the courtiers of both sexes went round among the soldiery, striving to secure their fidelity by caresses and every species of flattering attention. The ministry, however, not only failed to support the Prince de Lambesc in the post which he had been sent to occupy, but suffered the whole of the 13th to pass in indecision, whilst the capital was in a state of rebellion, an army formally mustering within its walls, and the names of the principal nobility publicly exposed in lists of proscription. They accordingly received with confusion and dismay the news of the capture of the Bastille; and these feelings were increased by information received from Marshal Broglio, that the troops refused to act against the Parisians or the National Assembly. In this perplexity they adopted the miserable device of concealing from the king the real state of public affairs; and that unfortunate prince was thus, perhaps, the only person who remained ignorant of the convulsions in which his country was involved. At length, about midnight, the Duke of Liancourt forced his way into the king's apartment, and informed him of the revolt of the capital and the army, and of the surrender of the fortress of the Bastille. The Count d'Artois, who was present, still attempted to retain the monarch under the fatal delusion which it had been the object of this communication to

destroy; but the Duke of Liancourt, turning round, exclaimed: "As for you, sir, your life can only be saved by instant flight; I have seen with horror your name in the bloody list of the proscribed." The count, with the members of his short-lived administration and their adherents, accordingly fled to the frontiers; and thus commenced an emigration which, depriving the throne of its natural supporters, left the field open to the declared enemies of the monarchy.

But in spite of all that had occurred, the monarch was still personally beloved. Early the following morning the king went to the assembly, though with none of the usual solemnities. He regretted the commotions of the capital, disavowed any knowledge of an intention against the persons of the deputies, and intimated that he had commanded the removal of the troops. A deep silence prevailed for some moments, but this was succeeded by vehement and universal shouts of applause. When the king rose to depart, the whole assembly instantly crowded around him, and attended him to his palace. The queen appeared at a balcony with the dauphin in her arms; and the music played the pathetic air, *Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille*. The enthusiasm of loyalty communicated itself to the surrounding multitudes, and nothing was heard but acclamations of joy. On the following day the king declared his resolution to visit in person the city of Paris; and accordingly he set out, attended by some members of the assembly, and by the militia of Versailles. He was met by Lafayette at the head of a body of the national guard, of which he had been chosen commander in chief; and M. Bailly, in whose person the ancient office of mayor of Paris had been revived, received the king at the gates, and delivered to him the keys. During all this time no shout was heard from the innumerable crowd of spectators but that of *Vive la Nation*. The king advanced to the Hôtel de Ville, where the tri-color cockade was presented to him, which he put on, and with this badge on his

breast presented himself at the window. At the sight of the patriotic emblem an universal shout of *Vive le Roi* burst forth from every quarter, and Louis returned to Versailles amidst loud demonstrations of apparent loyalty and attachment.

The banishment of Neckar was of short duration. He returned to France in consequence of an invitation by the king, and was received with equal joy by the assembly and the capital. But on this occasion he committed what has been considered as a great political error. In deploring the late excesses and murders, and in noticing the arrest of M. Bezenval, an officer of the Swiss guards, he recommended to the electors at the Hôtel de Ville, in a solemn harangue, that the past should be forgotten, that proscriptions should cease, and that a general amnesty should be proclaimed. In a moment of enthusiasm this was agreed to, and the electors decreed what unquestionably exceeded their powers. The districts of Paris were instantly in commotion. The electors, alarmed, declared that they only meant that henceforth the people would punish no man except according to law; and to prove that they themselves were free from ambition, they formally renounced all their own powers. The assembly now took up the question, upon which Lally-Tolendal, Mounier, Clermont-Monnerre, Garat, and others declared that no person ought to be arrested without a formal accusation; whilst Mirabeau, Robespierre, Barnave, and Gleizen alleged, on the contrary, that the people were entitled to lay hold of any man who had publicly appeared at the head of their enemies. The debate ended by admitting the explanation of the electors, and by a declaration that it was the duty of the assembly to see justice executed in all cases.

The National Assembly were engaged in framing the declaration of the Rights of Man, which was to form the basis of the new constitution, when the alarming accounts, received from all quarters, of the state of anarchy into which the kingdom was falling,

obliged them suddenly to turn their attention to questions of practical necessity. The privileged orders finding themselves objects of universal jealousy and hatred, became convinced that something must instantly be done to save their families and property, which were menaced on every side with persecution and pillage; and regarding the popular torrent as irresistible, they resolved to sacrifice a part in order to save something out of the general wreck.

On the afternoon sitting of the 4th of August the Viscount de Noailles, seconded by the Duke d'Aguillon, opened one of the most important scenes in the French Revolution, or in the history of any country. These noblemen stated, that the true cause of all the commotions which had convulsed the kingdom was to be found in the misery of the people, who groaned under the double oppression of public contributions and of feudal services. M. de Noailles proposed to do justice, as the shortest way of restoring tranquillity, and for this purpose to decree that henceforth every tax should be imposed in proportion to the wealth of the contributors, and that no order of the state should be exempted from the payment of public burdens; that feudal claims should be redeemed at a fair valuation, but that such claims as consisted of personal services on the part of the vassal should be abolished without compensation, as contrary to the imprescriptible rights of man. The extensive possessions of the noblemen with whom these proposals originated, added lustre to the disinterested sacrifice which they had made; the speeches delivered on the occasion were received with the most enthusiastic applause by the assembly and the galleries, and their proposals were decreed by acclamation. In fact, no nation is so powerfully influenced by sudden emotions as the French. On this occasion the patriotic contagion spread with inconceivable rapidity, and a contest of generosity ensued. The hereditary jurisdictions possessed by the nobles within their own territories were uncon-

ditionally sacrificed. The deputies of the Pais d'Etat, or privileged provinces, with the deputies of Dauphiné at their head, then came forward, and offered to surrender their ancient privileges. They were followed by the representatives of Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, Bordeaux, Strasbourg, and other places, who requested leave to renounce all their separate privileges as incorporations, for the sake of placing every man and every village in the nation upon a footing of equality. And thus the assembly proceeded, until every member had exhausted his imagination upon the subject of reform. To close the whole, the Duke of Liancourt proposed that a solemn *Te Deum* should be performed, and a medal struck in commemoration of the events of that night of sacrifices; and that the title of Restorer of Gallic Liberty should be bestowed upon the reigning monarch. Several days were necessary to form into laws the decrees of the 4th of August, and committees were appointed to make out reports for the purpose. But as one of these included the tithes and revenues of the clergy amongst the abuses which were to be done away with, and proposed in lieu of these to grant to the different ministers of religion a certain stipend payable by the nation, the clergy now attempted to make a stand in defence of their property; and violent debates ensued, in which they were ably supported by the Abbé Sieyès. As the clergy, however, had formerly deserted the nobles, so they were now in their turn abandoned to their fate by the hereditary aristocracy; and the popular party had long regarded the wealth of the church as an easy resource for supplying the wants of the state. Never, indeed, was there a more complete proof of the influence of opinion over the affairs of men. The Catholic clergy of France, though possessed of more property than at the time when princes took up arms or laid them down at their command, now found so few defenders, that they were terrified into a voluntary surrender of all which they and their predecessors had enjoyed for ages.

As a short season of tranquillity in the country and in the National Assembly succeeded these great popular sacrifices, the king thought it a fit opportunity for the appointment of a new ministry, consisting of the Archbishop of Vienne, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, M. Neckar, the Count de St. Priest, Count de Montmorin, the Count de la Luzerne, and the Count de la Tour du Pin Paulin. M. Neckar, as minister of finance, stated the distressed situation of the revenue, and presented the plan of a loan of thirty millions of livres. But Mirabeau prevailed with the assembly to alter and narrow the conditions to such a degree that very few subscribers were found, and the loan could not be filled up. This failure involved the assembly in considerable unpopularity, and they allowed M. Neckar to prescribe his own terms for the purpose of obtaining a loan of eighty millions. But the moment of public confidence had been allowed to pass away, and the loan was never more than half filled up. Recourse was next had to patriotic contributions; and great numbers of gold rings, silver buckles, and pieces of plate were presented to the assembly. The royal family themselves sent their plate to the mint, either to give countenance to these donations, or, as Neckar has since asserted, through absolute necessity, for the purpose of supporting themselves and their family. The confusion into which the nation had been thrown by recent events had produced a suspension in the payment of all taxes. There existed, in fact, no efficient government; and if society escaped dissolution it was only in consequence of those habits of order which are produced by a state of long-continued civilization. The business of government could not be transacted without money, and many vain efforts were made by the ministry to procure it. At length M. Neckar was driven to the desperate resource of proposing a compulsory loan, by which every individual possessed of property was to advance to the state a sum equal to one-fourth of his annual income. This bold but

unwise proposition was supported by Mirabeau, and adopted by the assembly; but it does not appear to have ever been effectually executed.

In the meantime the assembly was busily occupied in framing the celebrated declaration of the Rights of Man, which was afterwards prefixed to the new constitution; and this was followed by the discussion of a point of much delicacy and difficulty, namely, what share of legislative authority the king ought to possess under the new constitution, whether an absolute veto or negative, a suspensive veto, or no veto at all. This question operated like a touchstone for trying the sentiments of every person; and the assembly, consisting of twelve hundred men was now seen to arrange itself into two factions, which soon came into violent conflict.

The month of August was spent in the debates about the veto; but in the beginning of September a new constitutional question was presented to the assembly by one of its numerous committees. This was, whether the legislative body should consist of one or of two chambers. Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, Clermont-Tonnerre, and others, who were zealous lovers of freedom upon moderate principles, supported eagerly the idea of establishing two independent chambers, in imitation of the British constitution; but they were deserted both by the democratic and the aristocratic parties. Accordingly, of a thousand members who voted, only eighty-nine supported the proposal for dividing the legislature into two chambers.

On the first of October the *gardes du corps*, probably for the purpose of ingratiating themselves with the newly-arrived corps, and perhaps to attach them more steadily to the royal cause, invited the officers of the regiment of Flanders to a public entertainment at Versailles; and several officers of the national guard, and others of the military, were also invited. The entertainment was given in the opera-house adjoining to the palace, and several loyal toasts were drunk; but it is asserted that when the

favorite popular toast, The Nation, was given, the *gardes du corps* refused to drink it. In ordinary cases, so trifling a circumstance as this would be regarded as unworthy of notice; but such was now the position of affairs, that the most trivial occurrences became instrumental in producing important consequences. The queen, having seen from a window of the palace the gaiety which prevailed amongst the military, prevailed on the king, who had just returned from hunting, to visit them in company with herself and the dauphin. The sudden appearance of their majesties in the saloon kindled in an instant the ancient enthusiasm of French loyalty. The grenadiers of the regiment of Flanders, along with the Swiss chasseurs, had been admitted to the dessert; and they, as well as their officers, drank the health of the king, queen, and dauphin, with their swords drawn. The royal family then bowed to the company and retired. As they withdrew, the music played the favorite air, *O Richard, O mon roi, l'univers t'abandonne*; and, in the enthusiasm of the moment, the national cockade was thrown aside, and white cockades mounted as fast as they could be made by the ladies of the court. When these circumstances were next day reported in Paris, with the usual amount of exaggeration, they gave rise to the most violent alarm. The capital was at that time suffering all the horrors of famine; and in such a situation, the news of a feast enjoyed by others seldom gives much pleasure to hungry men. A rumor of an intended flight on the part of the royal family was also got up. It was also asserted that a counter revolution was speedily to be attempted by force of arms; and the people were told that the present scarcity had been artificially created by the court for the purpose of reducing them to submission.

For several days no notice was taken in the assembly of what had passed at the entertainment given by the *gardes du corps*; but on the 5th of October Pétion mentioned it for the first time, and a violent debate

ensued, during which Mirabeau rose and exclaimed, "Declare that the king's person alone is sacred, and I myself will bring forward an impeachment;" thereby alluding to the conduct of the queen. During this debate at Versailles, Paris was in the most violent commotion. A vast multitude of women of the lowest rank, with some men in women's clothes, having assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, they resolved to proceed instantly to Versailles, to demand bread from the king and from the National Assembly. Lafayette in vain opposed them; for his soldiers refused to turn their bayonets against the women. Upon this, Stanislaus Maillard, who had distinguished himself at the taking of the Bastille, having offered himself as leader of the insurgents, had the address to prevail on them to lay aside the arms which they had procured; and about noon he set out for Versailles, having established as much order amongst his followers as could well be expected in such a motley assemblage. The mayor and municipality of Paris also gave orders to Lafayette instantly to set out for that place at the head of the national guard.

In the mean time, Maillard approached Versailles with his tumultuous band, which he had arranged in three divisions, and persuaded to behave with tolerable decency. The king was hunting in the woods of Mendon when he was informed of the arrival of a formidable band of women calling aloud for bread. "Alas," replied he, "if I had it, I should not wait to be *asked*." Maillard entered the assembly, accompanied by a deputation of his followers, to state the object of their journey; and, in order to pacify them, that body sent a deputation of their own number along with them to lay their complaints before the king. His majesty received them with great politeness, and readily agreed to go into any measures which could be suggested for the supply of the capital. The report of this gracious conduct produced a great effect upon the multitude collected around the palace, and they began

to disperse; but they were speedily succeeded by another crowd not less numerous. A sudden resolution to fly seems now to have been proposed by the court, as the king's carriages were brought to the gate of the palace which communicates with the orangery; but the national guard of Versailles refused to allow them to pass, and the king himself declined to remove, or to permit any blood to be shed in his cause.

At length Lafayette with his army arrived about ten o'clock at night, and found the assembly in a very unpleasant predicament, their halls and galleries being crowded by the Parisian fishwomen and others of the mob, who at every instant interrupted the debates. Lafayette waited upon the king and informed him of the proceedings of the day; planted guards in every direction; and, after a scanty banquet had been procured for the multitude, prevailed with the assembly to close their sitting for the night. All remained tranquil, however, until about six in the morning of the 6th, when a great number of women and desperate persons rushed towards the palace, and attempted to force their way into it. Two of the *gardes du corps* were killed, and the crowd ascended the staircase leading to the queen's apartment, but were bravely resisted by a sentinel named Miemandre, who gave the alarm, and defended his post until he fell covered with wounds, from which, however, he afterwards recovered. The ruffians, reeking with blood, rushed into the chamber of the queen, and pierced with bayonets and poniards the bed whence she had scarcely had time to fly almost wholly undressed, and through passages unknown to the murderers, escape to seek refuge at the feet of the king, who, already alarmed, had gone to seek her. The tumult became every moment more violent, and sudden death seemed to threaten the royal family; but Lafayette was by this time at the head of his troops, whom he earnestly beseeched to save the *gardes du corps* from massacre, and in this he was happily successful. Some who had

been taken prisoners were surrounded by the grenadiers of the French guards, who protected them, and the retreat of the whole corps was secured. The crowd was speedily driven from the different parts of the palace, which they had already begun to pillage, and the royal family at length ventured to show themselves at a balcony. A few voices now exclaimed, *Le roi à Paris* (the king to Paris); the shout became general; and the king, after consulting with Lafayette, declared that he had no objection to take up his residence at Paris, provided he was accompanied by the queen and his children. When this proposal was reported to the assembly, the popular leaders expressed much satisfaction; they ordered a deputation of a hundred members to attend the king thither, and voted the National Assembly inseparable from the king. At two o'clock his majesty set out a prisoner in the custody of a turbulent mob; and, thus humbled, the royal captives were conducted so slowly that a short journey of twelve miles was protracted during six hours. The king, the queen, and their children, were lodged in the old palace of the Louvre, whilst Monsieur went to reside at the Luxembourg; the city was illuminated, and the evening spent in triumph by the Parisians.

The National Assembly being now in tolerable security, proceeded with the arduous task of framing a free constitution for the kingdom of France. The Abbé Sieyès presented a plan for dividing the kingdom into eighty-three departments, of about three hundred and twenty-four square leagues each, the departments into several *arrondissements*, or districts, and the district into *communes* or cantons, of about four square leagues in extent. Thus all the ancient divisions of the kingdom into governments, generalities, and bailiwicks, was in an instant overturned. An attempt was also made to simplify in an equal degree the relative situation of individuals in civil life, by a decree which put an end to all distinction of orders and immunities, as far as privileges were

concerned. A bold and important measure was at the same time adopted, namely, the confiscation of the whole lands belonging to the church, for the purpose of supplying the exigencies of the state.

But proceedings in which the interests of so great a multitude of individuals were involved, could not be carried into effect without opposition. The parliaments in particular exerted themselves, by protests and other publications, to invalidate the decrees of the assembly; but these privileged bodies, after a few fruitless struggles, were all of them under the necessity of submitting to their fate. The assembly then proceeded to organize the kingdom by the establishment of municipalities, and by reforming the jurisprudence of the country.

During the whole of this winter the king had been so strictly watched by numerous guards placed around his palace, that in other nations he was naturally considered as in a state of captivity. To do away with this impression, if possible, and to make the king appear a voluntary agent in the measures which had lately been adopted, every effort was employed to prevail on him to repair to the assembly, and there, as of his own voluntary motion, to declare his adherence to the measures in question. For some time, however, he resisted the proposal to take such a step; but at length, on the 4th of February, he suddenly appeared in the National Assembly, where he complained of the attempts which had been made to shake the new constitution, and declared his wish that it should be universally known that the monarch and the representatives of the nation were united, and their wishes the same. This declaration dispirited the aristocratical party, and increased the unhappy tendency to look for aid from foreign countries, which they had always been too prone to indulge. On the 13th of February, monastic establishments were suppressed, and their lands confiscated; but the inmates of these establishments were allowed pensions for their subsistence, and permitted to continue the

observance of their monastic vows if they thought fit to do so.

Upon the 14th of May M. de Montmorancy having made known to the National Assembly the preparations for war in which England and Spain were engaged, this communication gave rise to the constitutional question, who ought to possess the power of declaring war and making peace? Clermont Tonnerre, Sarent, Virieu, and Dupont supported the royal prerogative; whilst, on the other side, the exclusive right of the legislative body to exercise this important prerogative was supported by D'Aiguillon, Garat, Fréteau, Jellot, Charles Lameth, Sillery, Petion, Robespierre, and others. Petion proposed that the French nation should forever renounce all idea of conquest, and confine itself entirely to defensive war; and this was decreed with universal acclamation. But Mirabeau at length successfully proposed that the right of declaring war or making peace should be vested in the king and the legislative body conjunctly; and the decree which was passed on the subject formed a strange farrago of contradictions and absurdities.

On the 16th of June a very singular farce was enacted in the assembly. A Prussian refugee, called Anacharsis Clootz, on an evening sitting, which was generally ill attended by persons of high rank, introduced to the assembly a number of persons dressed in the habits of all the different countries that could be thought of; and in a formal harangue told them that he was come, as the orator of the human race, at the head of the representatives of all nations, to congratulate them upon the formation of their new constitution. He was answered by the president with much solemnity, upon which he retired with his motley group. This fantastical piece of folly, which in any other country would scarcely have excited a smile, was treated by the assembly in a serious light. Alexander Lameth proposed that the figures of different nations exhibited in chains at the feet of Louis XIV. should be destroyed, as an insult to mankind. M. Lambel, a lawyer, then proposed the abo-

lition of all hereditary titles ; and in this he was supported by Lafayette, St. Fargeau, and the Viscount de Noailles. The decree passed, along with another for suppressing all armorial bearings.

In the mean time, the capital was entirely engrossed with preparations for a grand festival. M. Bailly having proposd to commemorate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, his plan was adopted, because it flattered the vanity of the people, by presenting them with a splendid spectacle in commemoration of their own exertions. As the army had been much disorganized, it was also resolved to attempt to unite all its branches, as well as the whole departments of the state, in one common attachment to the new order of things, by collecting into one place deputations for the purpose of swearing fidelity to the new constitution. In the middle of the Champ de Mars an altar was erected, at which the civic oath was to be taken ; and around the altar an amphitheatre was erected capable of containing four hundred thousand spectators. All ranks of persons, the nobility, clergy, and even ladies, with that eagerness for novelty which is so peculiar to the French people, united their efforts ; and crowds of foreigners, as well as natives, hurried to the capital to be present at this solemnity, which was denominated the Confederation. The long-expected 14th of July at length arrived. At six o'clock in the morning the procession was arranged on the Boulevards, and consisted of the electors of the city of Paris, the representatives of the commons, the administrators of the municipality, a battalion of children with a standard, on which was inscribed, "The Hopes of the Nation ;" deputies from the troops of France, wherever quartered, and of every order, along with deputies from all the departments ; to which were added immense detachments of the military and of the national guards, with an almost infinite multitude of drums, trumpets, and musical instruments. The procession was extremely splendid, as every district had its peculiar decorations. The National As-

sembly passed through a triumphal arch ; and the king and queen, attended by the foreign ministers, were placed in a superb box. After a solemn invocation to God, the king approached the altar, and amidst the deepest silence, took the prescribed oath to employ the power delegated to him according to the constitutional law of the state, to maintain the constitution, and to enforce the execution of the law. The president of the National Assembly then went up to the altar, and took the civic oath, swearing to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain the constitution as decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the king ; and every member of the assembly standing up, said, "That I swear." Lafayette then advanced and took the oath, which the other deputies of the national guards pronounced after him ; and the words were solemnly pronounced by every individual of this immense assembly. *Te Deum* was then sung, and the solemnity concluded. The performance was altogether sublime. Never before perhaps was there such an orchestra, or such an audience ; their numbers baffled the eye to reckon, and their shouts fell on the ear like the noise of many waters. It is impossible to enumerate all the means which were employed to add splendor to this day ; it ended with a general illumination, and no accident disturbed the public tranquillity.

As Neckar was unwilling to go all lengths with the ruling party, his popularity had for some time been gradually declining. He therefore tendered his resignation on the 4th of September, and immediately thereafter left the kingdom. The assembly commenced the year 1791 with a decree announcing the termination of its session, which was to take place as soon as it should have finished the discussion of a list of constitutional articles. In the mean time, hostile appearances began to be exhibited on the side of Germany, Spain, Italy, and Savoy, and bodies of troops advanced towards the French frontiers. The Emperor Leopold was, however, too cautious to announce his intentions,

and the king soon communicated a letter which he had received from that potentate, containing protestations of amicable dispositions, but adding, that the innovations occasioned by the decrees of the 4th of August ought to be done away. The king treated this merely as an official measure on the part of the emperor, in order that he might not appear to compensate the claims of certain German princes on Alsace and Lorraine. But the assembly expressed some alarm, and voted an augmentation of the national force. Towards the end of the month of March, the National Assembly was deprived by death of its most gifted member, and, in one sense, greatest ornament, Mirabeau. The death of this extraordinary man had in it something sublime. Though sensible of his approaching dissolution, he was so far from being intimidated by the prospect, that he gloried in the name which he was to bequeath to posterity. Towards the close of his illness his sufferings were acute; and at one moment, when deprived of the power of speech, he wrote on a slip of paper the words of Hamlet, "To die, to sleep; no more." But a few hours before his death the commencement of mortification relieved his sufferings, without overclouding the brightness of his faculties. "Remove from the bed," said he, "all that sad apparatus. Instead of these useless precautions, surround me with perfumes and flowers of spring; dress my hair with care; let me fall asleep amidst the sounds of harmonious music." Aware that recovery was hopeless, he earnestly implored his attendants to give him laudanum, to put a period to his sufferings. "When a sick man is given over," said he, "and he suffers frightful pains, can a friendly physician refuse to give him opium?" His extremities were already cold, and death was fast doing its work; but his countenance still retained its animation, his eye its wonted fire, his mind its energies unimpaired. Feigning to comply with his request, his attendants gave him a cup containing what they assured him was opium. He drank it calmly, fell

back on his pillow, and almost instantly expired. At his death he received from his countrymen marks of respect unparalleled in modern history. During his short illness his door was besieged by anxious citizens. A mourning of eight days was decreed by the assembly, and also a grand procession, which was attended by all the public functionaries.

During the whole of this spring great fear was entertained that attempts were to be made to bring about a counter revolution. The emigrant army under the Prince of Condé had assembled on the borders of Alsace. The king also was surrounded by crowds of nonjuring priests, and other disaffected persons. The popular jealousy, which in every period of the Revolution strikingly marked the French character, was thus kept on the alarm, and soon vented itself in an aggression on the royal family. On the 18th of April, when the latter were preparing to remove to St Cloud, there to pass some days, a report was instantly spread that the king was about to fly from the country. The carriages were immediately surrounded by people. Lafayette called out the national guard, but they refused to act. The king instantly went to the assembly, and with much spirit complained of the insult. He was answered respectfully by the president, and permitted to continue his journey. As the royal family had enjoyed for some time a considerable degree of freedom, the present opportunity was embraced to intimate to foreign courts his acceptance of the constitution; and all obnoxious persons were dismissed from about his person. But the breach of discipline on the part of the national guard was so much resented by Lafayette, that he resigned his command, and Paris was thrown into consternation; not was it until after universal solicitation that he could be prevailed upon to resume his functions.

About this time M. de Bouillé, to whom the protection of the frontiers had been intrusted, was reported to be employing every

means in his power in order to render the country defenceless. Such were the rumors in circulation, when suddenly, on the 21st of June, it was announced from the Tuilleries, that the king, the queen, the dauphin, with monsieur and madame, had quitted the palace and the capital, without leaving any information of their intention or their route. The feeling excited by this intelligence among the multitude was a mixture of rage and consternation. The National Assembly, however, acted with much coolness and promptitude. They instantly took upon themselves the government, and decreed their sittings permanent; and they at the same time sent messengers in all directions, to attempt to lay hold of the fugitives. The latter, however, had taken different routes; and monsieur and madame arrived safely at Brussels on the 23d. The king, queen, and their children, when they reached a considerable distance from the capital, were furnished by M. de Bouillé with a guard of dragoons, under pretence of protecting treasure for the pay of the troops. But, at the distance of 156 miles from the capital, and when only a few leagues from the frontier, they were arrested at St. Menesbould by the postmaster, M. Drouet, formerly a dragoon in the regiment of Condé. The flight of the king seemed the signal for a general emigration. Many of the aristocratic party sent in resignations of their seats in the National Assembly; and troops were levied on the frontiers in the name of the king, though he took care to disavow any connection with such proceedings.

The assembly, in sanctioning the detention of the king at Varennes, and sending commissioners to bring him back to Paris, yielded to popular clamor, in opposition probably to their better judgment. "The National Assembly," says Napoleon, "never committed so great an error as in bringing back the king from Varennes. A fugitive and powerless, he was hastening to the frontier, and in a few hours would have been out of the French territory. What should they

have done in these circumstances? Clearly facilitated his escape, and declared the throne vacant by his desertion: they would thus have avoided the infamy of a regicide government, and attained their great object of republican institutions. Instead of this, by bringing him back, they embarrassed themselves with a sovereign whom they had no just reason for destroying, and lost the inestimable advantage of getting rid of the royal family without an act of cruelty." In the truth and justice of these observations history must acquiesce.

A considerable calm followed the events just related, and France might most be regarded as in a state of tranquillity. But this calm was delusive; and in the midst of it projects were formed which were destined afterwards to prove fatal to the peace of France and Europe. Towards the close of summer the famous meeting at Pilnitz in Saxony took place between the emperor and the king of Prussia, and led to the celebrated declaration, which was conceived in the following terms: "Their majesties, the emperor, and king of Prussia, having considered the representations of monsieur, brother of the king, and of his excellency the Count d'Artois, declare conjointly that they consider the situation of the king of France as a matter of common interest to all the European sovereigns. They hope that the reality of that interest will be duly appreciated by the other powers, whose assistance they will invoke, and that in consequence they will not decline to employ their forces conjointly with their majesties, in order to put the king of France in a situation to lay the foundation of a monarchical government, conformable alike to the rights of sovereigns and the well-being of the French nation. In that case the emperor and king are resolved to act promptly with the forces necessary to attain their common end. In the mean time they will give the requisite orders for the troops to hold themselves in immediate readiness for active service." Such was the celebrated declaration of Pilnitz; but, either

from a cooling of zeal upon the part of the allied sovereigns, or a sense of the danger which the king of France would have run, after he had, in consequence of the flight to Varennes, become a prisoner in the hands of the assembly, it remained without effect. It was alleged by the French, however, that there was a treaty as well as a declaration of Pilnitz, or, in other words, that several secret articles, stipulating the partition of some of the fairest provinces of France, were at the same time agreed to by the allied sovereigns; but no sufficient evidence has ever been produced to substantiate the allegation, and it is now indeed generally agreed that there was no such thing as a treaty of Pilnitz.

In the mean time, the National Assembly was hastening towards the completion of the new constitution, which was finished on the 3d of September, and immediately presented to the king. It begins with a declaration of the rights of man; this is followed by the provisions regarding other matters. The kingdom is one and indivisible; its territory for administration is distributed into eighty-three departments, each department into districts, each district into cantons. The sovereignty is one, indivisible, unalienable, and imprescriptible, and it belongs to the nation; no section of the people, and no individual, can arrogate the exercise of it. The nation, from which alone flow all powers, cannot exercise them but by delegation. The French constitution is representative, and the representatives are the legislative body and the king. The National Assembly, forming the legislative body, is permanent, and consists of one chamber only. It shall be formed by new elections every two years. The legislative body cannot be dissolved by the king.

The representatives shall be distributed among the departments, according to the three proportions of land, of population, and of the direct contributions of taxes. In order to form a Legislative National Assembly, the active citizens shall convene, in primary assemblies, every two years in the cities and cantons. The royalty is indivisible, and del-

egated hereditarily to the race on the throne, from male to male, by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of women and their descendants. Nothing is prejudged as to the effect of renunciations in the race on the throne. The person of the king is inviolable and sacred; his only title is King of the French. If the king put himself at the head of an army, and direct the forces of it against the nation, or if he do not oppose, by a formal act, any such enterprise undertaken in his name, he shall be held to have abdicated. If the king, having gone out of the kingdom, do not return to it, after an invitation by the legislative body, within the space which shall be fixed by the proclamation, and which cannot be less than two months, he shall be held to have abdicated the royalty. After abdication, express or legal, the king shall be in the class of citizens, and may be accused and tried like them for acts posterior to his abdication. To the king alone belong the choice and dismissal of ministers.

The constitution delegates exclusively to the legislative body the powers and functions following: To propose and decree laws, as the king can only invite the legislative body to take a subject into consideration; to fix the public expenses; to establish the public contributions; to determine the nature of them, the amount of each sort, the duration, mode of collection, and so forth. War cannot be resolved on except by a decree of the National Assembly, passed on the formal and necessary proposition of the king, and sanctioned by him. It belongs to the legislative body to ratify treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; and no treaty shall have effect but by this ratification.

The decrees of the legislative body are presented to the king, who may refuse them his consent. In case of a refusal of the royal consent, that refusal is only suspensive. When the two following legislatures shall successively present the same decree in the same terms in which it was originally conceived, the king shall be deemed to have given his sanction.

The supreme executive power resides exclusively in the hands of the king. The king is the supreme head of the land and sea forces. He names ambassadors, and the other agents of political negotiations. He bestows the command of armies and fleets, and the ranks of marshal of France and admiral. There is in each department a superior administration, and in each district a subordinate administration. The administrators are specially charged with distributing the direct contributions, and with superintending the money arising from the contributions, and the public revenues in their territory. The king has the right of annulling such acts of the administrators of department as are contrary to the law or the orders transmitted to them; and he may, in case of obstinate disobedience, or of their endangering, by their acts, the safety or peace of the public, suspend them from their functions. The king alone can interfere in foreign political connections. Every declaration of war shall be made in these terms: "By the king of the French, in the name of the nation." The judicial power can in no case be exercised either by the legislative body or the king. Justice shall be gratuitously administered by judges chosen from time to time by the people, and instituted by letters-patent of the king, who cannot refuse them. The public accuser shall be nominated by the people. The right of citizens to determine disputes definitively by arbitration, cannot receive any infringement from the acts of the legislative power. In criminal matters, no citizens can be judged except on an accusation received by jurors, or decreed by the legislative body in the case in which it belongs to it to prosecute the accusation. After the accusation shall be admitted, the facts shall be examined and declared by the jurors. No man acquitted by a legal jury can be apprehended or accused on account of the same fact.

Public contributions shall be debated and fixed every year by the legislative body, and cannot continue in force longer than the last day of the following session, if not renewed.

The French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with the view of making conquests, and will never employ its forces against the liberty of any people.

The French colonies and possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, though they form part of the French empire are not included in this constitution.

On the 13th of September the king announced, by a letter to the president of the assembly, his acceptance of this constitution, which, however defective in some points, is based upon solid principles of liberty; and the event was ordered to be notified to all the foreign courts, whilst the assembly decreed a general amnesty with respect to the events of the Revolution. On the following day the king repaired in person to the National Assembly; and being conducted to a chair of state prepared for him by the side of the president, he signed the constitutional act, and took an oath to maintain it. He then withdrew, and was attended back to the Tuilleries by the whole assembly, with the president at their head. On the 30th of September, the National, which has since been known by the name of the Constituent Assembly, dissolved itself, and gave place to the Legislative National Assembly, which had been elected according to the rules prescribed in the new constitution.

The new assembly was opened by the king in person on the 7th of October, in a speech recommending unanimity and confidence between the legislative and the executive powers, which speech was received with unbounded applause. The character of the men who composed the new National Assembly was inauspicious to the court, for it was chiefly composed of country gentlemen of principles highly democratic, or of men of letters, who had published popular books or conducted periodical publications; and as the members of the Constituent Assembly had by their own act excluded themselves from holding seats in the Legislative Assembly, the members of the latter entertained but little regard for a constitution which

they themselves had not framed, and which was not protected by the sanction of antiquity.

When this assembly first met, it showed much attention to formalities, and an extreme jealousy of the ministers of the crown; and, as the treaty of Pilnitz now began to be rumored abroad, France was thrown into a state of great anxiety for the safety of its newly-acquired liberties. Although the Prussians and Germans still continued to temporize, Sweden and Russia had entered into strict engagements to restore the old despotism of France. Accordingly, on the 9th of November a decree was passed, by which it was provided that the emigrants who, after the first of January, 1792, should be found assembled in a hostile manner beyond the frontiers, should be considered as guilty of a conspiracy, and suffer death; and that the French princes and public functionaries who should not return before that period, should be punishable in the same manner, and their property forfeited during their lives. On the 18th a number of severe decrees were also passed against such of the ejected clergy as still refused to take the civic oath. But to all these the king opposed his *veto*, or negative. The moderate party, who were attached to the constitution, rejoiced at this, as a proof of the freedom of the sovereign; but, on the other hand, it raised a violent clamor, and became the means of exciting new suspicions against the court. About this time answers from the different foreign courts to the notification sent them of the king having accepted the new constitution were received. These were generally conceived in a style of great caution, and avoided employing language calculated to produce irritation. The emperor even prohibited all assemblages of emigrants within his states; and Louis intimated to the assembly that he had declared to the elector of Treves, that unless the emigrants ceased before the 15th of January to make hostile preparations within his territories, he would be considered as the enemy of France.

All this, however, did not serve to allay suspicion; for although the different foreign courts had openly declared pacific intentions, yet the French emigrants boldly asserted that all Europe was actually arming in their favor, and accordingly ceased not to solicit such of their friends as still remained within the country to leave it and join them in what they called the royal cause.

At this period the moderate men, friends of the constitution, attempted to counteract the influence of the Jacobin Club by the establishment of a similar one. This new club derived its name from the vacant convent of the Feuillants, in which it assembled; and the most active members of the Constituent Assembly belonged to it. But the Jacobins contrived to excite a riot at the place of their meeting, which was in the vicinity of the hall of the National Assembly; and this afforded a pretext for applying to the assembly for the removal of the new club. The assembly complied with the request, and thereby evinced its favorable disposition towards the Jacobins.

At the close of the year 1791, the kingdom of France was by no means in a prosperous state. The public revenue had fallen far short of the expenditure; the emigrant nobility had carried out of the kingdom the greater part of the current coin; and a variety of manufacturers, who depended upon their ostentatious luxury, were reduced to much distress. The dispositions of foreign courts appeared at best doubtful. The year 1792, however, opened with a delusive prospect of tranquillity. The German princes seemed to be satisfied with the mode of compensation which the French had offered for the loss of their possessions in Alsace and Lorraine; the Prince of Lowenstein accepted of an indemnification; the Princes of Hohenlohe and Salm-Salm declared themselves ready to treat upon the same terms; whilst Prince Maximilian, and the Dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux-Ponts, also negotiated an arrangement. It is unnecessary to state in detail the subterfuges employed by

Leopold for amusing the French with the appearances of peace. To these, and probably also to the undecided character of Louis, M. Delessart, minister of foreign affairs, fell a sacrifice. He was accused by Brissot of not having given timely notice to the National Assembly of the dispositions of foreign powers, and of not pressing proper measures for securing the honor and safety of the nation; a decree of accusation was passed against him in his absence; and having been apprehended, tried by the high court at Orleans, and convicted, he was executed in virtue of its sentence.

The unexpected death of Leopold on the first of March gave rise to a transient hope that peace might still be preserved. On the 16th of the same month the King of Sweden was assassinated. The sudden fall of these two enemies, however, rather accelerated than retarded the meditated hostilities. The young king of Hungary, who succeeded to the empire, made no secret either of his own intentions or of the existence of a concert of princes against France. The Jacobins were all-powerful, and the court gave way to the torrent. The property of the emigrants was confiscated, reserving only the rights of creditors. Meanwhile the imperial minister, Prince Kaunitz, demanded three things of France: first, the restitution of all their feudal rights to the German princes; secondly, the restoration of Avignon to the pope, the inhabitants of which had some time previously thrown off their allegiance, and prevailed with the Constituent Assembly to receive their country as part of France; and lastly, a guarantee that the neighboring powers should have no reason for apprehension from the present weakness of the internal government of France. On receiving these demands, the king proposed a declaration of war, which, on the 20th of April, was accordingly decreed by the National Assembly against the King of Hungary and Bohemia.

The French immediately began the contest, by attacking in three different columns

the Austrian Netherlands. Dillon advanced from Lisle to Tournay, where he found a strong body of Austrians ready to receive him. But the national force, unaccustomed to sustain the fire of regular troops, were instantly thrown into confusion, and fled even to the gates of Lisle. The cry of treason resounded on all sides; and their commander, an experienced and faithful officer, was murdered by his own soldiers and the mob. A second division of ten thousand men, under General Biron, took possession of Quivrain on the 29th, and marched towards Mons, at which place he was attacked by the Austrians, whom he repulsed; but hearing of the defeat of Dillon, he retreated. A third division advanced to Furnes, but afterwards withdrew; and Lafayette, who had simultaneously advanced towards Bouvines, half way to Namur, was also obliged to retire. All these expeditions were ill contrived, inasmuch as they divided the French undisciplined troops, and exposed them in small bodies to the attack of veteran forces. Some time elapsed before the Austrians attempted to retaliate. At length, however, on the 11th of June, they attacked Gouvion, who commanded the advanced guard of Lafayette's army, near Maubeuge; but Lafayette having come to his assistance, the Austrians abandoned the field.

In the mean time, matters were hastening towards a violent crisis in Paris. Two parties, both equally hostile to the present constitution, had been gradually formed, one of which wished to give more effectual support to the royal authority, by establishing a senate, to prevent the king's vote from being the sole check upon popular enthusiasm; whilst the other desired to set aside royalty altogether, and to hazard the perilous experiment of converting France into a republic. These last were supported by the Jacobin Club, which had now contrived to concentrate within itself an immense mass of influence. At this time the king seems to have come to a resolution of making a stand against the Jacobin party, to which he had

for some time yielded. With the exception of Dumouriez, therefore, the ministry were dismissed, and others appointed in their stead. Dumouriez lost the confidence of the Jacobin Club, in consequence of the exception in his favor; but he saw his error, resigned his office, and immediately joined the army. In the mean time a decree had been passed, authorizing the manufactory of pikes for the purpose of arming cheaply the lower class of citizens. Attempts were also made, by means of inflammatory writings and harangues, to render the king odious; and in both ways Marat, who afterwards acquired such infamous notoriety, appears to have taken the lead.

On the 20th of June, Roederer, the procureur-general, informed the assembly that, contrary to law, formidable bodies of armed men were preparing to present petitions to the king and to the assembly; and part of them speedily made their appearance, with St. Huruge, and Santerre, a brewer, at their head. They marched through the hall in a procession which lasted two hours, and to the number of about forty thousand. They then surrounded the Tuilleries, the gates of which were thrown open; and on an attempt to break open the door of the apartment where the king was, he ordered them to be admitted. During the four or five hours that he was surrounded by the multitude, and compelled to listen to every indignity, his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, never departed from his side. All this time Petion, the mayor of Paris, was most unaccountably absent; but at length he arrived at the palace, as did also a deputation from the assembly. The queen, with her children and the Princess de Lamballe, were in the mean while in the council-chamber, where, though protected from violence, they were nevertheless exposed to insult. At last, on the approach of evening, the multitude, yielding to the entreaties of Petion, gradually dispersed. The indignities suffered by the royal family on this occasion were in some respects not unfavorable to their cause. The respectable inhabitants of

the capital, ashamed of such proceedings, complained of them in a petition which they presented to the assembly; and addresses to the same purpose were received from several departments. The directory of the department of Paris, at the head of which were M. Rochefoucault and M. Talleyrand, published a declaration, disapproving of the conduct of the mayor, and of Manuel, the procureur of the commune, whom they afterwards suspended from their offices, to which, however, the delinquents were speedily restored by a decree of the assembly. About the same time Lafayette having suddenly quitted the army, appeared at the bar of the assembly, where he declared that he came to express the indignation with which the whole army regarded the events of the 20th, and called upon the assembly to punish the promoters of these excesses, and to dissolve the factious clubs. The sudden appearance of Lafayette threw the Jacobins into consternation, and from that period they never ceased to calumniate him.

On the 1st of July the assembly, on the motion of Jean de Brie, ordered a proclamation to be issued that the country was in danger; and on the 6th, Louis intimated that the king of Prussia was marching with fifty-two thousand men to operate against France. The French armies had about this time obtained some successes in the Austrian Netherlands; but the cabinet thought it necessary to order them to retreat, a measure which was afterwards publicly censured by Marshal Luckner.

On the 25th of July, the Duke of Brunswick issued at Coblenz his celebrated manifesto. It declared that the purpose of the intended invasion of France was to restore the French king to full authority; held the national guard responsible for the preservation of tranquillity; and threatened with the punishment of death, as rebels to their king, all those who should appear in arms against the allied powers. It was added, that if the royal family was not immediately placed in safety, the allies were resolved to inflict

upon those who should deserve it the most exemplary and ever memorable punishment, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the same vengeance was denounced against all those who should be guilty of what was called illegal resistance. This sanguinary and imprudent manifesto operated almost as a warrant for the destruction of the unfortunate Louis XVI. It left no middle party in the nation. All who wished to preserve freedom in any form, and all who loved the independence of their country, were instantly united. The reproaches cast upon the king by the Jacobins now gained universal credit. The republican party saw at once this advantage which they had gained, and resolved on the deposition of the king. The chief engine which they meant to employ in this service consisted of about fifteen hundred men, who had come to Paris at the period of the confederation on the 14th of July, hence called *Fédérés*, and who were also sometimes denominated *Marseillois*, from the place which had sent the greater number; and next to these, dependence was placed upon the populace of the suburbs of the capital. The designs of the republicans were not unknown to the court, and both parties now formed their plans of operation. The royal party intended, it is said, that the king and his family should suddenly leave the capital, and proceed to as great a distance as the constitution permitted; whilst the republicans, on the other hand, are alleged to have meditated seizing the person of the king, and confining him in the castle at Vincennes until a national convention should decide upon his fate.

Various charges had at different times been brought forward in the assembly against Lafayette, and the 8th of August was appointed for their discussion. In the meantime, on the 3d of August, Petion, the mayor, at the head of a deputation from the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar, and formally demanded the deposition of the king. The

discussion of the accusation against Lafayette was considered as a trial of strength between the parties; but he was acquitted by a majority of nearly two hundred; and the republican party, despairing of carrying their point by a vote of the assembly, resolved to have recourse to the bolder experiment of insurrection.

On the evening of the 9th, about fifteen hundred gentlemen, officers of the army, and others, repaired to the palace, resolved to protect the royal family, or to die in their defence; and besides these, there were within its walls seven hundred Swiss guards, with a body of cavalry amounting to about a thousand. Mandat, the commander of the national guards, a man firmly attached to the constitution, had also procured two thousand four hundred of that body, with twelve pieces of cannon. Meanwhile, the assembly declared its sittings permanent. Petion was at the palace late in the evening of the 9th; and as some apprehensions were entertained, or pretended to be entertained, for his safety, a deputation from the assembly brought him away. At midnight the tocsin was sounded, and the drums beat to arms throughout the city, when a number of the most active leaders of the republican party assembled, and elected a new common council. The persons thus irregularly chosen instantly took possession of the common-hall, and drove out the lawful members. The new council then sent repeated messages to Mandat, requiring his attendance upon important business. He was occupied in arranging the troops around the palace; but suspecting nothing, he went to the common-hall, and was there astonished to find a different assembly from that which he expected to meet there. He was abruptly accused of a plot to massacre the people, and ordered to prison; but as he descended the stairs he was shot through the head with a pistol, and Santerre appointed in his stead to command the national guard. In the palace all was anxiety and alarm.

About six o'clock in the morning of the 10th the king descended into the gardens to

review the troops. He was received with shouts of *Vive le roi*, excepting from the artillery, who shouted *Vive la nation*. The king returned to the palace, and the multitude continued to assemble. Towards eight o'clock M. Roederer procured admission into the palace, and told the king that armed multitudes were assembling in hostile array around the Tuilleries; that the national guard was not to be depended upon; and that, in the event of resistance, the whole royal family would certainly be massacred. He therefore advised the king to seek protection in the hall of the national assembly; and with this advice the king, with his usual facility of temper, prepared to comply; but the queen vehemently opposed the humiliating proposal. Having, however, become gradually alarmed for the safety of her children, she at length gave her consent; and the king, queen, and Princess Elizabeth, together with the prince and princess royal, went on foot to the hall of the assembly. "I am come hither," said his majesty, "to prevent a great crime. Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." But by an article of the constitution the assembly could not deliberate in presence of the king. The royal family were, therefore, placed in a narrow box separated from the hall by a railing, where they remained during fourteen hours, without having any place where they could retire for refreshment, excepting a small closet adjoining; and here they sat listening to debates in which the royal character and office were treated with every species of contumely and insult.

When the king left the palace of the Tuilleries, he unfortunately forgot to order it to be immediately surrendered. This he recollected as soon as he reached the assembly, and sent orders accordingly; but unhappily it was now too late. The insurgents, amounting to about twenty thousand in number, were drawn up in tolerable order by Westermann, a Prussian by birth, and had with them thirty pieces of cannon. The gentlemen within the palace, who had assembled to

protect the king's person, now became dispirited, and knew not what to do. Afry, the commander of the Swiss, was absent, and the captains were left without orders, whilst, in consequence of the death of Mandat, the national guard had no leader. About nine o'clock the outer gates were forced, and the insurgents formed their line in front of the palace. A bloody combat now commenced, chiefly between the Marseillois and the Swiss. But after a brave resistance of about an hour, the latter were overpowered by numbers, and gave way. All those found in the palace were massacred, some even whilst imploring quarter on their knees; but others escaped into the city, and were protected by individuals. Of this brave regiment only two hundred survived; but every human being, including even the lowest domestics, found within the palace, was put to death. Those of the Swiss who had been made prisoners in various quarters were conducted to the door of the assembly, and, by a decree, taken under the protection of the state; but the sanguinary multitude insisted upon putting them to instant death; and the assembly would, in all probability, have been unable to protect them, had not the Marseillois generously interfered in their favor.

The suspension of the royal authority was now decreed, and the nation invited to elect a convention to determine the nature of the future government. The royal family were sent to the old palace of the Temple, there to remain under a strict guard; and all persons of rank who had been attached to them were seized and committed to different prisons.

As an instance of the temper by which the people of Paris were at this time actuated, it is proper to mention, that at the very moment when the multitude were massacring the menial servants of the palace, and could scarcely be restrained from offering violence to the Swiss who had been made prisoners, they would not suffer on act of pillage to pass unpunished; and several attempts of the kind were instantly followed by the death

of the offenders. The plate, jewels, and money found in the Tuilleries were brought to the National Assembly, and thrown down in the hall; and one man, whose dress and appearance bespoke extreme poverty, cast upon the table a hat full of gold. But the minds of those men were elevated by enthusiasm; and they conceived themselves at the moment the champions of freedom, and objects of terror to the kings of the earth.

In the mean time the situation of France had become extremely critical, and it appeared doubtful if the new Convention would ever be suffered to assemble. Lafayette having accidentally got early notice of the events of the tenth of August, advised the magistrates of the town of Sedan to imprison the commissioners of the National Assembly as soon as they should arrive there; and this was accordingly done. He at the same time published an address to the army, calling upon them to support the king and the constitution; but finding that they were not to be depended upon, he left the camp in the night of the 19th August, accompanied only by his staff and a few servants. The party took the route of Rochefort in Liège, which was a neutral country; but having been met by a small body of the enemy, they were made prisoners, and Lafayette was detained for several years in close confinement. The commissioners arrested at Sedan were soon afterwards set at liberty, and received with applause by the army of Lafayette. General Arthur Dillon at first entered into the sentiments of Lafayette; but Dumouriez diverted him from his purpose, and thus regained his credit with the Jacobins, by whose influence he was appointed commander-in-chief. The other generals, Biron, Montesquieu, Kellerman, and Custines offered no opposition to the will of the National Assembly.

Meanwhile the combined armies of Austria and of Prussia had entered France. The Duke of Brunswick's army was above fifty thousand strong; and General Clairfayt had joined him with fifteen thousand Austrians

and a considerable body of Hessians, besides twenty thousand French emigrants, amounting in all to near ninety thousand men. To oppose these, Dumouriez had only seventeen thousand men collected near the point from which the enemy were approaching in Luxembourg. The French emigrants had given the Duke of Brunswick such an account of the distracted state of the country, and of the alleged disaffection of all orders of men towards the ruling faction in Paris, that no resistance of any importance was expected by him; and, in fact, when the combined forces, consisting either of steady Austrian or Hungarian battalions, or of well-trained Prussians, whom Frederick had inured to the best discipline, were reviewed in Germany before setting out on their march, the spectators, amongst whom the French cause was not unpopular, beheld them with anxiety and regret, pitying the unhappy country against which this irresistible force was to be directed. The officers and soldiers considered themselves as departing for a hunting match, or an excursion of pleasure; and many of the usual accommodations of an army were in consequence but ill attended to. The commencement of their invasion of France justified these expectations. Longwy surrendered after a siege of fifteen hours, although well fortified, possessed of a garrison of near four thousand men, and defended by seventy-one pieces of cannon. Verdun was next summoned, and the governor, M. Beaurepaire, compelled by the municipality to surrender. The news of this second capture, and of the approach of the Prussians, spread consternation throughout Paris; and it was proposed to raise a volunteer army, which should set out immediately to meet the enemy. The municipality, which was now led by Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and others of the most sanguinary character, ordered the alarm guns to be fired, and enjoined the populace to meet in the Champ de Mars to enroll themselves to march against the enemy. The people assembled, and, either in consequence of a premeditated

plan, or, which is not very probable, of an instantaneous movement, a number of voices exclaimed, that the domestic foes of the nation should be destroyed before its foreign enemies were attacked.

Parties of armed men proceeded without delay to the prisons where the nonjuring clergy, the Swiss officers, and those confined since the tenth of August on account of alleged practices against the state, were detained in custody. They took out the prisoners one by one, gave them a kind of mock trial before a jury of their own number, acquitted some few, and murdered the remainder. Amongst these was the Princess de Lamballe, who was taken from bed, dragged before this bloody tribunal, and massacred; after which her head, stuck on a pike, was carried by the populace to the Temple, that it might be seen by her friend the queen. These massacres continued two days, and upwards of a thousand persons were put to death.

In the meantime General Dumouriez was occupied in taking measures to protract the march of the enemy till the army of Kellerman, consisting of about twenty thousand men, could arrive from Lorraine, and that of Bournonville, amounting to thirteen thousand, from Flanders; together with whatever new levies Luckner might be able to send from Chalons. The forest of Argonne, extending from north to south upwards of forty miles, lay directly in the line of march of the Duke of Brunswick, who had either to force his way through it, or to make a circuit of forty miles by the pass of Grandpré on the north, or by Barledeue on the south. The pass which lay most directly in his line of march was that of Biesme. But after examining Dillon's position at this point, the duke left a force of twenty thousand men to observe it, and with the main body of his army took the circuitous route by Grandpré on the north. Here Dumouriez waited to receive him, and was attacked on the 12th and 13th without success; but on the 14th the attack of the Prussians was

irresistible, and Dumouriez abandoned his position. On his retreat he was so closely pressed by the cavalry of the Prussian advanced guard, that his army was seized with a panic, and fled before fifteen hundred horse, who, if they had pushed their advantage, might have entirely dispersed it. On the 15th, however, Dumouriez having encamped at St. Menchould, began to fortify his position, and Bournonville's army joined him on the 17th. The Duke of Brunswick now resolved to attack Kellerman before he could effect his junction with Dumouriez; and, accordingly, on the 19th, when that officer had arrived within a mile of the French camp, the projected attack took place. The Prussians manœuvred with their usual coolness and address; but in an attempt to surround Kellerman's army they were completely foiled, and, in the face of the enemy, Kellerman joined Dumouriez at the close of the action. At the same time that the army of Kellerman was attacked, an attempt was also made to force Dillon's camp at Biesme, by the twenty thousand men who had been left in its vicinity; but the attempt failed, and this large detachment was thus prevented from penetrating the forest of Argonne and joining the Duke of Brunswick.

The Duke of Brunswick now encamped his army at La Lun, near the position of Dumouriez; and here the Prussians began to suffer extreme distress, both from sickness and from famine. No temptation could induce the inhabitants of the country to carry provisions to the hostile camp, whilst at the same time the French army was abundantly supplied; whilst Bournonville, with a body of four thousand men, had intercepted several herds of cattle, and other convoys of provisions destined for the Prussians. The rain fell in torrents, and the roads were uncommonly deep. Exposed to cold and damp, and suffering from want of provisions, the Prussians ate freely of the grapes of Champagne; in consequence of which an epidemical distemper appeared, and spread through the army with such rapidity, that ten thousand

men were at one time unfit for duty. In such a situation a defeat would have brought certain ruin on the Duke of Brunswick's army; and even a victory might in its consequences have proved equally fatal. Accordingly, after proposing a truce for eight days, which was agreed to, he commenced his retreat towards Grandpré, and continued it without molestation. Verdun was retaken by the French on the 12th of October, and Longwy on the 18th; and the siege of Thionville, a small but strong fortress under the command of General Wimpfen, was at the same time raised.

Whilst the Prussians were advancing from the northeast, the Austrians under the Duke of Saxe-Teschen laid siege to Lisle. To the summons of the besiegers the council-general of the commune answered that they had just renewed their oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at their posts, and that they would not perjure themselves. The Austrian batteries opened on the 29th, and were chiefly directed against that quarter of the town which was inhabited by the lower class of citizens, in the hope, no doubt, of exciting disturbance within; but after a fortnight of fruitless labor the Austrians were therefore obliged to raise the siege. Meanwhile war had been declared against the King of Sardinia, whose conduct toward France had for some time assumed a threatening character. On the 20th of September General Montesquieu entered the territories of Savoy, and was received at Chambéry, and throughout the whole country, with marks of unbounded welcome; and on the 29th General Anselm, with another body of troops, took possession of Nice and the surrounding country. On the 30th General Custines advanced to Spire, where, finding the Austrians drawn up in order of battle, he attacked and drove them out of the city, taking three thousand prisoners. The capture of Worms succeeded that of Spire; Mentz surrendered by capitulation; and Frankfort fell into the hands of the French on the 23d. Out of this last

place, however, they were afterwards driven on the 2d of December.

On the 20th of September the French National Convention assembled. This body was found to contain men of all characters, orders, and ranks. Many distinguished members of the Constituent Assembly were returned as members, and several who had belonged to the Legislative Assembly were also elected; whilst even foreigners were invited to become French legislators. Thomas Paine and Dr. Priestley were elected by certain departments; and Clotz, whom we formerly noticed as having appeared at the bar of the Constituent Assembly at the head of a grotesque deputation professing to represent all the nations of the earth, was also chosen. The general aspect of the new Convention showed that the republican party had acquired a decided superiority. On the first day of meeting, Collot-d'Herbois, who had formerly been an actor, ascended the tribune, and proposed the eternal abolition of royalty in France. This proposition was carried by acclamation, after which the house adjourned. Messages were then sent to all parts of the country intimating the decree, and through the influence of the Jacobins these were everywhere received with applause. Next day it was decreed that all public acts should be dated by the year of the French Republic, and every citizen was declared eligible to vacant offices and places. Nor was this all. The rage of republicanism soon proceeded so far that the ordinary titles of Monsieur and Madame were abolished, and the appellation of Citizen substituted in their stead, as more suitable to the principles of liberty and equality.

It was soon discovered that the leading republicans were divided into two opposite factions. The one of these was called Girondists, because Vergniaud, Gensonné, Guadet, and some others of its leaders, were members for the department of the Gironde. The celebrated Condorcet also belonged to this party, which was sometimes denominated Brissotine, from Brissot, their princi-

pal leader. The Girondists supported the ministry now in office, at the head of which was Roland, and the majority of the Convention was obviously attached to him. In opposition to these was the smaller party of the Mountain, so called from its members usually sitting on the upper seats of the hall of the Convention. They were men possessed of less personal respectability, and inferior literary accomplishments, but of daring and sanguinary character. At the head of this party were Danton and Robespierre, and subordinate to these were Couthon, Bazire, Thuriot, Merlin de Thionville, Saint-André, Camille Demoulins, Chabot, Collot-d'Herbois, Sergent, Legendre, Fabre d'Eglantine, Panis, Marat, and others. These two parties evinced the diversity of their characters in the manner in which they treated the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September. The Brissotines, with the majority of the Convention, wished to bring the murderers to trial; but the question was always eluded by the other party, with the assistance of the Jacobin Club and of the populace.

On the 9th of October it was resolved that all emigrants when taken in arms should suffer death; and on the 15th of November, in consequence of an insurrection in the duchy of Deux Ponts, and an application for aid upon the part of the insurgents, a decree was passed, declaring that "the National Convention, acting in name of the French nation, would grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wished to procure liberty;" and charging the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people as had suffered, or were still suffering, in the cause of liberty. Of this decree foreign nations loudly complained, as calculated, if not intended, to provoke insurrection in other states; and in the rupture which subsequently took place between Great Britain and France, it was founded on by the government of the former country as of itself affording a sufficient justification of hostilities, and, in fact, as rendering war

with France a necessary measure of self-defence.

But it is now time to return to the military affairs of the Republic. The final retreat of the allies had left Dumouriez at liberty to carry into execution a project he had long meditated, of invading the Low Countries, rescuing these fine provinces from the Austrian dominion, and thus advancing the frontier of the Republic to the Rhine. He received unlimited powers from the government, and the losses sustained by the allies during their invasion of France gave him a great superiority of force. His right wing consisted of sixteen thousand men, detached from the Argonne Forest, whilst between it and the centre was placed General d'Harville with fourteen thousand; Dumouriez himself commanded the main body, amounting to forty thousand men; and the left wing, under Labourdonnaye, was about thirty thousand strong; in all a hundred thousand men, filled with enthusiasm, and anticipating nothing but victory. To oppose this immense force, the Austrians had only about forty thousand men, who, according to the tactics of the time, were disseminated along an extended line of nearly thirty miles. Their main body, consisting of about eighteen thousand men, was intrenched in a strong position, which had been deliberately chosen by the imperialists, and extended through the villages of Ausmes and Jemmappes to the heights of Berthaimont on the one hand, and the village of Sifly on the other, sweeping over a succession of eminences which commanded the adjacent plain; whilst fourteen redoubts, strengthened by all the resources of art, and armed with a hundred pieces of cannon, seemed amply to compensate for inferiority in point of number. But, formidable as this position undoubtedly was, Dumouriez resolved to assault it, and to make trial of the new system of accumulating masses upon one point, which, if thus forced, would necessitate the abandonment of the whole.

The battle commenced at daybreak on the 6th of November, with an attack on

the village of Cuesmes, led by Bournonville; but after sustaining a severe fire of artillery, which for some hours arrested his efforts, he at length succeeded in turning the village of Jemmappes, and the redoubts on the left of the Austrian position were carried by the impetuous onset of the French columns. Dumouriez now caused his centre to advance against the front of Jemmappes, and the column moved forward rapidly to the attack; but, upon approaching the village, they were taken in flank by some squadrons of horse, which broke through the column, and drove back the French cavalry which supported it. The moment was eminently critical; for whilst the flank of the column was thus maltreated, the leading battalions, checked by a destructive fire of grape, were beginning to waver at the foot of the redoubts. In this extremity, an attendant of the general-in-chief rallied the disordered troops, and arrested the victorious squadrons, whilst a young officer restored the front of the attack. Rallying the disordered regiments into one mass, which he called the column of Jemmappes, the latter placed himself at its head, renewed the attack on the redoubts, carried the village, and at length drove the Austrians from their intrenchments in the centre of the position. But, though thus victorious in the centre, Dumouriez had still great cause for anxiety respecting the attack on the right. Bournonville, though at first successful on that side, had hesitated when he observed the confusion in the column of the centre, vacillating between a reluctance to abandon the ground he had gained and a desire to withdraw part of his forces to support the column in the plain. As soon as this hesitation was perceived by the enemy, they redoubled their fire, and kept in hand a large body of cavalry ready to charge on the least appearance of disorder. Dumouriez flew to the spot, rode along the front of two brigades of old soldiers from the camp at Maulde, and succeeded in rallying the squadrons of horse, who were beginning to fall into confusion. The imperial horse charged

immediately after, but, receiving a close and well-directed volley, they wheeled, and, being instantly attacked by the French cavalry, were completely routed and driven from the field. The victorious brigades now advanced chanting the *Marseillaise*, and, entering the redoubts by the gorge, carried everything before them. Dumouriez was still uneasy about his centre; but, whilst he was in the act of setting off to that point with a reinforcement of six squadrons of cavalry, he received intelligence that the battle there was already won, and that the Austrians were retiring at all points towards Mons. Such was the battle of Jemmappes, the first pitched battle which had been gained by the republican armies, and, on that account, not only celebrated beyond its real merits, but most important in its consequences. The loss on both sides was great, that of the Austrians amounting to five thousand men, whilst the French lost above six thousand; but the results of the victory upon the spirits and the moral strength of the two parties were incalculably different, and in fact led to the immediate conquest of the whole Netherlands. Mons and Brussels surrendered to Dumouriez; Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp were taken possession of by General Labourdonnaye; Louvaine and Namur submitted to General Valence; and the whole Austrian Netherlands, Luxembourg only excepted, fell into the hands of the French. Liège was taken on the 28th of November, after a successful engagement, in which the Austrians lost five or six hundred men and an immense train of artillery.

France was now in a situation not unusual in the history of nations, successful abroad, but distracted by contending factions at home. The two parties in the Convention were engaged in a struggle, which daily became more and more implacable. The party called the Mountain did not hesitate to employ any means, however criminal, to effect the ruin of their antagonists; and they are even suspected of having, through the medium of the minister of war retarded the

supplies for the armies, in order to render the ruling party odious from want of success. But they were for some time unfortunate in this respect, and the daily news of victories obtained supported the credit of the Girondists. A new subject was therefore started, namely, how the dethroned monarch was to be disposed of. The moderate party wished to save him, and this was a sufficient reason for their antagonists resolving on his ruin. A committee was accordingly appointed to report upon his conduct; and a variety of charges having in consequence been brought against him, the Convention resolved to constitute itself at once prosecutor and judge.

On the 11th of December the ill-fated monarch was ordered to the bar of the Convention; and when the act of accusation had been read, he was summoned by the president Barrère to answer the charges separately. These consisted of an enumeration of the whole crimes of the Revolution, from its commencement in 1789, all of which were imputed to him.

By the admission even of his enemies, the answers of Louis were brief, firm, and for the most part judicious; he displayed remarkable presence of mind, and in most cases negatived the charges by the most satisfactory replies. The affair of Nancy, the journey to Varennes, the suppression of the revolt in the Champ de Mars, were justified by the decrees of the assembly; and the catastrophe of the tenth of March, by the power of self-defence conferred on him by the laws. To every question, in fact, he replied with clearness and precision; denying some, showing that the matters referred to in others were the work of his ministers, and justifying all that had been done by the powers conferred on him by the constitution. In a loud voice he repelled the charge of shedding the blood of the people on the tenth of August, exclaiming, "No, sir, it was not I who did it." But he was careful in his answers not to implicate any members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; and many who now sat as his judges trembled lest he should compromise

them with the dominant faction. The deep impression made on the Convention by the simple statements, and temperate but firm demeanour of the sovereign, struck the Jacobins with such dismay that the most violent of the party proposed he should be hanged that very night. But the majority, composed of the Girondists and the neutrals, decided that he should be formally tried and defended by counsel. He then returned to the Temple, where the resolution of the municipality, that he was no longer to be permitted to see his family, was communicated to him; or, in other words, that a consolation, which is never withheld even from the most atrocious criminals, was denied him. Next day, however, the Convention, less inhuman than the commune, decreed that the unfortunate father might enjoy the society of his children; but the king thinking them more necessary to the queen's comfort than his own, declined to take them from her, and, after a struggle with feelings which even demons might have respected, he submitted to the separation with a resignation which nothing could shake.

Louis had desired to be furnished with copies of the accusation, and of the papers upon which it was founded; and also to have the choice of his own counsel. Both requests were conceded, and he accordingly chose as his counsel M. Tronchet and M. Target. The former accepted, and faithfully discharged his duty; the latter basely declined, on the pretence of age and infirmity. The venerable Malesherbes, whose official career had been distinguished by many wise and useful reforms, now came forward and volunteered his services as counsel for his sovereign. "I have been twice honored," said he, in a letter to the president of the Convention, "with a place in the counsels of my sovereign, when it was an object of ambition to all the world; I owe him the same service when it imposes a duty which many consider as dangerous." Malesherbes and Tronchet afterwards called in the assistance of M. Desèze, a celebrated pleader, who had at

first embraced the popular side, but had withdrawn from political life since the Revolution had assumed a sombre and threatening aspect.

On the 26th of December the king was again conducted to the assembly. He evinced as great serenity and self-possession as on the former occasion; discoursed of Seneca, Livy, and the public hospitals; and even addressed himself in a vein of pleasantry to one of the municipality who sat covered in the carriage. Whilst in the ante-chamber, Malesherbes, in conversing with the king, happened to make use of the words, "Sire, your majesty." "What!" exclaimed Treillard, a furious Jacobin, interrupting him, "what has rendered you so bold as to pronounce these words, which the Convention has proscribed?" "Contempt of life," replied the intrepid old man. When admitted into the assembly, Louis seated himself between his counsel, surveyed the crowded benches of his adversaries with perfect composure, and was even observed sometimes to smile as he conversed with Malesherbes. M. Desèze then read a defence which had been prepared by the king's counsel, and which was, equally admired for the solidity of the argument and the beauty of the composition.

When the defence was concluded, the king rose, and holding a paper in his hand, pronounced, in a calm manner, and with a firm voice, what follows: "Citizens, you have heard my defence, I will not recapitulate it; but when now addressing you, perhaps for the last time, I declare that my conscience has nothing to reproach itself with, and that my defenders have said nothing but the truth. I have no fears for the public examination of my conduct; but my heart bleeds at the accusation brought against me of having caused the misfortunes of my people, and, most of all, of having shed their blood on the tenth of August. The multiplied proofs I have given in every period of my reign, of my love for my people, and the manner in which I have conducted myself towards

them, might, I had hoped, have saved me from so cruel an imputation." Having said these words, he withdrew along with his counsel, and in a transport of gratitude he embraced M. Desèze, exclaiming, "I am now at ease; I will have an honored memory; the French will regret my death."

A stormy discussion immediately ensued in the assembly, and Lanjuinais had the boldness to demand a revocation of the decree by which the king had been brought to the bar of the Convention. "If you insist on being judges," said he, in concluding a powerful speech, "cease to be accusers. My blood boils at the thought of seeing in the judgment-seat men who openly conspired against the throne on the tenth of August, and who have in such ferocious terms anticipated the judgment without hearing the defence." The delivery of these words was instantly followed by the most violent agitation; and cries of "To the Abbaye with the perjured deputy; let the friends of the tyrant perish along with him," resounded through the hall. But the storm was at length appeased by a proposal to discuss the question, whether an appeal should be made to the people; a proposal which was adopted, and the discussion that thereupon ensued lasted twenty days. The most powerful declaimer against the sovereign was the infamous Saint-Just; the most vehement and direct, the sanguinary Robespierre. Vergniaud replied in a strain of impassioned eloquence worthy of his reputation as the first orator of France. But his forcible, nay sublime, appeal was unavailing. At the conclusion of the debate the assembly unanimously pronounced the ill-fated Louis guilty of the offences charged against him, and the appeal to the people was rejected by a majority of 423 to 281.

The only question which now remained to be decided was, what punishment should be inflicted. The debate on this subject lasted forty hours, during which Paris was in the most violent agitation. The Jacobin Club resounded with cries for death; the avenues leading to the Convention were filled with a

ferocious rabble, menacing alike the supporters of the king and the neutrals; and as the termination of the voting drew near, the tumult increased. The most breathless anxiety pervaded the Convention, when the president, Vergniaud, at length rose to announce the result, which he did in these words: "Citizens, I announce the result of the vote; when justice has spoken, humanity should resume its place; there are seven hundred and twenty-one votes; a majority of twenty-six have voted for death. In the name of the Convention, I declare that the punishment of Louis Capet is *death*." Without the defection of the Girondists on this occasion, the king's life would have been saved. Forty-six of their party, including Vergniaud, voted conditionally or unconditionally for his death. This was a fatal error, which almost all of them subsequently expiated on the scaffold. They were really anxious to save the king; but, destitute of political courage, and hurried on by the democratic fury of the times, they trusted to accomplish their object by an appeal to the people. In this, however, they were baffled; their weak and timid policy ruined all. The triumph of the Jacobins was complete. They had committed the Revolution by an act which cut off all retreat; and they had compelled their most able and dangerous enemies to participate in the guilt of the bloody deed.

When the counsel of the unfortunate monarch were called in to hear the sentence, they were greatly affected. Malesherbes attempted to speak, but emotion choked his utterance. Desèze then read a protest, in which the king solemnly declared his innocence; and Tronchet urged the revocation of a decree which had been passed by so slender a majority. "You have either forgotten or destroyed," said this celebrated advocate, "the humane principle of the criminal law, which requires a majority of two-thirds to constitute a definitive sentence." "The laws," it was answered, "are passed by a simple majority." "True," rejoined Desèze, "but

the laws may be repealed; and who can recall human life?" The Girondists, as a last resource, then proposed a limited delay; but in this they also failed, and the fatal sentence was pronounced. This decisive step produced an intense sensation in Paris. The members of the Côté Droit, and the royalists, secret and avowed, were in equal consternation. But the Jacobins, who could hardly believe that so great a victory had been gained, redoubled their activity, and put every engine in motion to keep up an incessant agitation; they besought their adherents to be vigilant for the next two days, and thus secure the fruits of so mighty a triumph. Nor were their efforts and entreaties in vain. The greater number were overawed and put to silence by the audacity of their movements; whilst, by the resolute few, whose minds burned with indignation at their conduct, nothing could be attempted.

Louis was fully prepared for his fate. When Malesherbes, dissolved in tears, came to announce the sentence of death, he found the unhappy king alone, with his elbows resting on a table, his forehead leaning on his hands, and absorbed in profound meditation. Without inquiring concerning his fate, Louis raised himself as his friend approached, and observed to him, "For two hours I have been revolving in my memory whether during my whole reign I have voluntarily given any cause of complaint to my subjects; and with perfect sincerity I can declare, when about to appear in the presence of God, that I deserve no reproach at their hands, and that I have never formed a wish but for their happiness." Malesherbes encouraged him to hope that the sentence might yet be superseded. Louis shook his head, and only entreated his friend not to leave him in his last moments. Malesherbes promised to return, and repeatedly applied at the gate for admission, which however was refused by order of the municipality. Louis often asked for his aged friend, and was deeply afflicted at not seeing him again. He received without emotion the official announcement of his sentence

made by the minister of justice on the 20th of January, and demanded a respite of three days to prepare himself for death, and also to be allowed an interview with his family, and to have the assistance of a confessor whom he named. The two last requests were alone conceded by the Convention, and the execution was fixed for the following morning at ten o'clock. The interview with his family presented a heart-rending scene, which lasted nearly two hours, and may be more easily imagined than described. When the terrible moment of separation arrived, Louis promised to see them again on the morrow; and having embraced them all in the tenderest manner, bade them a mournful adieu; but on entering his chamber he felt that a second trial would be too much for all parties, and resolved to spare them the agony of a final separation. This was his last struggle; he now only thought of preparing for death. The remainder of the evening was therefore spent with his confessor, the Abbé Edgeworth, who, with heroic devotion, discharged the perilous duty of administering the last consolations of religion to his dying sovereign. On the night which preceded his death, Louis slept tranquilly until five in the morning, when he was awaked by Cléry, whom he had ordered to call him at that hour. He then gave his last instructions to his faithful attendant, and put into his hands the little property which he had at his disposal, a ring, a seal, and a lock of hair. Already the drums were beating, and the heavy roll of cannon dragged along the streets, interrupted at intervals by a confused sound of voices, was also heard.

At about nine o'clock, Santerre arrived at the Temple. "You come to seek me," said the king; "allow me a minute." He went into his closet, and immediately returned with his testament in his hand, which he intrusted to a municipal officer; after which he asked for his hat, and said with a firm voice, "Let us set off." He calmly seated himself in the carriage beside his confessor, and during the passage from the Temple to the Place

de la Révolution, which occupied two hours, he never ceased reciting the psalms which were pointed out by his spiritual guide. The route was lined with double files of soldiers; more than forty thousand men were under arms; and the aspect of Paris was mournful. Amongst the citizens who were present at the execution there reigned the most profound silence, uninterrupted by any external manifestations either of approbation or regret. When the procession arrived at the place of execution, he descended from the carriage, ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and received on his knees the sublime benediction of his confessor, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven." He suffered his hands to be bound, though not without repugnance, nor until after M. Edgeworth had exclaimed, "Submit to that outrage, as the last resemblance to the Saviour who is about to recompense your sufferings;" and advancing quickly to the left of the scaffold, "I die innocent," said he; "I forgive my enemies, and you, unfortunate people..." At these words his voice was drowned by the sound of drums placed at the front of the scaffold to prevent his being heard; three executioners seized and hurried him to the block; and in a few seconds he had ceased to live. One of the assistants grasped his head, and waved it in the air, whilst the blood fell on the confessor, who was still on his knees beside the mutilated body of his sovereign.

In a political point of view, this tragical event proved injurious to the republican cause throughout Europe. No man out of France ventured to justify it; and in all countries it excited the most violent indignation against the rulers of the French republic. Accordingly new enemies now hastened to join the general league against France. The British government thought itself endangered by the propagation of those speculative opinions which had overturned the French monarchy, and almost all the men of property in the kingdom concurred with the ministry in thinking a war with France necessary for the purpose of securing the

constitution, and checking the progress of levelling doctrines.

The result of the whole was, that the British government ordered M. Chauvelin to quit that country. The French executive council accredited another minister, M. Marat, who was also invested with powers to negotiate, and requested that a passport might be given him; but he was not even suffered to land. The republicans having thus far humbled themselves before the British government, were fired with indignation at the manner in which their envoy was treated; and on the 1st of February, 1793, the National Convention, on the motion of Brissot, decreed that George, king of England, had never ceased, since the revolution of the tenth of August, 1792, to give the French nation proofs of his attachment to the concert of crowned heads; that he had drawn into the same combination the stadtholder of the United Provinces; that, contrary to the treaty of 1783, the English ministry had granted protection to the emigrants and others who had openly appeared in arms against the French; that they had committed an outrage against the French republic, by ordering the ambassador of France to quit Great Britain; that the English had stopped different boats and vessels laden with corn for France, whilst at the same time, contrary to the treaty of 1786, they continued the exportation of grain to other foreign countries; and that, to thwart more efficaciously the commercial transactions of the republic with England, they had by an act of parliament prohibited the circulation of assignats. The Convention, therefore, declared, that in consequence of these acts of hostility and aggression, the French republic was at war with the king of England and with the stadtholder of the United Provinces. About a fortnight after this declaration appeared, war was likewise declared against Spain; and in the course of the summer France was in hostility with all Europe, excepting only Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey.

In the meantime General Dumouriez, proceeding agreeably to his orders, made an attack upon Holland; but in doing so he disseminated his troops in such a manner as to expose himself to attack upon the side of Germany. He commanded General Miranda to invest Maestricht, whilst he advanced to blockade Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom. Breda, however, surrendered on the 24th of February, Klundert was taken on the 26th, and Gertruydenberg yielded on the 4th of March. But here the triumphs of Dumouriez ended. The sieges of Williamstadt and Bergen-op-Zoom, though vigorously pressed, proved unsuccessful. On the 1st of March, General Clairfayt, having passed the Roer, attacked the French posts, and compelled them to retreat with the loss of about two thousand men. The following day the archduke attacked them anew with considerable success; and on the 3d the French were driven from Aix-la-Chapelle, with the loss of four thousand men killed and sixteen hundred taken prisoners. The siege of Maestricht was now raised, and the French retreated to Tongres, where they were also attacked, and forced to retreat to St. Tron. Here Dumouriez joined them, but did not bring his army along with him from Holland. After some skirmishes, a general engagement took place at Neerwinden, and was contested on the part of the French with great obstinacy; but they were at length overpowered by numbers, and forced to retreat. This defeat had well nigh proved fatal to the republican arms. The French lost three thousand men in the battle, and six thousand immediately afterwards deserted and returned to their homes. Dumouriez continued to retreat, and on the 22d he was again attacked near Louvain; but, through the medium of Colonel Mack, who afterwards became so unenviably famous, he entered into an arrangement with the imperialists that his retreat should not be seriously interrupted. It was also fully agreed that whilst the imperialists took possession of Condé and Valenciennes, he should march to Paris, dis-

solve the Convention, and place the son of the late king upon the throne.

The rapid retreat and successive defeats of General Dumouriez having rendered his conduct suspicious, commissioners were sent by the executive government, for the purpose of discovering and defeating his designs. The latter dissembled, and pretended to communicate to him a scheme of a counter revolution. Dumouriez fell into the snare which they had laid for him, and confessed his intention of dissolving by force the Convention and the Jacobin Club, and restoring monarchy. On the report of these commissioners, the Convention sent Bournonville, the minister of war, along with Camus, Blancal, Lamarque, and Quinette, as commissioners, to supersede and arrest Dumouriez. The attempt on the part of these functionaries to arrest a general in the midst of his army was certainly hazardous; and in fact Dumouriez, on the first of April, sent them prisoners to General Clairfayt's head-quarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family. He next attempted to seduce his army from their fidelity to the Convention; but he speedily found that he had mistaken the character of his troops. When the report reached them that their general was to be carried as a criminal to Paris, they were seized with vehement indignation; but as soon as they learned that an attempt was being made to prevail on them to turn their arms against their country, their sentiments underwent a sudden alteration, and resentment succeeded to the generous feeling of indignation which at first prompted them to interpose in his behalf. On the 5th of April two proclamations were issued, one by General Dumouriez, and the other by the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, declaring that their only purpose was to restore the constitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791. The latter announced that the allied powers wished merely to co-operate with General Dumouriez in giving to France a constitutional king and the constitution which she had framed for herself; and he declared, upon his word of honor, that he

came not into the French territory for the purpose of making conquests. On the same day Dumouriez went to the advanced guard of his own camp at Maulde; but he there learned that the corps of artillery had risen upon their general, and were marching to Valenciennes; and he also found that the whole army were resolved to stand by their country. Seven hundred cavalry and eight hundred infantry were all who deserted with Dumouriez to the Austrians, and many of these afterwards returned.

By the defection of Dumouriez, however, the army of the north was dissolved, and in part disbanded, in presence of a numerous, well-disciplined, and victorious enemy. The Prussians were at the same time advancing in immense force, and were about to commence the siege of Mayence. In the interior of the republic evils even more serious were threatened. In the departments of La Vendée and La Loire, or the provinces of Bretagne and Poitou, immense multitudes of emigrants and other royalists had gradually assembled in the course of the winter, professing to act in the name of Monsieur, as regent of France; and about the middle of March they advanced against Nantes, to the number of about forty thousand. In the beginning of April they defeated the republicans in two pitched battles, possessed themselves of fifty leagues of country, and even threatened, by their own efforts, to shake the republic to its very foundations. On the 8th of April there assembled at Antwerp a congress of the combined powers, which was attended by the Prince of Orange and his two sons, with his excellency Vander Spiegel, on the part of Holland; by the Duke of York and Lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain; and by the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, Counts Metternich, Staremberg, and Dargenteau, and the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan envoys. In this congress it was definitely determined to commence active operations against France; the Prince of Cobourg's proclamation was recalled, and a scheme of conquest announced.

Commissioners from the Convention now set up anew the standard of the republic, and the scattered battalions flocked around it. General Dampierre was appointed commander-in-chief, and on the 13th he was able to resist a general attack upon his advanced posts. On the 14th his advanced guard yielded to superior numbers, but on the 15th he was victorious in a long and well-fought battle. On the 23d the Austrians were again repulsed, and on the 1st of May General Dampierre was himself defeated in an attack upon the enemy. On the 8th another engagement took place in which the French general was killed by a cannon ball. On the 23d a determined attack was made by the allies upon the fortified camp of Famars, which covered the town of Valenciennes. The French made a very gallant resistance, but were at length overcome, and in the night abandoned their camp. By this victory the allies were enabled to commence the siege of Valenciennes; Condé having been blockaded since the first of April. About the same time General Custines on the Rhine made a vigorous but unsuccessful attack upon the Prussians, and in consequence they were soon enabled to lay siege to Mayence. At this period also the Corsican general Paoli revolted; and the republic, assaulted from without by the whole strength of Europe, was undermined by treachery and faction within.

Whilst the country was in a state verging upon utter ruin, the parties in the Convention were gradually waxing fiercer and fiercer in their animosity; and, regardless of what was passing at a distance, they seemed only anxious for the extermination of each other. In the month of March the Revolutionary Tribunal was established, for the purpose of trying crimes committed against the state; and the Girondists, the mildness of whose administration had contributed not a little to increase the evils of their country, began to see the necessity of adopting measures of severity. But the public calamities, which now followed in rapid succession,

were ascribed by their countrymen to the imbecility or perfidy of that party. This gave to the party of the Mountain a fatal advantage. On the 15th of April the communes of the forty-eight sections of Paris presented a petition, requiring that the chiefs of the Girondists therein named should be impeached and expelled from the Convention; and this was followed on the 1st of May by another petition of the same description from the faubourg St. Antoine. In the meantime the Girondist party impeached Marat, but the miscreant was acquitted by the jury. With the assistance of the Jacobin Club, the Mountain had now acquired a complete ascendancy over the city of Paris. The Girondists, therefore, proposed to remove the Convention from the capital; and to prevent this, the Mountain resolved to make the same use of the people of the capital against the Girondist party which they had formerly done against the monarch on the tenth of August. It is unnecessary to relate in detail all the tumults which occurred either in Paris or in the Convention during the remaining part of the month of May. On the 31st, at four o'clock in the morning, the tocsin was sounded, the générale beat, and the alarm guns fired. All was commotion and terror. The citizens flew to arms, and assembled round the Convention, where some deputations demanded a decree of accusation against thirty-five of its members. The day, however, passed without coming to a decision. On the afternoon of the 1st of June an armed force made the same demand, which was repeated on the 2d of June, when the tocsin again sounded, and an hundred pieces of cannon surrounded the hall of the Convention. At length Barrère, who was considered as a moderate man, and respected by both parties, mounted the tribune; but he now artfully deserted the Girondists, and invited the denounced members voluntarily to resign their character of representatives. Some of them complied, and the president attempted to dissolve the sitting; but the members now found themselves pris-

oners in their own hall. There Henriot, commander of the armed force, compelled them to remain; and the obnoxious deputies, amounting to upwards of ninety in number, were put under arrest, and a decree of accusation passed against them. It is very obvious that on this occasion the liberties of France were trodden under foot. The minority of the national representatives, with the assistance of an armed force raised in the capital, had compelled the majority to submit to their measures, and taken the leading members prisoners. The city of Paris thus assumed to itself the whole powers of the French Republic; and the nation was no longer governed by representatives freely chosen, but by a minority of the Convention of whose sentiments the city of Paris and the Jacobin Club had thought proper to approve.

The first result of their victory in the capital was calamitous to the Republic at large. Brissot and some other deputies escaped, and endeavored to kindle the flames of civil war. In general, however, the influence of the Jacobin Club, and of its various branches, was such, that the north of France adhered to the Convention; but the southern departments were speedily in a state of rebellion. The department of Lyons declared the Mountain party outlawed. Marseilles and Toulon followed the example of Lyons, and entered into a confederacy, which has since been known by the appellation of Federalism. The departments of La Gironde and Calvados broke out into open insurrection. In a word, the whole of France was in a state of violent convulsion. Still, however, the enthusiastic garrisons of Mayence and Valenciennes protected it against the immediate entrance of a foreign force, and afforded leisure for one of its internal factions to gain an ascendancy, and thereafter to protect its independence. In fact, the political enthusiasm of all orders of persons was such, that even the female sex did not escape its contagion. In the beginning of July a young woman, of the name of Charlotte Corday, came

from the department of Calvados to devote her life to what she deemed the cause of freedom and her country. Having requested an interview with Marat, the most obnoxious of the Mountain party, she at length contrived to obtain it, and after conversing with him for some time, suddenly plunged a dagger in his breast, and walked carelessly out of the house. But she was immediately seized, condemned, and executed, behaving throughout with infinite constancy, and with her last breath shouting, *Vive la République*.

One of the first acts of the Mountain party after their triumph was to complete the republican constitution. The publication of this constitution secured no small degree of applause to the Convention and the Mountain party. The rapidity with which it had been framed seemed to cast a reflection upon the slowness of the moderate party, and was regarded as a proof that its framers were decidedly serious in the cause of republicanism. No regard, however, was paid to it by the Convention, which declared itself permanent; nor did it seem possible to carry it into execution.

We have mentioned that Condé was invested ever since the beginning of April; but it did not yield till the 10th of July, when the garrison was so much reduced by famine and disease, that out of four thousand men, of which it originally consisted, only fifteen hundred were fit for service. The eyes of all Europe were in the mean time fixed upon the siege of Valenciennes. The principal labor of the siege consisted of mines and countermines, some of which having been successfully sprung by the assailants, the town was surrendered by capitulation on the 27th of July, and the Duke of York took possession of it in behalf of the emperor of Germany. The siege of Mayence at the same time proceeded, and the place suffered much from famine; but at last, after an unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege by the French army of the Rhine it surrendered on the 22d of July.

After the termination of the siege of Va-

lenciennes, the allied powers became much divided as to their future proceedings. The Austrian commanders are understood to have presented two plans: the one, to penetrate to Paris by means of the rivers which fall into the Seine; the other, to take advantage of the consternation occasioned by the surrender of Valenciennes, and with fifty thousand light troops to penetrate suddenly to Paris, whilst a descent should be made on the coast of Bretagne to assist the royalists. The proposal of the British ministry, however, to divide the grand army, and to attack West Flanders, beginning with the siege of Dunkirk, was ultimately adopted; but this determination proved ruinous to the allies, as the French found means to vanquish in detail that army which they were unable to encounter when united.

It has been asserted that the Duke of York was in secret correspondence with Omeron, the governor of Dunkirk; but the latter was removed before any advantage could be taken of his treachery. On the 24th of August the Duke of York attacked and drove into the town the French outposts, after an action in which the Austrian general Dalton was killed. A naval armament was expected from Great Britain to co-operate in the siege, but it did not arrive in time to be of any avail. Meanwhile a strong republican force menaced the covering army of the allies, commanded by General Freytag; and, in point of fact, he was soon afterwards attacked and totally routed, in consequence of which the siege was raised. The British lost their heavy cannon and baggage, with several thousand men; but the Convention, believing that their general, Houchard, might have cut off the Duke of York's retreat, tried and executed him for this alleged neglect of duty. In the mean time the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg and General Clairfayt unsuccessfully attempted to besiege Cambray and Bouchain. Quesnoy was, however, taken by General Clairfayt on the 11th of September; and here terminated the success of the allied forces in

the Netherlands during the present campaign.

A considerable part of the French army of the north having taken a strong position near Maubenge, were there blockaded by Prince Cobourg; but upon the 15th and 16th of October the latter was repeatedly attacked by the French troops under General Jourdan, who had succeeded Houchard in the command. The French, having now recovered their vigor, brought into the field a formidable train of artillery; and commissioners from the Convention harangued the soldiers, threatening the timid and applauding the brave. The attacks were repeated and furious, and the Austrians had the disadvantage, in consequence of which the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg retired during the night. The French now menaced maritime Flanders, took Furnes, and besieged Nieuport. But a detachment of British troops ready to sail to the West Indies were hastily sent to Ostend, and for the present prevented the further progress of the French.

The multiplicity of the events which now occurred in France was so great, that it is difficult to give an outline of these with tolerable perspicuity. It has been already mentioned that violent dissensions occurred throughout the Republic, in consequence of the triumph of the Mountain party on the 31st of May. The department of Calvados was first in arms against the Convention, under the command of General Wimpfen; but before the end of July the insurrection had been subdued. The federalism of the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, however, still remained. On the 8th of August, Lyons was attacked by the Conventional troops, and several actions followed, which were attended with great loss both on the part of the assailants and of the besieged. The city, in fact, was reduced almost to ruins; but it held out during the whole month of September. The besieging general, Kellerman, was removed from his command on account of his supposed inactivity; and the city surrendered on the 8th of October to General Doppet, a

man who had lately been a physician. The walls and public buildings of Lyons were ordered to be destroyed, and its name changed to that of *Ville Affranchie*; many hundreds of its citizens were dragged to the scaffold, on account of their alleged treasonable resistance to the Convention; and the victorious party, weary of the slow operation of the guillotine, at last destroyed their prisoners in multitudes by discharges of grape-shot. With the party of the Mountain, terror was now the order of the day. In the end of July General Carteaux was sent against Marseilles. In the beginning of August he gained some successes over the advanced guard of the federalist troops; and on the 24th he took the town of Aix, upon which the Marsellois submitted. But the leading persons of the important town of Toulon, one of the first naval stations in France, entered into a negotiation, which terminated in their submitting to the British admiral Lord Hood, upon the conditions that he would preserve as a deposit the town and shipping for Louis XVII. and assist in restoring the constitution of 1789. The siege of Toulon was commenced by General Carteaux in the beginning of September, and it continued without much vigor during that and the succeeding month, Neapolitan, Spanish, and English troops having been brought by sea to assist in its defence. But in the beginning of November, General Carteaux was removed to the command of the army in Italy, and General Dugommier succeeded him in the direction of the siege. General O'Hara also arrived with reinforcements from Gibraltar, and assumed the command of the town, under a commission from his Britannic majesty. Upon the 30th of November the garrison made a vigorous sally, in order to destroy some batteries which were erecting upon heights that commanded the city. The French were surprised, and the assailants effected their object; but, elated with this success, the troops rushed onward in pursuit of the enemy, and were unexpectedly met by a strong French

force brought up by the commandant of artillery to check their advance. General O'Hara now arrived from the city to endeavor to bring off his troops; but he received a wound in the arm and was taken prisoner. The total loss of the assailants in this affair was estimated at a thousand men. The French now mustered in great force around Toulon, and prepared to prosecute the attack with vigor. It commenced on the 19th of December, and was chiefly directed against Fort Mulgrave, occupied by the British. This fort was protected by an intrenched camp, and thirteen pieces of cannon, with five mortars and three thousand troops; but such was the fury of assault that it was carried in an hour, and the whole garrison either killed or taken. The British and their allies now found it impossible to defend the place, and in the course of the day embarked their troops, after having set on fire the arsenal and the ships. A scene of confusion now ensued, such as has rarely been exhibited in modern warfare. Crowds of people of every rank, age, and sex, hurried on board the ships to escape the vengeance of their enraged countrymen. Some of the inhabitants began to fire upon their late allies; others, in despair, were seen plunging into the sea, and making a vain effort to reach the ships; and not a few put an end at once to their own existence on the shore. No language, indeed, can do justice to the horrors of the scene. Mothers clasping their helpless babes, and old men weighed down with the load of years, might be seen stretching their hands towards the harbor, shuddering at every sound behind them, and even rushing into the waves to escape the less merciful death which awaited them from their countrymen. Sir Sidney Smith, with honorable humanity, suspended the retreat until not a single individual who claimed his assistance remained on shore, though the total number borne away amounted to nearly fifteen thousand. Of thirty-one ships of the line found by the British at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, ten were burned, and four had been pre

viously sent to Brest and Rochefort, with five thousand republicans who could not be trusted; so that Great Britain finally obtained by this expedition only three ships of the line and five frigates. The recovery of this important place by the French was in a great measure, if not altogether, owing to the superior genius and conduct of the commandant of artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte, who here made his first conspicuous essay in arms.

The storm which now burst on the devoted heads of the Toulonese was indeed terrible. The infuriated soldiers rushed into the town, and, in their frantic rage, massacred two hundred Jacobins who had gone out to welcome their approach. During twenty-four hours the inhabitants were left at the mercy of the soldiers and the galley-slaves who had been let loose on the city; and a stop was only put to these horrors by the citizens redeeming themselves for four millions of francs. Several thousand citizens of every age and both sexes perished in a few weeks, either by the sword or the guillotine; for a considerable time two hundred were beheaded daily; and twelve thousand laborers were hired from the surrounding departments to demolish the buildings of the city. On the motion of Barrère, it was decreed that the name of Toulon should be changed to that of Port de la Montagne, that the houses should be razed to the foundations, and nothing should be left but the naval and military establishments; and Barras, Fréron, and Robespierre the younger, were chosen to execute the vengeance of the Convention upon the fallen city. Military commissions were immediately formed, and a revolutionary tribunal was established; the prisons were crowded with the unhappy persons destined for the guillotine; and the mitrallades of Lyons were imitated with fearful effect.

On the side of Spain the war produced nothing of importance; and in the mountainous country of Piedmont little advantage had been gained on either side. But more

terrible scenes were acting in other quarters. In La Vendée a most fierce and sanguinary contest was maintained by the royalists. At last, about the middle of October, they were completely defeated, driven from La Vendée, and forced to divide into separate bodies; one of which threw itself into the island of Noirmoutier, where they were destroyed, whilst another took the road of Maine and Bretagne, where they struggled for some time against their enemies, and were at last either cut to pieces or dispersed.

On the side of the Rhine a great variety of events occurred during the months of August and September. Several engagements took place, in which the French were upon the whole successful. In September, however, Landau was invested by the combined powers; and it was resolved to make every possible effort to drive the French from their position on the Lauter. They occupied the ancient and celebrated lines of Weissenberg, constructed in former times for the protection of the Rhenish frontier, and stretching from the town of Lauterburg on the Rhine, through the village of Weissenberg to the Vosges Mountains; and during four months all the resources of art had been employed in strengthening them. Having approached the extreme left of this position, the allies formed the design of attacking it from left to right, and thus forcing the French to abandon the whole line of the intrenchments. Accordingly the Prussians, under the Duke of Brunswick, assaulted the left of the lines by the defiles of the Vosges Mountains, whilst the Austrians under the Prince Waldeck crossed the Rhine to turn the right, and Wurmser, with the main body, endeavored to force the centre. The attack on the right by Lauterburg obtained only a momentary success; but Wurmser having carried several redoubts in the centre, soon got possession of Weissenberg; and the left having been turned and forced back, the French army retired in confusion, and some of the fugitives even fled

as far as Strasburg. Such was the tardiness of the allies, however, that the French, though completely routed, lost only a thousand men; whereas, if the victory had been improved, the ruin of the whole army would have been inevitable. The French retreated to Hagenau, from which they were driven on the 18th; and they suffered two other defeats on the 25th and 27th. Some of the principal citizens of Strasburg now sent a private deputation to General Wurmser, offering to surrender the town, upon condition that it should be restored to Louis XVII. But General Wurmser declined to accede to these terms, and insisted upon an unconditional surrender. The delay occasioned by this disagreement led to the discovery of the negotiation, and those citizens of Strasburg who had been engaged in it were seized by Saint-Just and Lebas, the commissioners of the Convention, and brought to the scaffold.

Prodigious efforts were now made by the French in order to recover the ground which they had lost. On the 9th of November General Irembert was shot at the head of the army, upon a charge, probably ill founded, of treachery in the storming of the lines of Weissenberg. But on the 14th Fort Louis was taken by the allies, not without suspicion of treachery on the part of the governor. With this the success of General Wurmser may be said to have terminated. On the 21st, the republican army drove back the Austrians, and penetrated almost to Hagenau; whilst the army of the Moselle advanced to co-operate with the army of the Rhine. On the 17th the Prussians were defeated near Sarbruck, and next day their camp at Bliescastel was stormed; the French then advanced to Deux-Ponts. On the 29th and 30th, however, the French were repulsed with great loss in two violent attacks which they made on the Duke of Brunswick near Lautern. It was obvious, indeed, that they had come into the field with a determination to conquer, whatever it might cost. Every day was a day of battle, and torrents of

blood flowed on both sides. The allies had the advantage of the ground, which is very strong, on account of its inequalities and morasses; but the French army was far more numerous than theirs; and although inferior in point of discipline, yet it derived great moral force from the enthusiasm with which the troops were animated. On the 8th of December the French under Pichegru carried the redoubts which covered Hagenau at the point of the bayonet. On the 22d the allies were driven with great loss from Hagenau, notwithstanding the works which they had thrown up for their defence. The intrenchments on the heights of Reishoffen were considered as stronger than those of Jemmappes; yet they were stormed by the army of the Moselle and the Rhine, under Hoche and Pichegru. On the 23d and 24th the allies were pursued to the heights of Wrotte; and on the 26th the intrenchments which they had thrown up there were, after a desperate conflict, forced at the point of the bayonet. On the 27th the republican army arrived in triumph at Weissenberg. Wurmser retreated across the Rhine, and the Duke of Brunswick hastily fell back to cover Mayence. The blockade of Landau, which had lasted four months, was raised; Fort Louis was evacuated by the allies, and Kayerslautern, Germersheim, and Spire, submitted to the French. During the last month of the year 1793 the loss of men on both sides was immense, and is said to have amounted to between seventy and eighty thousand.

In the mean time violent efforts were made at Paris by the new administration, established under the auspices of the Jacobin Club and of the party called the Mountain. It was obvious that France at this time required a dictatorship, or a government possessed of more absolute authority than can ever be enjoyed by one which acts, or pretends to act, upon constitutional principles. It was therefore determined that the Convention should remain undissolved until the end of the war. In this way a government





was established, possessed of infinite vigilance, and more absolute and uncontrolled power than was ever enjoyed by any single despot; and the whole transactions and resources of the country were known to its rulers. The measures proposed by Barrère were immediately decreed. All Frenchmen from the age of eighteen to twenty-five took the field; the armies, recruited with requisitions of men, were supported with requisitions of provisions; and the Republic had soon fourteen armies, and twelve hundred thousand soldiers.

In the centre the dictatorial government struck down all the parties, however elevated, with whom it had been at war. The condemnation of the queen, Marie-Antoinette, was directed against Europe generally; that of the Twenty-one against the Girondists; that of the virtuous Bailly against the old constitutionalists; and that of the Duke of Orleans against certain members of the Mountain, who were supposed to have plotted his elevation to the throne. The widow of the unfortunate Louis XVI. was sent to the guillotine on the 16th of October, after a mock trial, in which justice and humanity were equally disregarded. Her conduct, both during her trial and at the place of execution, was distinguished for calmness and dignity, and she died, amidst the savage shouts of the infuriated multitude, with a firmness that did honor to her race. The deputies of the Gironde party, who had been proscribed on the 2d of June, soon followed her to the scaffold, where they ended their career on the 31st of the same month. They were in number twenty-one; Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Fonfredè, Ducos, Valazé, Lasource, Sillery, Gardien, Carra, Duprat, Beauvais, Duchâtel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Boileau, Lehardy, Antiboul, Vigée, Dufriche, and Duperret. Sixty-three of their colleagues, who had protested against their arrest, were also imprisoned, but the terrorists did not venture to send these also to the guillotine.

Of the other chiefs of this party, almost all

met with an untimely end. Salles, Guadet, Barbaroux, were discovered in the caves of Saint-Emilion, near Bordeaux, and perished on the popular scaffold. Pétion and Buzat, after having wandered about for some time, committed suicide, and were found dead in a field, with their bodies half devoured by the wolves. Rabaud Saint-Etienne was betrayed by a wretch in whom he confided. Madame Roland was also condemned, and died with the courage of a Roman matron; her husband, on learning her death, quitted his asylum, and stabbed himself on the high road between Paris and Rouen, that he might not betray the generous friends who had sheltered him in his misfortunes. Condorcet, who had been put beyond the protection of the law since the 2d of June, was discovered when in the act of concealing himself from his pursuers, and escaped punishment by taking poison. Louvet, Kervelegan, Lanjuinais, Henri-la-Rivière, Le Sage, and La Reveillère-Lepeaux, were the only Girondists who, in secure asylums, waited for the cessation of this furious tempest.

The Duke of Orleans was soon afterwards condemned, on a charge of having, from the commencement of the Revolution, aspired to the sovereignty.

The Committee of Public Safety was now remodelled, conformably to the views of the dictators. Until the 31st of May, when the decree for the arrest of the Girondists had passed, it consisted of neutral members of the Convention; now it was composed of the most furious partisans of the Mountain. Barrère remained, but Robespierre was elected a member, and, by means of Saint-Just, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennès, his party had a complete ascendancy. The committee disposed of everything in name of the Convention, which was merely its tool. It was this body which appointed and dismissed generals, ministers, representative commissioners, judges, and juries; which struck down opposing factions; which possessed the initiative of all measures. Every thing, in short, was at its

feet, and, supported by the multitude, its despotism was for the time as complete as it was terrible.

When the human mind is once roused, its activity extends to every object. At this time a new system of weights and measures, in which the decimal arithmetic alone is employed, was established by the Convention.

Separated by the war and by their own laws from all states and forms of government, the innovators sought to isolate themselves still more. For an unparalleled revolution they established an entirely new era; they changed the divisions of the year, and the names of the months and days; they replaced the Christian kalendar by the republican, the week by the decade, and fixed the day of rest, not on the Sabbath, but on the tenth day. The new era dated from the 22d September, or autumnal equinox, the epoch of the foundation of the Republic. The year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days each, which commenced on the 22d September, and were arranged in the order following, viz.: *Vendémiaire*, *Brumaire*, *Frimaire*, for autumn; *Nivose*, *Pluviose*, *Ventose*, for winter; *Germinal*, *Floréal*, *Prairial*, for spring; and *Messidor*, *Thermidor*, *Fructidor*, for summer. Each month had three decades, each decade ten days, and each day received its name from its place in the decade; thus, *primidi*, *duodi*, *tridi*, *quartidi*, *quintidi*, *sextidi*, *septidi*, *octidi*, *nonidi*, *decadi*. Five complementary days were thrown to the end of the year, or added after the 30th Fructidor, in order to complete it; these received the name of *Sans-culotides*, and were consecrated, the first to the festival of *Genius*, the second to that of *Labor*, the third to that of *Actions*, the fourth to that of *Recompenses*, and the fifth to that of *Opinion*. The constitution of 1793 naturally led to the republican kalendar, and the republican kalendar to the abolition of the Christian worship. Accordingly, the Commune and the Committee of Public Safety proposed each a new kind of

religion; the Commune the worship of Reason, and the Committee that of the Supreme Being.

The religion of France had for some time been gradually losing ground; and on the 7th of November, Gobet, bishop of Paris, along with a great multitude of other ecclesiastics, came into the hall of the Convention, and at once resigned their functions and renounced the Christian religion. All the clergymen, whether, Protestant or Catholic, who were members of the Convention, followed this example, excepting only Grégoire. The populace, however, could not at once relinquish the religion of their fathers. The municipality of Paris ordered the churches to be shut up, but the Convention found it necessary to annul this order; and Robespierre gained no small degree of popularity by supporting the liberty of religious worship on this occasion.

But now when the Republic saw itself successful in all quarters, when the Mountain party and the Jacobins had no rivals at home, and accounted themselves in little immediate danger from abroad, they began to split into factions, and to entertain the fiercest jealousies. The Jacobin Club was the usual place in which their contests were carried on; but at this time Robespierre acted the part of a mediator between all parties, and attempted to turn their attention from private animosities to public affairs. Having spread a report that Great Britain intended speedily to invade France, he proposed that the Jacobin Club should endeavor to discover the vulnerable parts of the British constitution and government. They caught at the bait which had thus been thrown out to them; made speeches and wrote essays without number; and were in this way occupied and amused for a considerable time.

During the winter the dissensions of the Jacobins increased. They were divided into two clubs, one of which (that recently instituted) assembled in a hall which once belonged to the Cordeliers. The leaders of this

club were Hebert, Ronsin, Vincent, and others; but that of the Jacobins still retained its ascendancy, and Robespierre had now become decidedly its leader. This extraordinary man had gradually combined in his own person the confidence of the people and the direction of the government. But as the committees were above the Convention, which had become little more than a court of record, so that of Public Safety was above the other committees; and Robespierre was the leader of this dominant committee, Barrère, Saint-Just, Couthon, and others of its members, only acting a secondary part. These persons labored in the business of the state, but the supreme power was in Robespierre. He surrounded the members of the Convention with spies, and being equally jealous and implacable, set no bounds to the shedding of blood. On the 25th of March he brought to trial the following active Jacobins, who were condemned and executed the day after, viz.: Herbert, Ronsin, Momoro, Vincent, Du Croquet, Koch, Laumur, Bourgeois, Mazuel, Laboureaux, Aneard, Leclerc, Proly, Dessieux, Anacharsis Clootz, Pereira, Florent, Armand, Descombes, and Dubuisson. And not satisfied with this, on the 2d of April he brought to trial nine of those who had once been his most vigorous associates; Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Bazire, Chabot, Philippeaux, Camille Desmoulins, Lacroix, Delamay d'Angers, and Hérault de Séchelles, all of whom were executed, along with Westermann, on the evening of the 5th.

The fall of the Hebertists was regarded with satisfaction by every one beyond the pale of the municipality of Paris. This faction, which had labored in the *Père Duchêne* to popularize obscenity of language, with grovelling and cruel sentiments, and whose characteristic it was to blend derision with ferocity, had for some time made redoubtable progress; and Robespierre, finding it untractable for his purposes, resolved on its destruction, upon the pretence that, whilst 't corrupted the people, it served the pur-

poses of foreigners by promoting anarchy. This he effected by a compromise. His object was to sacrifice both the commune and the anarchists; whilst the committees desired to sacrifice the Mountain and the moderate party. The parties came to a mutual understanding, in consequence of which Robespierre gave up Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and their friends to the members of the committee, and the members of the committee in return gave up Hebert, Clootz, Chaumette, Ronsin, and their accomplices. In at first favoring the moderate party in the Convention, he prepared the destruction of the anarchists, and thus attained two objects advantageous to his power; he ruined a redoubtable faction, and he disencumbered himself of a revolutionary reputation which rivalled his own.

The fall of the anarchists ensued. They were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, upon a charge of being agents of foreigners, and of having conspired to give a tyrant to the state. From the time of their arrest, their audacity abandoned them; and as they had neither talents nor enthusiasm, they defended themselves without ability, and died without courage.

It was now time for Danton to look to his own safety; the proscription had reached the commune, and was fast approaching him also. His friends urged him to act; but having failed to shake the dictatorial power by exciting public opinion and rousing the Convention, where could he look for support? Danton had only one resource; to lift up his well-known and powerful voice, denounce Robespierre and the committees, and rouse the Convention against their tyranny. He was warmly pressed to adopt this course; but, not to mention the difficulty of overturning an established domination, however atrocious, he knew too well the subjugation and terror of that assembly to trust to the efficacy of such an attempt. He therefore awaited his fate, in the belief however that his enemies would shrink from the proscription of one who had dared so much. He was

mistaken. On the 10th Germinal he received notice that the question of his arrest was under the consideration of the Committee of Public Safety, and he was once more urged to fly; but, after a moment's consideration, he answered, "They dare not." In the night his house was surrounded, and he was conducted to the Luxembourg, with Camille Desmoulins, Philipeaux, Lacroix, Hérault de Sechelles, and Westermann.

The arrest of Danton and his friends produced a violent agitation in Paris; the Convention also was stricken with dismay. Legendre made a powerful appeal in behalf of his friend, and demanded that, before the report of the committee was received, Danton should be examined in their presence. The proposition was favorably received, and for a moment the assembly seemed disposed to cast off its fetters. But the spell of the dictatorship of terror was still strong on that body. The assembly crouched beneath their tyrants, and unanimously sent the accused to the Revolutionary Tribunal. When brought before this Rhadamanthine judgment-seat, they assumed an attitude of haughty defiance, evincing at once an audacity of purpose, and a contempt for their judges, altogether extraordinary. The disdainful and vehement responses of Danton, the cool and measured discussion of Lacroix, the austerity of Philipeaux, and the nervous vigor of Desmoulins, began to make an impression on the people. The accused were therefore put *hors de débats*, on the pretence that they had been wanting in respect to the court, and they were immediately condemned without any further hearing. They were conducted to the Conciergerie, and thence to the scaffold. On their way to the place of execution, they displayed the stoical courage common at that period. A body of troops had been assembled, and their escort was numerous; but the people, who, on such occasions, are usually clamorous and approving, maintained a profound silence. Camille Desmoulins, even when on the fatal cart, was still astonished at his condemnation, and could not

comprehend it. "This, then," said he, "is the recompense destined to the first apostle of liberty." Danton held his head erect, and cast a calm and intrepid look around him. At the foot of the scaffold, however, his feelings for a moment overmastered him: "Oh, my well-beloved," cried he; "oh, my wife, shall I never see thee more!" But immediately checking himself, "Danton, no weakness," said he. He ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and received the blow of the fatal axe with unshaken courage.

The preparations for the ensuing campaign were pursued with unabated vigor. On the other hand, the allies were making powerful preparations for another attempt to subjugate France; and the emperor himself took the field at the head of the armies in the Netherlands. The plan of the campaign is said to have been framed by Colonel Mack, who afterwards acquired so much negative celebrity. West Flanders was to be protected by a strong body of men; whilst the main army was to penetrate to Landrecies, get within the line of the French frontier towns, and cut off the armies from the interior by covering the country from Maubeuge to the sea.

On the 16th, of April, the Austrian, British and Dutch armies assembled on the heights above Cateau, where they were reviewed by the emperor; and on the following day they advanced in eight columns against the French, drove in their posts, and penetrated beyond Landrecies. The allied army now amounted in all to a hundred and eighty-seven thousand men, who were disposed in the following manner: Fifteen thousand Dutch and fifteen thousand Austrians, under the Prince of Orange and General Latour, formed the siege of Landrecies; fifteen thousand British and fifteen thousand Austrians, commanded by the Duke of York and General Otto, encamped towards Cambray; the emperor and the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, at the head of sixty thousand Austrians, advanced as far as Guise; twelve thousand Hessians and Austrians, un-

der General Worms, were stationed near Douai and Bouchain; Count Kaunitz, with fifteen thousand Austrians, defended the Sambre and the country near Maubeuge; and General Clairfayt, with forty thousand Austrians and Hanoverians, protected Flanders from Tournay to the sea; whilst sixty thousand Prussians for whom a subsidy had been paid by Great Britain, were expected to take the field, but in fact never arrived.

The French now commenced active operations. On the morning of the 26th of April they attacked, in great force, the Duke of York near Cateau; but after a severe conflict they were repulsed, and General Chapuy was taken prisoner. At the same time they attacked the troops under his imperial majesty, but were again repulsed with the loss of fifty-seven pieces of cannon. On the same day, however, Pichegru advanced from Lisle, attacked and defeated Clairfayt, took thirty-two pieces of cannon, and, in the course of a few days, made himself master of Vervie, Menin and Courtray. On the 29th of April the garrison of Landrecies surrendered to the allies. When this event was known to the Convention, it excited a considerable degree of alarm. But it was the last decided success obtained by the allies during this disastrous campaign. Clairfayt was again completely defeated by Pichegru in a general engagement, and it was found necessary to send the Duke of York to his assistance. This movement, no doubt, seems to have been unavoidable; but its effect was to divide the allied army into a number of detachments, capable indeed of carrying on a desultory warfare, but unfit for the prosecution of vigorous measures. On the 10th of May the Duke of York was attacked near Tournay by a body of the enemy, whom he repulsed; but he was unable to effect a junction with Clairfayt, upon the destruction of whom the French were chiefly bent; for, whilst the Duke of York was occupied with the attack made on himself, Pichegru fell upon Clairfayt with such irresistible impetuosity, that the latter was compelled to retreat

in confusion, and part of his army fled to the neighborhood of Bruges. Whilst Pichegru was thus advancing successfully in West Flanders, Jourdan in East Flanders advanced from Maubeuge, crossed the Sambre, and forced Kaunitz to retreat. On the 18th, however, Kaunitz succeeded in repulsing the enemy in his turn, and in forcing them to re-cross the Sambre with considerable loss. The allies now found that no progress could be made in France whilst General Pichegru was advancing successfully and occupying West Flanders in their rear. The emperor, therefore, withdrew the greater part of his army to the neighborhood of Tournay, and resolved to make a grand effort to intersect the communications between Courtray and Lisle, and thus to cut off the retreat of Pichegru. With this view, the army, on the night of the sixteenth, moved forward in five columns; and Clairfayt was at the same time directed to cross the Lys, and if possible to effect a junction, and complete the plan. The attempt at first seemed to promise success; but in the course of the 17th, the division under the Duke of York was overpowered by numbers and defeated. The advance of the other columns was thus checked, and Clairfayt sustained another repulse. The plan of the allies had been completely frustrated, and their army in consequence withdrew to the neighborhood of Tournay.

Pichegru speedily attempted to retaliate. On the 22d of May, at day-break, he directed his whole force against the enemy. The attack commenced with a heavy fire of artillery, and all the advanced posts were driven in, upon which the action became general; the attacks were repeatedly renewed on both sides, and the day was spent in a succession of obstinate battles. All that military skill could effect was performed on both sides; the French and the allied soldiers fought with equal courage and obstinacy; but at nine o'clock in the evening the assailants reluctantly withdrew from the attack. The day, however, on which a vanquished enemy quits the field is not always that upon which

the victory is won. In this engagement the French were unsuccessful in their immediate object; but the weight of their fire, their steady discipline, and the determined obstinacy of their attacks, raised their military character in the estimation of the officers and soldiers of the allied army. And it was soon perceived that, in addition to these, they possessed other advantages. Their numbers were immense; they implicitly obeyed their generals; and the generals as implicitly submitted to the directions of the Committee of Public Safety. A combination of efforts was thus produced, and the effect was not impaired by divided counsels. On the other hand, the numbers of the allies were daily declining, and their leaders were independent princes, or powerful men, whose sentiments and interests were often at variance, and whose exertions were consequently disunited.

On the 24th the French again crossed the Sambre, but were driven back with considerable loss. On the 27th an attempt was made to besiege Charleroi, but on the 3d of June the Prince of Orange compelled the enemy to raise the siege. On the 12th, the attempt was renewed, but with no better success. In West Flanders, however, Pichegru was sufficiently strong to commence the siege of Ypres, which was garrisoned by seven thousand men. General Clairfayt made an attempt to raise it, but without success. Reinforcements were sent to Clairfayt from the grand army, to enable him to renew his efforts for the relief of the place, and a series of sanguinary contests ensued, in which that unfortunate general was almost uniformly unsuccessful. Ypres held out till the 17th of June, when it capitulated. In consequence of this and of other events, the Duke of York found it necessary to retreat to Oudenarde; for Jourdan, after storming the Austrian camp of Wattignies, now advanced in such strength upon Charleroi, that its immediate fall was anticipated. But as this would have enabled the two French armies to encircle the whole of Flanders, the Prince of Cobourg advanced to its relief; never-

theless, Charleroi surrendered at discretion on the 25th. This circumstance was not known to the Prince of Cobourg when he advanced on the 26th to attack the covering army in their intrenchments near Fleurus; but the latter having by this time been reinforced by the accession of the besieging force, repulsed the assailants without difficulty. Jourdan then drew his men out of their intrenchments, attacked the Austrians in his turn, and, though three times repulsed, was at last successful.

The allies were now obliged to retreat at all points. Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges were taken; and Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde and Brussels, at which place the French armies of East and West Flanders formed a junction, opened their gates. The allied troops having evacuated Namur, formed a line from Antwerp to Liège, in order to protect the country behind. But the French having advanced in force, attacked General Clairfayt, cut to pieces half the troops which now remained under his orders, and broke the line, upon which the allies retreated before them. The Duke of York was joined by some reinforcements under the Earl of Moira, which had with much difficulty made their way from Ostend; and with these and the Dutch troops he retired to the neighborhood of Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda for the protection of Holland. The Prince of Cobourg evacuated Liège, crossed the Maese, and threw a garrison into Maestricht; but he soon found it necessary to send back part of his troops to the neighborhood of Tongres. Here the French armies, to the astonishment of all Europe, made a voluntary pause in their career of victory, and ceased to pursue their retiring foes. The war on the Rhine was equally successful on the part of the French. On the 12th, 13th, and 14th of July, repeated battles were fought, in which the French obtained their usual success. As their armies were numerous, their practice was to fight in great bodies day after day till their object was accomplished. The Palatinate was next over-run, and Treves taken

by General Michaud. Flanders and the Palatinate have always been accounted the granaries of Germany, and both of them, at the commencement of the harvest, now fell into the hands of the French.

During the four months which succeeded the fall of Danton, the power of the committees was exercised without opposition and without reserve. Death became the only instrument of government, and the Republic was abandoned to daily and systematic executions. Then were invented the conspiracies of the prisons, which had been crowded by the operation of the law in regard to suspected persons, and which were emptied by that of the 22d Prairial, which might be called the law of the condemned; it was then that the emissaries of the Committee of Public Safety suddenly replaced those of the Mountain; that Carrier, the creature of Billaud, appeared in the west; Maignet, the creature of Couthon, in the south; and Joseph Lebon, the creature of Robespierre, in the North. The extermination *en masse* of the enemies of the democratic dictatorship, which had been practised at Lyons and Toulon by means of the mitrallades, became still more horrible when effected by means of the noyades of Nantes, and the scaffolds of Paris, Arras, and Orange. The terrorists were now so completely united, that they seemed to have but one body and one soul, in which all feelings, sentiments and desires had merged in a craving and insatiable appetite for blood. Posterity will find it difficult to credit the extent to which this appetite had grown by what it fed on. "The more the social body perspires, the sounder it becomes," said Collot-d'Herbois. "It is the dead only who never return," said Barrère. "The vessel of the Revolution can only arrive in port on a sea reddened with torrents of blood," said Saint-Just. "A nation is only regenerated on heaps of dead bodies," rejoined Robespierre. Nor were their actions at variance with the creed they professed. For months together these principles were daily carried into practice in

every town in France. Alone, and unopposed, the Committee of Public Safety struck numberless blows from one end of the kingdom to the other. The mandates of death issued from the capital, and the guillotine was immediately set to work in almost every town and village of France. Amidst the roaring of cannon, the roll of drums, and the sound of the tocsin, the suspected were everywhere arrested, whilst the young and active were marched off to the frontiers; fifteen hundred bastilles, spread throughout the departments, were found insufficient to contain the multitude of captives; and the monasteries, the palaces, the chateaux were in consequence converted into prisons. Rapidly as the guillotine did its work, however, it reaped not the harvest of death which everywhere presented itself. But disease came to its assistance, and contagious fevers, produced by the crowded state of the prisons, swept off thousands who had been destined to perish by the revolutionary axe. Terror was now in its zenith, and death at every door.

On the 10th of May, Madame Elizabeth, sister of the late king, was sacrificed by the Revolutionary Tribunal; and multitudes of every rank and both sexes daily shared the same fate. The rich were naturally the great objects of persecution, because the confiscation of their property added to the strength of the ruling powers; but neither were the poor safe in their poverty from the vengeance of this ferocious and sanguinary government. No security was to be found in any station of life, however humble or mean; a word, a look, a gesture might excite suspicion, and suspicion was death.

For a time things remained in this state, during which it was seen how possible it is for an individual to govern a great nation, even when that nation is hostile to his authority. It is far easier, indeed, to uphold the worst form of government, than to establish the best which human genius or patriotism ever devised. But still the power of Robespierre rested upon no solid foundation, and

his fall was therefore inevitable. He had no organized force; his partizans, though numerous, were not organized; he was sustained only by terror and a great force of opinion; and hence, not being able to overpower his enemies by an act of violence, he sought to strike them with dismay. And for a time he succeeded. But such a system soon attains the utmost limit to which it can be urged, and when the tension becomes extreme, the recoil is near at hand. On the day after the festival of the Supreme Being, when the power of the tyrant had reached its apex, his sanguinary intentions were fully disclosed. By the decree of the 22d Prairial, passed on the motion of Couthon, every form, delay, or usage, calculated to protect the accused, was at one fell swoop annihilated. Accustomed as the Convention had been to blind obedience, a project calculated to place every member of that body at the mercy of the dictator startled its apathy. "If this law passes," said Ruamps, "nothing remains but to blow out our brains." But the hour of deliverance had not yet arrived. Robespierre mounted the tribune, and demanded, that instead of pausing on the proposal of adjournment, the assembly should sit until the project of the law was discussed. The assembly felt its weakness, and in thirty minutes the decree was unanimously adopted. From this moment, however, may be dated the commencement of the re-action. Proscriptions increased with fearful rapidity, and the cruelties committed in the provinces equalled, if not exceeded, those perpetrated in the capital. Lebon at Arras, and Carrier at Nantes, revelled in horrors such as the world had never before witnessed. Since the law of the 22d Prairial, heads fell at the rate of fifty or sixty a day; yet the Committee of Public Safety, not satisfied with this dreadful amount of carnage, incessantly urged the public accuser, Fouquier Tinville, to accelerate the executions. But whilst the apprehensions of the terrorists themselves inflamed and maddened their ferocity, discord arose in their conclave; the active members

of the committees were divided; on one side were Robespierre, Saint-Just, and Couthon; on the other Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and the members of the Committee of General Safety. After several fruitless attempts to regain his ascendancy, Robespierre absented himself from the committees, and threw himself on the Jacobins and the commune, where his influence was still paramount. Meanwhile his more furious partisans urged the immediate adoption of the most vigorous measures. Henriot and the mayor of Paris were ready to commence a new massacre, and three thousand young assassins were provided for the purpose. "Strike soon and strongly," said Saint-Just. "*Dare*; that is the sole secret of revolutions." Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Thuriot, Rovère, Lecombe, Panis, Monestier, Legendre, Fréron, Barras, Cambon, were marked out as the first victims. But as the conspirators had no armed force at their command, as the Jacobin Club was only powerful from its influence on public opinion, and as the committees of government were all arrayed upon the other side, Robespierre was compelled to commence the attack in the Convention, which he hoped to sway by the terror of his voice, or at all events to overwhelm by a popular insurrection similar to that which had proved so successful on the 31st of May. Nor were the leaders of the Convention and the committees idle on their side. The immediate pressure of danger united all parties against the tyrant, who, in the popular society, had made no secret of his resolution to decimate the assembly.

At length, on the 8th Thermidor (26th July), the contest commenced in the National Convention. The discourse of Robespierre was dark and enigmatical, but its real object was not doubtful. The dictator was listened to with breathless attention; not a sound interrupted the delivery of his speech; not a whisper of applause followed its close. On the proposal that it should be printed, the first symptoms of resistance showed themselves. Bourdon de l'Oise opposed its pub

ication; but Barrère supported it, and the assembly, fearful of prematurely committing itself, agreed to the proposal. Seeing the majority wavering, the Committee of General Safety now deemed it necessary to take decisive steps. Fréron proposed to throw off the hated yoke of the committees, and to reverse the decree which permitted the arrest of the representatives of the people; but as Robespierre was still too powerful to be overthrown by the Convention unaided by the committees, this proposal was rejected, and the assembly contented itself with reversing the decree for the publication of his address, which was sent to the committees for examination. In the evening the tyrant, attended by Henriot, Dumas, Coffinhal, and his other satellites, repaired to the popular society, where he was received with enthusiasm; and during the night he made arrangements for disposing his partisans on the following day. The two committees, on their side, were not idle. They sat in deliberation during the whole night; and it was felt by every one that a combination of all parties was requisite to shake the power of the tyrant. To this object, accordingly, all their efforts were directed; and, by unremitting exertions, the Jacobins of the Mountain succeeded in forming a coalition with the leaders of the centre and the right. Before daybreak all the assembly had united for the overthrow of the tyrant.

At an early hour on the morning of the 9th Thermidor (27th July), the benches of the Convention were crowded with members, and the leaders walked about in the passages confirming one another in their generous resolution. At noon Saint-Just ascended the tribune, and Robespierre took his seat on a bench directly opposite, to intimidate his adversaries by that look which had so often stricken them with terror. But its spell was powerless; fear had now changed sides. As he proceeded to take his seat his knees trembled, and the color fled from his lips; the hostile appearance of the assembly already gave him an anticipator of his fate. Saint-

Just began by declaring that he belonged to no party, and would combat them all. Here he was vehemently interrupted by Tallien, the intrepid leader of the revolt. After he had accused Saint-Just and his followers of the intention of overthrowing the Committees of Public Safety and General Security, Billaud-Varennes gave fuller details of the conspiracy which had been matured in the society of the Jacobins, and denounced Robespierre as its chief; at the same time declaring that the assembly would perish if it showed the least symptom of weakness. "We will never perish," exclaimed the members, rising in a transport of enthusiasm. Tallien then resumed, and in impassioned language called upon the assembly to pass the decree of accusation. During this agitating scene Robespierre sat motionless from terror. The Convention, amidst violent uproar, decreed the arrest of Dumas, president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, Henriot, commander of the national guard, and their associate conspirators; it also declared its sittings permanent, and numerous measures of precaution were suggested. But as the main object of destroying Robespierre was in danger of being lost sight of amidst these multifarious proposals, Tallien again ascended the Tribune, and, in the most emphatic terms, demanded that the dictator should be declared *hors la loi*. Robespierre now attempted to obtain a hearing, but in vain. His voice was drowned by the incessant ringing of the president's bell, and by shouts of "Down with the tyrant," which resounded throughout the halls. A moment of silence ensued, during which he made a last effort to be heard. "For the last time, president of assassins," exclaimed he, turning to the chair, "will you allow me to speak?" But Thuriot recommenced ringing his bell; and, amidst renewed cries of "Down with the tyrant," he sunk on his seat exhausted with fatigue and rage. The foam now issued from his mouth, and his speech failed. "Wretch," exclaimed a voice from the Mountain, "the blood of Danton chokes

thee!" The act of accusation was then passed amidst the most violent agitation; the two Robespierres, Lebas, Couthon, Saint-Just, Dumas, and some others, were unanimously put under arrest, and sent to prison; and, after a scene perhaps unexampled in history, the assembly broke up at five o'clock.

The Jacobins, who had fully expected that Robespierre would be victorious in the Convention, no sooner heard of his arrest than they instantly gave orders to sound the tocsin, to close the barriers, to convoke the council-general, and assemble the sections; they also declared their sittings permanent, and established the most rapid means of communication between the two centres of insurrection. Meanwhile, Henriot endeavored to excite the people to revolt by parading the streets, at the head of his staff, with a sabre in his hand, exclaiming, "To arms to save the country!" But having been met by two deputies, who prevailed upon some horsemen to obey the orders of the Convention, he was seized, handcuffed, and sent to the Committee of General Safety. Peyan, the national agent, was about the same time arrested, and the Convention seemed triumphant. But between six and seven o'clock the insurgents regained the advantage, chiefly in consequence of the energetic measures of the municipality. Robespierre having been sent to the Conciergerie, and the rest of the conspirators to the other prisons of Paris, the commune sent detachments to deliver them, and Robespierre was speedily brought in triumph to the Hotel de Ville, where he was joined by his brother and Saint Just; whilst Coffinhal, at the head of two hundred cannoniers, forced the guard of the Convention, penetrated to the rooms of the Committee of General Safety and delivered Henriot. The assembly met again at seven o'clock, when it received intelligence of the success of the insurgents, the liberation of the terrorists, the assemblage at the Hotel de Ville, and the convocation of revolutionary committees and of the sections. In a short time

the delivery of Henriot, and the presence of an armed force around the Convention, were also communicated; and when the agitation was at its height, Amar entered and announced that the cannoniers had pointed their guns against the hall of the assembly. The moment was truly terrible. But in this extremity, Tallien and his friends acted with that dauntless intrepidity which so often proves successful in revolutions. Henriot was declared *hors la loi*, and Barras appointed to the command of the military, whilst Fréron, Bourdon de l'Oise, and other determined men, were associated with him in this perilous duty; the Committee of Public Safety was fixed on as the centre of operations; and emissaries were instantly dispatched to all the sections to summon them to the defence of the Convention. Fortunately for this body, Henriot in vain attempted to induce the cannoniers to fire. They had obeyed his orders in marching from the Hotel de Ville, and to this they limited their obedience. The refusal of the cannoniers decided the fortune of this day. Dispirited and alarmed, Henriot withdrew to the Hotel de Ville; the armed forces followed his example; and the Convention, which had just been besieged in its hall, became the assailing party.

The battalions of the sections, who had been convoked by the emissaries of the Convention, now began to arrive at the Tuileries, and in a short time a considerable force assembled. At midnight a rumor began to circulate through the ranks of the insurgents that the municipality had been declared *hors la loi*; that the sections had joined the Convention; and that their forces were advancing to attack the Hotel de Ville. In the Place de Grève there were stationed about two thousand insurgents with a powerful train of artillery; but their firmness was much shaken when the light of the torches showed the heads of the columns of the national guards appearing in all the avenues which lead into the square, and thus made obvious the defection of their fellow-citizens. Still

it was a fearful moment. Ten pieces of artillery had been placed in battery by the troops of the Convention; and the cannoniers of the municipality, with burning matches in their hands, stood beside their guns on the opposite side. But happily the authority of the legislature prevailed; its decree which declared the commune *hors la loi* was read by torch-light, and in an instant the Place de Grève was deserted.

With terror in his looks and imprecations in his mouth, Henriot announced the total defection of the troops. Instantly despair took possession of that band of assassins; every one turned his fury on his neighbor; nothing but mutual execrations could be heard. In a transport of rage, Coffinhal seized Henriot in his arms, and exclaiming, "Vile wretch! your cowardice has undone us all," hurled him headlong down the stair. Saint-Just implored Lebas to put an end to his life. "Coward, follow my example," exclaimed the latter and blew out his brains. Robespierre tried to imitate him; but his hand trembled, and he only broke his under jaw, which disfigured him in a frightful manner. Couthon was found under a table, feebly attempting to strike with a knife, which he wanted courage to plunge into his heart. Coffinhal and the younger Robespierre threw themselves from the windows, and were seized in the inner court of the building. Henriot, bruised and mutilated, had contrived to crawl into the entrance of a sewer, out of which he was dragged by the troops of the Convention. Robespierre and Couthon, being thought dead, were dragged by the heels to the Quai Pelletier, where it was proposed to throw them into the river; but when daylight appeared, and it was found that they still breathed, they were stretched on a board and carried to the Committee of General Safety. There, extended on a table, with his visage disfigured and bloody, the fallen tyrant lay for some hours exposed to invectives and execrations, saw men of every party rejoicing in his overthrow, and heard himself charged with all

the crimes which had been committed. He was then conveyed to the Conciergerie, where for a brief space he occupied the same cell in which Danton, Herbert, and Chaumette had been confined. When brought with his associates before the Revolutionary Tribunal the process was short; as soon as the identity of their persons had been established, they were ordered for execution. About five in the morning of the 29th of July, he was placed on the death-cart, between Henriot and Couthon, who were as mutilated as himself. A linen bandage soaked in blood supported his broken jaw; his countenance was livid, and his eye almost extinct. An immense multitude crowded around the cart, testifying their feelings in loud and reiterated shouts of exultation; some shed tears of joy, others embraced, and others again poured forth execrations against the tyrant, whom, from time to time, the gendarmes pointed out to the people with their sabres. Saint-Just was the only one who evinced any firmness or self-possession; the others, to the number of twenty-two, were excessively dejected. Robespierre was executed the last; when the fatal axe descended, an exulting shout arose, which was prolonged for several minutes after the tyrant was no more.

With the fall of Robespierre ended the reign of terror, in which it is estimated, by an impartial historian, upwards of 1,022,300 persons perished.

After the fall of Robespierre the Convention exhibited a remarkable change of appearance. Instead of the silence which had formerly prevailed, all was now bustle and activity. The success of the general uprising of all the parties against one man destroyed the compression under which they had labored; but the momentary union which had ensured the victory was soon at an end, and the conquerors speedily arranged themselves into two parties, namely, that of the committees, and that consisting of partisans of the Mountain, which received the name of *parti Thermidorien*. But the committees were vanquished with Robespierre, and their

government lost the *prestige* of terror which constituted its whole force. Besides the loss of their chief, they had no longer the commune, whose insurgent members, to the number of seventy-two, were sent to the scaffold, and which, after its double defeat under Hebert and under Robespierre, was not reorganized, and lost in consequence all its influence. The democratic power of the committees accordingly declined, and the Thermidorian party, including a great majority of the Convention, prevailed; whilst a new character was given to that assembly by the coalition of the moderates, Boissyd'Anglas, Sièyes, Cambacérès, Chénier, Thibaudeau, with the Dantonists, Tallien, Fréron, Legendre, Barras, Bourdon de l'Oise, Rovère, Bentabold, Dumont, and the two Merlins. The former system of terror was consequently declared to be at an end, and a new system of moderatism succeeded, which was carried to as great a height as that of terror had formerly been, and all means were taken to render popular the fall of the tyrant. The committees were organized anew, and their members ordered to be frequently changed. The correspondence between the affiliated Jacobin Clubs was prohibited, and the Jacobin Club itself was at length abolished.

The allies in their retreat having left strong garrisons in the French towns Condé, Valenciennes, Quesnoi, and Landrecies, which had surrendered to them, these now surrendered to the republican armies with so little resistance, that the conduct of the emperor began to be considered as ambiguous, and he was even suspected of having entered into some kind of compromise with the French. But this suspicion proved groundless; and as soon as the army which had besieged these towns was able to join the grand army under Pichegru and Jourdan, the operations of the campaign were resumed after a suspension of almost two months. The French army divided itself into two bodies. One of these under Jourdan advanced against General Clairfayt, who

had succeeded the Prince of Cobourg in the command in the neighborhood of Maëstricht. On the 15th of September the French attacked the whole Austrian posts, extending along a line of five leagues from Liège to Maëstricht; and on the following day the attack was renewed with nearly an equal loss on both sides. On the 17th the French, with fifty pieces of cannon, attacked General Kray in his intrenched camp before Maëstricht; and the latter was already retiring when General Clairfayt arrived with a strong reinforcement, and, after a severe combat, compelled the French once more to fall back. On the 18th, the French having renewed the attack with increased fury upon every part of the Austrian line, obliged the whole to fall back to the neighborhood of Aix-la-Chapelle. General Clairfayt now took up a strong position on the banks of the Roer, where he declared it to be his wish that he might be attacked; but by this time the spirit of his army had been humbled, desertions were numerous, and discipline became extremely relaxed. On the first of October the French crossed the Maese and the Roer, attacked the whole Austrian positions from Ruremond to Juliers, and, after a bloody engagement, compelled the brave and active though unfortunate Clairfayt hastily to re-pass the Rhine with the loss of ten or twelve thousand men. The French general did not attempt to cross that river; but one detachment of his army took possession of Coblenz, whilst others laid siege to Venlo and Maëstricht, which soon afterwards surrendered.

In the mean time the French army under Pichegru entered Holland, and having attacked the allied army under the Duke of York, between Bois-le-Duc and Grave, forced the advanced post at Bostel. Lieutenant-General Abercromby was sent to attempt to recover this post, on the 15th of September, but he found the French in such force that he was obliged to retreat. They were in fact discovered to be nearly eighty thousand strong; and the Duke of York, unable to

contend against a force so greatly superior, retired across the Maese with the loss of about fifteen hundred men. Pichegru immediately laid siege to Bois-le-Duc. On the 30th of September, Creveccœur was taken, and Bois-le-Duc surrendered in ten days thereafter.

The French now followed the Duke of York across the Maese; whereupon the greater part of the allied army under his royal highness crossed the Rhine and took post at Arnheim, whither the remainder followed soon afterwards. Nimeguen was occupied by the French on the 7th of November. At this time the Duke of Brunswick was requested to assume the command of the allied army, and if possible to protect Holland; and, with that view he proceeded to Arnheim; but after attentively examining the state of affairs, he declined undertaking the heavy responsibility which such a command would involve.

Whilst these events were occurring in the north, the French arms were scarcely less successful on the side of Spain. Bellagarde was taken, Fontarabia and St. Sebastian surrendered, and the whole kingdom of Spain seemed panic-stricken. That feeble government, with an almost impregnable frontier and the most powerful fortresses, made but little resistance; and the difficult nature of their country seemed now their only protection. The history of this war is merely a list of victories gained by the French. On the 17th of November the French general Dugommier was killed in an engagement fought in the Eastern Pyrenees, where, however, his army was successful. On the 20th of the same month the French again attacked the Spaniards, and routed them with the bayonet, without firing a single shot. Tents, baggage, and cannon, for an army of fifty thousand men, fell into the hands of the conquerors, along with the greater part of the province of Navarre. Towards the end of the year an army of forty thousand Spaniards, intrenched behind eighty redoubts, the work of six months, suffered themselves

to be completely defeated; their general was found dead upon the field of battle, and the whole Spanish artillery was taken. Three days afterwards, Figueiras, containing a garrison of above nine thousand men, surrendered, although it mounted a hundred and seventy-one pieces of cannon, and possessed abundance of provisions. The French continued their conquests; Rosas surrendered, and the whole province of Catalonia was left at the mercy of the invaders.

But the successes of this wonderful campaign were not yet terminated; the last, and perhaps the most important, although no great effort was necessary to its execution, yet remains to be noticed. The winter had now set in with uncommon severity. Towards the end of December a severe frost bound up the whole of the rivers and lakes of Holland, and in the beginning of January the Waal was frozen over, which had not occurred for fourteen years past. Taking advantage of this circumstance, the French crossed that river on the ice, and seized with little opposition the important pass of Bom-mell, which at other seasons is so strong by reason of its inundations. The allied army, having been joined by seventeen thousand Austrians, had received orders to defend Holland to the last extremity. They did so, and were successful in repulsing the French for some days between the Waal and the Leek; but the republican army, amounting to seventy thousand men, having at last advanced in full force, the allied troops were compelled to retire across the Yssel into Westphalia. In the course of their march through this desert country, in the midst of severe frost and deep snow, they suffered incredible hardships, and lost a great number of men. The French, in the mean time, advanced rapidly across the country to the Zuyder-Zee, to prevent the inhabitants from flying and carrying off their property. On the 16th of January, 1795, a party of horse, without resistance, took possession of Amsterdam. The other towns surrendered at discretion; and, in consequence of an order

from the States-General, Bergen-op-Zoom, Williamstadt, Breda, and other strong places opened their gates to the French. By the intense frost, the fleet and the shipping were fixed in their stations, and became a prey to the enemy, who thus, with little effort, made a complete conquest of this rich and highly defensible country. The people were almost everywhere favorable to their cause; and in fact the power of the stadtholder had been supported solely by the influence of Prussia and England. Through hatred of this office, which had now become odious chiefly to the mercantile aristocracy of Holland, the people were unfriendly to the allies, and, during the war, gave them as little support as possible. The stadtholder and his family now fled to England. And thus terminated a campaign, in the course of which, even before the conquest of Holland, the French had taken two thousand pieces of cannon and sixty thousand prisoners; whilst after that event the conquered territories added a population of nearly fourteen millions to the Republic. Luxembourg and Mayence were the only places on the Rhine which resisted them. But the former was closely blockaded; and the latter, though several times assaulted, successfully held out.

As the constitution which had been framed in the year 1793 was justly deemed impracticable, a committee was appointed to frame a new one. The feelings of the nation at large received additional gratification from the conduct of the Convention towards Fouquier-Tinville, the public accuser, and fifteen judges and jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Having been fully convicted on the 8th of May, they were executed on the 9th, amidst the loud execrations of a vast multitude of spectators.

But although the Jacobins were defeated on the 1st and 2d of April, they did not consider themselves as entirely subdued. On the contrary, they were now plotting a more extensive insurrection, which was not to be confined to the capital alone, and they had fixed upon the 20th of May as the period of

revolt. The arrest of Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier, not to mention other circumstances, convinced the Jacobins that their whole party was doomed to destruction. Accordingly, on the morning of the day fixed on, the tocsin sounded, and the drums beat to arms in the faubourgs of Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau, in which the Jacobins had always enjoyed the greatest influence. The Convention met on the first alarm; but although the insurrection was far from being a secret, the Committee of Public Safety did not appear to have taken any measures to prevent it; and it was only at the moment when the insurgents were approaching that General Hoche was appointed to the command of the armed force, and sent to collect the military and citizens for the protection of the Convention. The hall was presently surrounded, the guards were overpowered, and the mob forced their way into the midst of the assembly. The multitudes of women who appeared on this occasion shouted for bread and the constitution of 1793. Vernier, the president, a man far advanced in years, quitted the chair to Boissy-d'Anglas, who kept it with unexampled fortitude during the day. The mob had written on their hats with chalk, "Bread, the constitution of 1793, and the liberation of the patriots." One of the party attached to the Convention having imprudently torn off the hat of one of the insurgents, the multitude attacked him with swords; and he was killed by a musket shot as he fled for protection towards the chair of the president. The majority of the members gradually retired from this scene of lawless intrusion, and left the multitude masters of the hall; but several of the members who remained espoused the cause of the insurgents. The triumph of the latter, however, was but of very short continuance. In the evening they were overpowered by a large body of military, aided by the citizens; the powers of the Convention were restored; and the deputies who had espoused the cause of the mob were put under arrest. But this

day decided nothing permanently. A second conflict was in reserve.

It would appear, indeed, that the Convention and the citizens of Paris considered their triumph as complete; at all events no measures were adopted sufficient to prevent the repetition of a similar outrage. The Jacobins, however, were by no means disposed to consider their cause as desperate. Next day they collected their forces in the suburbs, and in the afternoon made a second attempt to regain the ascendancy. The Place de Carrousel was taken without opposition, and some pieces of cannon were even pointed against the hall of the Convention. The members, being wholly unprotected, now endeavored to gain over the mob by flattery; they fraternised with the faubourgs, without, however, making them any positive promise; and the intruders retired on receiving an assurance that the Convention was solicitously occupied with the means of procuring subsistence, and that it would soon publish the organic laws of the constitution of 1793. On the 23d, the citizens assembled, and proceeded to the Tuileries to defend the Convention from insult and violence. The military also collected in considerable force; and the Convention, at length encouraged to act on the offensive, decreed that if the faubourg of Saint Antoine did not immediately surrender its arms and cannon, together with the assassin of Féraud, who had been murdered in the very hall whilst covering the president with his body, it would be declared in a state of rebellion. The generals of the Convention at the same time received orders to reduce it by force, if necessary; and the insurgents, finding themselves unequal to the conflict, were forced to surrender unconditionally, in order to preserve their property from the depredations of the military. All soldiers found amongst the prisoners were put to death. Six members of the Convention who had been concerned in the insurrection were also tried by a military commission, and condemned. These were Goujon, Bourbotte, Romme, Duroy, Duquesnoy, and

Soubrany, all democrats of the Mountain party. When they heard the sentence pronounced they all stabbed themselves with the same knife, which they passed from one to another exclaiming *Vive la République*. Romme, Goujon, and Duquesnoy were fortunate enough to strike home; the other three were conducted to the scaffold in a dying state, but with their countenances still serene.

In the south of France, the Jacobins, equally turbulent with their brethren in Paris, excited an insurrection at Toulon on the 20th of May; seized on the gates, which they planted with cannon; set at liberty such of their associates as had been incarcerated; and detained the fleet which was about to put to sea. From Toulon they proceeded to Marseilles, forming in all a body about three thousand strong, with twelve pieces of cannon; but on their march they were encountered by Generals Clarton and Pactod, by whom they were defeated, and three hundred sent as prisoners to Marseilles.

On the 23d of June, Boissy-d'Anglas presented the report of the committee relative to the project of a new constitution. Like its predecessors, it was prefaced with a declaration of the rights of man, and, besides, consisted of fourteen chapters on as many different subjects—the extent of the republican territories; the political state of citizens; primary assemblies; electoral assemblies; the legislature; the judicial authority; the public force; public instruction; the finances; foreign treaties; the mode of revising the constitution; with a provision that no rank or superiority should exist amongst citizens except such as might arise from the exercise of public functions. All the articles of the new constitution underwent each a separate discussion, after which they were ordered to be transmitted to the primary assemblies for their approbation. Previously to this event, however, the Convention, in order to avert the danger which now threatened it from the

loss of public favor, decreed that at the approaching general election the electors should be bound to return two-thirds of the present members; and if this failed, that the Convention might themselves fill up the vacancies. Decrees to this effect accompanied the constitution; but at Paris the idea of re-electing two-thirds of the old members was rejected with indignation, and the absurdity of doing so pointed out with every expression of acrimony and contempt.

The Convention, however, did not fail to publish the approbation of the decrees, as well as of the constitution, by the primary assemblies; although it is pretty certain that great numbers had confounded the one with the other, and given their approbation accordingly. Such, indeed, was the rage of many against the Convention, on account of the decrees already mentioned, that it was even proposed to try all the members before a new revolutionary tribunal, and to punish each according to his crimes. The sections remonstrated to the Convention against the decrees, and the more eager they appeared in the matter, the more persuaded was the Convention of its own imminent danger. Every remonstrance was accordingly disregarded, and the contending parties formed the resolution of settling the question by force.

About a hundred electors of Paris met in the hall of the theatre in the suburb of St. Germain, before the day of meeting which had been appointed by the Convention, and having chosen the Duke de Nivernois as their president, began their debates, absurdly concluding that the sovereignty was vested in the hands of the electors after these had been chosen by the primary sections. A body of troops was sent to dissolve them as an illegal assembly, and this was accomplished without any difficulty, because the citizens had not been unanimous in their sentiments respecting it. This, however, did not prevent the sections from presuming that, by steady perseverance, they would finally prove victorious; they had always

found that the party favored by the co-operation of the Parisian populace had carried their point ever since the commencement of the Revolution. The armed force with which the Convention was surrounded gave the people but little concern, as they had persuaded themselves that the military could never be brought to act against the citizens. The members of the Convention also appeared to suspect their fidelity, and therefore applied for assistance to those very Jacobins whom they had humbled on the 24th of May. If the sections of Paris detested the members for their connection with the atrocities of Robespierre, the Jacobins admired them for this very reason; and from fifteen to eighteen hundred of the latter, released from prison, were put in a state of requisition for assisting the legislative body, and regimented under the denomination of "Battalion of the Patriots of Eighty-nine."

As the danger, however, was imminent, the Convention had declared its sittings permanent; called around its enceinte the troops in the camp at Sablons; and concentrated its powers in a committee of five persons, instructed to adopt such measures as they should judge necessary for the public safety. These members were Colombel, Barras, Danton, Letourneur, and Merlin de Douai. In the night of the 11th Vendemaire the decree which dissolved the college of electors, and armed the battalion of the patriots of 1789, excited the greatest agitation; the *général* was beaten; the section Lepelletier thundered against the despotism of the Convention, and the return of terror; and during the whole day of the 12th it was occupied in disposing the other sections to combat. In the evening, the Convention, not less agitated itself, resolved to assume the initiative, surround the disaffected section, and terminate the crisis by disarming it. The general of the interior, Menou, and the representative Laporte, were charged with this mission. The head-quarters of the sectionaries was in the convent of the Filles-Saint-Thomas, before which they were drawn up in order

of battle to the number of six or seven hundred. They were surrounded by superior forces, on flank by the boulevards, and in front on the side of the Rue Vivienne. Instead of disarming, however, the chiefs of the expedition parleyed with them; and it was at length agreed that both parties should retire. But scarcely had the troops of the Convention withdrawn, when the sectionaries returned in greater force than before. This was to them a real victory, which, being exaggerated in Paris, excited their partisans, augmented their number, and gave them courage to attack the Convention the following day. At eleven o'clock, the latter received information of the issue of this expedition, and the dangerous effect which it had produced. Menou was immediately deprived of the command, which was conferred on Barras; and the latter demanded of the committee of five the appointment, as his second in command, of a young officer who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon; "a man," said he "of head and resolution, and capable of serving the Republic at such a moment of peril." This young officer was Bonaparte, who immediately presented himself before the committee; but nothing in his appearance or demeanor yet indicated his astonishing destinies. Little connected with party, and called for the first time to perform a part on a great scene, his countenance betrayed something of timidity and want of confidence, which, however, he lost in the preparations for action and in the heat of the battle. He caused the artillery to be brought in all haste from the camp of Sablons, and disposed the guns as well as the troops, amounting to five thousand men, on the different points of attack. On the 13th of Vendémiaire (5th October), about mid-day, the enceinte of the Convention had the appearance of a strong place, which could only be taken by assault.

Thus prepared, the Convention waited for the insurgents, who soon advanced upon several points. About three o'clock General

Carteaux, who occupied the Pont-Neuf with four hundred men and two four pounders, was overpowered by several columns of sectionaries, and obliged to fall back as far as the Louvre. This advantage emboldened the insurgents, who were in force upon all points, and General Danican now summoned the Convention to withdraw the troops and to disarm the terrorists. Several members declared for conciliatory measures. But Chénier having declared that there was now nothing for the National Convention but victory or death, that body, on the motion of Fermoud, passed to the order of the day. Seven hundred muskets were now brought in, and the members of the Convention armed themselves as a corps de reserve. The combat began in the Rue Saint-Honoré, of which the insurgents were masters; the first shots proceeded from the Hôtel de Noailles, and a heavy fire was instantly opened along the whole of that line. On the other flank, two columns of sectionaries, about four thousand strong, commanded by Count de Maulevrier, debouched by the quays a few minutes afterwards, and attacked the Pont-Royal. The battle now became general; but it could not last long, as the place was too formidably defended to be taken by assault. After an hour's hard fighting the sectionaries were driven out of Saint-Roch and the Rue Saint-Honoré, by the cannon of the Convention and the battalion of 1789. The column of the Pont-Royal received three discharges of artillery, directly along the bridge, and obliquely from the quays, by which means it was completely shattered, and driven back in the greatest disorder. At seven o'clock, the troops of the Convention, victorious at all points, assumed the offensive; and at nine they had dislodged the sectionaries from the theatre of the Republic, and the posts which they occupied in the neighborhood of the Palais-Royal. The latter had prepared to form barricades during the night; but several discharges of round shot fired along the Rue Richelieu prevented them. On the morning of the 14th the Conventional troops

disarmed the section Lepelletier, and re-established order in the others. The victory was used with moderation. The assembly had only combated in its own defence, and had no vengeance to gratify.

The sittings of the Convention terminated on the 27th of October, and it was succeeded by the new legislature, in terms of the constitution. Amongst its last decrees was one granting a general amnesty for all crimes and proceedings of a revolutionary nature; but the emigrants, transported priests, and every one concerned in the last insurrection, were excluded from the benefit of it.

The first step of the new legislature was to divide itself into two councils, and proceed to the election of an Executive Directory. The Council of Five Hundred was bound to present to the other council fifty candidates, and a list was accordingly made out; but it consisted of no more than the five whom the council wished to be chosen, the other forty-five being obscure persons, farmers and peasants, so that the Council of Ancients, deprived of all power of election, were obliged to appoint Sièyes, Barras, Rewbell, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, and Letourneur de la Manche, none of the others being qualified for the office. Sièyes, however, did not deem it prudent to become one of the five republican kings; and on his declining to accept of the new dignity, Carnot was appointed in his stead.

On the 10th of April a treaty of peace with the king of Prussia was presented to the Convention, in order to be ratified. By virtue of this treaty, it was agreed that the republican troops should be immediately withdrawn from the territories of Prussia on the right bank of the Rhine, but that the territories which France then possessed on the left bank of that river should be retained till a general peace. A mutual exchange of prisoners of war was agreed on, and the intercourse between the two countries placed on its former footing. Measures were also adopted to transfer the theatre of hostilities from the northern parts of Germany. The

King of Sweden at the same time acknowledged the French Republic, and his ambassador was received at Paris with great solemnity. In the month of May another treaty was concluded with Prussia, which had a special reference to the line of neutrality. The cantons of Switzerland followed the example of the King of Sweden; and on the 22d of July a treaty of peace was also concluded at Basle, between the Republic and the court of Spain, in consequence of which France gave up all the conquests she had made in that country, and the original frontier was restored; whilst, in return, the Republic received all the Spanish part of St. Domingo. In this treaty the Dutch Republic was included, and the mediation of the King of Spain, in favor of Portugal and the Italian princes, was accepted by France.

On the 9th of June, the dauphin, the heir to the throne of the unfortunate Louis XVI., and also his only son, died in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined with his sister since the death of his father. His death interested the French nation so deeply in favor of his family, that the Convention found it prudent to liberate the princess. The Committee of Public Safety proposed to the emperor to give her in exchange for the commissioners whom Dumas had sent as prisoners to the Austrians, together with Semouille and another person, who had been seized on their way to Turkey as envoys extraordinary from the French Republic. This proposition was agreed to, and the exchange took place in consequence, at Basle in Switzerland.

If Britain was unfortunate upon the Continent, she still retained her superiority on her own element. On the 14th of March a fleet under Admiral Hotham engaged a French fleet, and took two sail of the line, the *Ça Ira* and *Censeur*; but this was nearly counterbalanced by the loss of the *Berwick* and *Illustrious*. Three French ships of the line were captured by Lord Bridport on the 23d of June, in an attack on the enemy's fleet off Port L'Orient; the rest effected

their escape. Britain having thus evinced her usual superiority by sea, advantage was taken of this circumstance to send assistance to the royalists in the western departments; but unfortunately for them it came too late. The Convention offered them a treaty, which was accepted and signed at Nantes on the 3d of March, by deputies from the Convention on the one part, and, on the other, by Charette, Sapineau, and the rest of the chiefs of La Vendée, and by Cormartin, as representatives of the party called Chouans. Stofflet also submitted to the Republic on the 20th of April. But the countenance given by Britain to the royalists induced them to disregard these treaties. The troops sent to their aid were composed of emigrants in the pay of Great Britain, and a number of prisoners who had agreed to join the royal cause. Puisaye commanded this motley army, and the Count de Sombreuil afterwards joined him with an inconsiderable reinforcement. The expedition arrived in the bay of Quiberon on the 25th of June, and arms were put into the hands of the inhabitants of the country; but it was soon found that the latter could not be of much advantage to regular troops. A resolution was therefore adopted to withdraw the emigrant army within the peninsula of Quiberon; and the fort of the same name, with a garrison consisting of about six hundred men, was taken on the 3d of July, and occupied by the emigrants. But all the posts without the peninsula were carried by an army under General Hoche, the emigrants and Chouans escaping in the boats of the British fleet, or flying for protection under the cannon of the fort. The republicans then began to erect formidable works on the heights of St. Barbe, which commanded the entrance of the peninsula. To prevent these operations, a sally was made from the fort on the 7th, but without effect; and another in still greater force had no better success. The whole forces in the peninsula, including Chouans, amounted to about twelve thousand men, five thousand of whom were sent to attack the heights of St.

Barbe. On this position the republicans were intrenched in three camps, two of which were taken without difficulty; but as the emigrants rushed forward to attack the third, a masked battery was opened upon them with grape shot, which caused a dreadful slaughter, and few of the emigrants would have effected their escape, had not the fire of the British ships compelled the republicans to abandon the pursuit.

It was now evident what would be the fate of this expedition, and desertion amongst the emigrants became very frequent, especially those who had been liberated from prison on condition of serving against the Republic. On the evening of the 20th, the weather was tempestuous, and this induced the emigrants to indulge in a fatal security. The troops of the Republic were conducted in silence along an unguarded part of the shore, and surprised one of the posts, where they found the artillerymen asleep. They extinguished the lantern which was intended to give the British fleet the alarm, and seized on their matches. Some of the emigrants threw down their arms and joined the republicans, whilst others maintained an obstinate contest before they surrendered. The Count de Sombreuil was taken and put to death, together with the Bishop of Dol and his clergy; none being spared but such as pretended that their appearing in arms against the republicans was purely owing to compulsion.

But it is time to return to the affairs of the Continent. After a protracted siege Luxembourg surrendered on the 7th of June and put the French in possession of the whole left bank of the Rhine, excepting Mayence, which the Austrians could conveniently supply with every necessary from the opposite bank of the river. The republicans therefore determined to cross the river, and to invest it on every side; but the attempt was delayed until the result of the Quiberon expedition should be fully known. In the month of August, the passage of the Rhine at Dusseldorf was effected by Jourdan,

who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. Having driven in the Austrian posts, he crossed the Maine, and invested Mayence and Cassel; whilst Pichegru, having crossed the river near Manheim with the army of the Rhine and Moselle, at the same time took possession of that city. But a strong detachment of this army having driven Wurmser from an important post, began to plunder, and getting into confusion, the Austrians took prompt advantage of the circumstance, returned to the charge, and defeated the republicans. Jourdan was pursued by Clairfayt as far as Dusseldorf, where he made a stand; and Pichegru recrossed the Rhine near Manheim, leaving in that city a garrison of eight thousand men. But after a vigorous siege it surrendered to the Austrians; and the republicans were also driven from the vicinity of Mayence, upon which an armistice of three months was agreed to.

The Directory, however, still resolved to prosecute the war with vigor, and therefore, during the winter, made great preparations for another campaign. But the Mountain party being again possessed of power, now began to discover their restless and turbulent disposition; incapable of long submitting peaceably to any government, they soon became disgusted with the Directory which they themselves had established, and were continually disturbing the public tranquillity. After the 5th of October, the people of Paris durst not openly avow their abhorrence of the Jacobins; but as it was understood that wearing green cravats was a token of contempt for these partisans, this piece of dress was prohibited by the Directory, on the pretence of its being a mark of attachment to royalty. Ashamed of this absurdity, however, they in a few weeks recalled their edict, and the proscription of green cravats ceased. In the south of France, the authority of the Jacobins produced very serious effects. Fréron, by whom they had been abandoned after the death of Robespierre, rejoined them before the 5th of October, and

was sent with full administrative powers to Toulon, where he dismissed the municipality which had been chosen by the people, restored the Jacobin clubs, and caused to be imprisoned every person whom he suspected. Alarmed at the numerous complaints which were made from every quarter against the conduct of these turbulent men, the Directory resolved to obtain the confidence and affections of the people by deserting them entirely. Fréron was recalled from Toulon, and moderate men replaced the Jacobins in most public employments. The Directory also issued a public declaration that its confidence had been abused. The minister of police was charged to remove from Paris the members of former revolutionary tribunals, and such as had been active leaders of the Jacobins; and ten thousand men, called the Legion of Police, who had acted against the Parisians on the 5th of October, and were decidedly favorable to the Jacobins, received orders to join the armies on the frontiers. This induced the violent Jacobins to concert a plan for the ruin of the Directory and the majority of the councils, who had now abandoned them. But their designs were discovered and completely defeated. On the 10th of May the guards were increased, and large bodies of cavalry were stationed round the Luxembourg and Tuileries. The Council of Five Hundred was informed by the Directory that a terrible plot was ready to break forth on the ensuing morning. The conspirators, at the ringing of the morning bell, were to proceed in small parties of three or four, to the houses of those persons whom they had singled out for destruction; and having murdered these, they were then to unite in one body against the Directory, whose guard they conceived themselves able to overpower. Some of the leaders of this conspiracy were arrested, amongst whom was Drouet, postmaster of Varennes, who had stopped the unfortunate Louis on his way to the frontiers: with ten others, he was condemned at Vendôme, but he subsequently contrived to make his escape.

Another matter of no less serious a nature now called for the attention of the republican government. This was the deplorable state of the finances. The Directory having complained to the councils of the great distress under which they labored and of the want of sufficient funds to meet the unavoidable expenses of the ensuing campaign, a law was passed on the 25th of March, giving authority to dispose of the remainder of the church lands at the value formerly fixed on them, namely, twenty-two years' purchase. A new paper currency, termed *mandats*, was also to be issued, and to be received in payment; but government had now lost all credit, and the *mandats* became rapidly depreciated in value, which increased the demand for national property. To prevent this, the legislature decreed that one-fourth of every purchase should be paid in cash; a provision which obstructed the sale of the national property, and increased the circulation of *mandats*.

During the preparations for the approaching campaign, the Directory attempted to render themselves popular at home, by establishing, under the protection of government, the French National Institute. Every man of science or learning, who had escaped the persecution of the Mountain party, was invited to become a member; and it was opened on the 4th of April, in the hall of the Louvre, when the ambassadors of Spain, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, America, Tuscany, Genoa, and Geneve, were present, and the members of the Directory attended in their robes of state.

About this time an approach towards a negotiation with France was made on the part of Great Britain, through Mr. Wickham, ambassador to the Swiss Cantons. On the 8th of March a note was communicated to M. Barthélèmy, ambassador of the French Republic, in which it was inquired, whether France would be willing to send ministers to a congress to negotiate peace with his Britannic majesty and his allies? On the 26th of the same month an answer was returned

by Barthélèmy in name of the Directory, complaining of the insincerity of the British court in giving its ambassador no authority to negotiate, and stating that the proposal of a congress rendered negotiation endless. The Directory expressed their wish to obtain peace, but declared that no portion of territory would be relinquished, which, in virtue of the constitutional decree, formed part of the Republic. To this note no reply was made; but it was complained of to the foreign ministers resident at the court of London, and considered by the British as leaving them no alternative but the prosecution of the war.

During the winter season the Directory found means to reduce the western departments. The expedition from England had tempted the royalists once more to try their fortune in the field; but after a number of defeats, their leaders, Charette and Stofflet, were apprehended and put to death on the 29th of March; and this tended to suppress the insurgents in every quarter. Domestic enemies being thus subdued, the republican government was enabled to make the most vigorous exertions on the frontiers. Their military force was divided into three armies: the army of the Sambre and Meuse under Jourdan, principally stationed about Dusseldorf and Coblenz; the army of the Rhine and Moselle, commanded by General Moreau, stationed on the Upper Rhine, from Landau to Treves; and the army of Italy, which occupied the Italian coast from Nice towards Genoa, the command of which was now bestowed on General Bonaparte, who had so greatly signalized himself on the 13th Vendémiaire.

The army of Italy, which had hitherto operated on the flank of the Alps, was destitute of every thing, and scarcely thirty thousand strong; but it was full of courage and patriotism, and by means of it Bonaparte commenced that brilliant career of victory which had nearly terminated in the subjugation of all Europe. His plan was to debouch into Italy between the Alps and the Appen-

nines, to turn the former range, intersect the enemy's line, and operate on his flanks. He had before him the allied force, consisting of ninety thousand men, placed in the centre under Argentau, on the left under Colli, and on the right under Beaulieu; but in a few days this immense force was dispersed by prodigies of genius and of courage. On the 9th of April the campaign was opened by General Beaulieu attacking the post of Voltri, six leagues from Genoa; the republicans defended themselves till the evening, when they retreated to Savona. Next day Beaulieu renewed his attempts, and penetrated to Montenotte, which was occupied by Colonel Rampon, with fifteen hundred men. In a moment of enthusiasm, their commander prevailed on them to swear that they would never abandon their post; and they kept their oath; for, in spite of every effort that could be made on the part of the enemy, they succeeded in arresting the progress of the Austrian general during the remaining part of the day. During the night the right wing of the French army, under Laharpe, took up a position in rear of the redoubt of Montenotte; whilst Bonaparte, Massena, Berthier, and Salicetti, advanced by Altara, to take the enemy in flank and rear. Powerful reinforcements were in the mean time sent to Beaulieu, who, on the morning of the 11th, again attacked the position of Montenotte; but the obstinate resistance of Laharpe, and the approach of Massena, at length forced the Austrians and Sardinians to give way on all sides; two of the enemy's generals were wounded, and two thousand five hundred men became prisoners. The republicans pursued them beyond Cairo, which, on the following day, fell into their hands.

On the 13th of April, General Augereau forced the defiles of Millesimo, and by a rapid movement surrounded General Provera at the head of fifteen hundred grenadiers; but, instead of surrendering, this brave officer forced his way through the enemy, and intrenched himself in the ruins of an old castle situated on the summit of the hill.

Augereau with his artillery endeavored to dislodge him, but without success; he then arranged his troops in four columns, and made an attempt to carry Provera's intrenchments by storm, which also proved unsuccessful. In this affair the French had two generals killed, and Joubert was wounded. A division was now left to continue the blockade of Provera. The hostile armies continued in presence during the 14th. On the following day the Austrians made an attack on the republican centre; but Massena turned the left flank of their left wing in the vicinity of Dego, whilst Laharpe turned the right flank of the same wing; one column kept in check the centre of the Austrians, another attacked the flank of their left wing, and a third gained its rear. They were completely defeated at all points, with the loss, besides killed and wounded, of eight thousand prisoners. General Provera also surrendered.

After his defeat at Millesimo, Beaulieu made a vigorous effort to change the fortune of war. With seven thousand of his best troops he attacked Dego, where the republicans, after their success, were indulging in security, and made himself master of the village; but the troops rallied under Massena, who renewed the combat, and employed the greater part of the day in his efforts to retake it. The republicans were thrice repulsed, but Bonaparte having arrived in the evening with reinforcements, the village was retaken, and fourteen hundred men were made prisoners. Bonaparte had now accomplished his object of separating the Austrian and Sardinian armies; for his right wing being secured against the efforts of Beaulieu by the village of Dego, he was enabled to act against the Piedmontese troops with the greater part of his force. Augereau powerfully seconded his exertions, and having opened a communication with the Tanaro, Serrurier was now approaching the town of Ceva, in the vicinity of which the Piedmontese had an intrenched camp with eight thousand men. The redoubts which covered this

camp were, on the 16th, attacked by Augereau, who carried the greater number of them, and thus forced the Piedmontese, during the night, to evacuate Ceva, which Serrurier entered in triumph on the morning of the 17th. Count Colli repulsed Serrurier on the 20th; but Bonaparte, on the 22d, defeated the Sardinian general at Mondovi, and there decided the fate of Piedmont. The beaten army endeavored to make a stand at Fossano, whilst its wings rested on Coni and Cherasco; but on the 25th the latter place was taken by Massena, Fossano by Serrurier, and Alba by Augereau.

Previously to these movements, however, Count Colli had requested an armistice, which General Bonaparte granted, on condition that the fortresses of Coni, Ceva and Tortona should be given up to him, with their magazines and artillery, and that he should have permission to cross the Po at Valentia. The armistice was signed on the 29th of April, and a definitive treaty was concluded at Paris on the 17th of May. The conditions, in as far as they concerned his Sardinian majesty, were unquestionably humiliating. The duchy of Savoy was given up to France, as were also the counties of Nice, Tende and Breteuil; an amnesty was granted to all his subjects who had been prosecuted for political opinions; and it was agreed that the French troops should have free access to Italy through his territory. His Sardinian majesty also bound himself not to erect fortresses on the side of France, to demolish those of La Brunette and Suza, and to confess that his conduct to the last ambassador of the Republic had been disrespectful.

In the mean time, the republican army advanced towards the Po. Deceived respecting the article of the armistice which stipulated permission to Bonaparte to pass the river at Valentia, Beaulieu, concluding that the republican chief seriously intended to cross at that place, made every possible preparation to oppose him; whilst Bonaparte rapidly penetrated into Lombardy, and on the 7th of May was sixty miles down the river

towards Piacenza before the enemy had obtained information of his march. He passed the river without difficulty. Six thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry were dispatched by Beaulieu, when it was too late, to oppose the passage of Bonaparte across the river; but they were met and defeated on the following day, near the village of Fimbio, whilst five thousand more, who had advanced to their assistance, were repulsed by Laharpe. On the 9th an armistice was granted by General Bonaparte to the Duke of Parma, on condition of paying two millions of francs, and delivering ten thousand quintals of wheat, five thousand quintals of oats, and two thousand oxen, for the use of the army. The duke likewise consented to give up twenty of his best paintings, to be selected by the republicans.

Forced to abandon the Po, General Beaulieu crossed the Adda at Lodi, Pizzighettone, and Cremona, leaving some troops to defend the approaches to Lodi. On the 10th the latter were attacked by the advanced guard of the republicans, who drove them into the town, and pursued them so rapidly that they had not time to break down the bridge on the Adda. The Austrians defended the passage with thirty pieces of cannon, and the republican officers, after holding a consultation, were of opinion that the bridge could not be forced. Bonaparte, however, having addressed his grenadiers, who declared themselves willing to make the attempt, formed them in close column, and, waiting a favorable moment, ordered them to advance. Under cover of the smoke of the enemy's artillery they reached the middle of the bridge unobserved; but the moment they were perceived a tremendous fire of grape and canister shot in a few seconds strewed the bridge with dead bodies. The republican officers, including the general-in-chief, now flew to the head of the column, and, urging on the troops, broke into the Austrian ranks, took the cannon, and forced the enemy to fly in all directions.

All that seems to have been expected from

the campaign of Bonaparte in Italy was to induce the different princes and states to abandon the coalition against France, which every one of them had assisted, either with troops or with money and provisions. But this youthful chief far surpassed all that even the most sanguine had anticipated. The occupation of Alessandria, which opened the whole of Lombardy; the demolition of the fortresses of Suza and La Brunette on the side of France; the acquisition of the county of Nice and of Savoy; and the disengagement of the other army of the Alps under Kellerman, which was now rendered disposable; such were the fruits of a campaign of fifteen days, during which six victories had been gained. The King of Sardinia was also detached from the coalition against France, and so humbled and weakened as to be no longer in a condition to occasion any uneasiness to that country. Bonaparte likewise made himself master of Ferrara, Bologna and Urbino, and granted to His Holiness and the Duke of Modena an armistice on the usual terms of large contributions in money, as well as in paintings and curiosities for the national gallery of France. Terrified by his march into the Roman States, the Neapolitan cabinet, in like manner, requested a peace; and Bonaparte agreed to an armistice without any of the humiliating conditions demanded from the other states of Italy. He next proceeded to Leghorn, in order to drive out the English, and confiscate their property; and thus finished the task assigned him before the campaign on the Rhine had commenced. Mantua, it is true, was still in possession of the imperial troops; but that fortress was in a state of siege; and the rest of Italy had submitted to the French Republic.

With a view to lessen the exertions of the republicans in Italy, the contest was renewed in Germany. General Jourdan was therefore instructed to denounce the armistice, and renew hostilities on the 31st of May. Jourdan at this time had to contend with

put himself at the head of the army in the Hunsrück to oppose Moreau on the Upper Rhine. The commencement of the campaign on the part of the French was distinguished by a singular stratagem, employed with the view of drawing the whole of the Austrian forces to the Lower Rhine, that an opportunity might thus be afforded General Moreau of suddenly entering Suabia, and carrying the war into the hereditary dominions of Austria. Jourdan began to make vigorous exertions, and Moreau remained inactive. On the 31st of May the lines of Dusseldorf were abandoned by the left wing of Jourdan's army, under the command of General Kléber, who defeated the Austrians in his march towards the Sieg. Advancing with his centre and right wing, Jourdan forced the Austrian posts on the Nahe, effected the passage of the Rhine, blockaded Ehrenbreitstein, and hastened forward as if he had intended to form the siege of Mayence. As these movements brought the archduke into the perilous situation of having Moreau in his front and Jourdan in his rear, he therefore crossed the river in haste, leaving the fortresses of Mayence and Mannheim to retard the advance of Moreau, and attacked the advance guard of General Jourdan, which, after an obstinate conflict, he forced to retire. Jourdan then withdrew to his former position, and Kléber on the 20th entered the lines of Dusseldorf.

But the archduke had no sooner withdrawn from the palatinate to force Jourdan down the Rhine, than Moreau marched speedily towards Strasburg, so that the hostile armies seemed to be receding from instead of approaching each other. The passage of the river opposite to Kehl was effected by Moreau on the 24th of June; an operation attended with considerable difficulty, owing to a sudden swell, which prevented the Austrians being taken by surprise, as appears to have been the original intention of the republican commander. The intrenchments on the island occupied by troops were instantly carried at the point of the bayonet

and two thousand six hundred republicans effected a landing on the opposite bank, where they were exposed to the Austrian cannon from the camp of Wilstedt, and also to the fire of the fort. Still, however, they maintained their ground, and even acted on the offensive, until the boats returned with reinforcements, when the fort and redoubts were carried by storm, and the Austrians retreated towards Offenbourg.

In consequence of the archduke's departure to the Lower Rhine in pursuit of Jourdan, and the detachments sent to Italy to check the victorious career of Bonaparte, Moreau was in a condition to enter Suabia at the head of a superior force. On the 26th of June he succeeded in compelling the Austrians to abandon their camp at Wilstedt, and next day proceeded with his army in three columns against another body of fifteen thousand men posted near Offenbourg. A strong detachment was sent to their assistance by Wurmser, but the reinforcement was defeated on its march by two republican columns, and Offenbourg was evacuated during the night. On the 2d of July a body of the French under General Laroche seized on the loftiest point in the ridge of mountains denominated the Black Forest; and the Austrians were next day, after an obstinate resistance, driven from the pass of Friedenstadt, by which their communication with the emigrants under the Prince of Condé was entirely cut off. On the 8th the Austrians were attacked at Rastadt by the left wing of the republican army, commanded by General Dessaix, and, after a most determined resistance, obliged to retreat to Ettlingen.

The archduke now arrived with his army on the Lower Rhine, leaving Wartensleben to check the advance of General Jourdan, who, as soon as he received information of the archduke's departure, resumed the offensive. Kléber, as before, set out from the lines at Dusseldorf, whilst the centre and right wing crossed the Rhine in the vicinity of Coblenz. The French forced the posts

of Ukareth and Altenkirchen; the whole army under Jourdan crossed the Lahn on the 9th of July; and next day Wartensleben was defeated with great slaughter, and the loss of five hundred prisoners. On the 12th the republicans entered Franckfort. The two imperial armies were now at no great distance from each other, being in fact in the centre between those of Moreau and Jourdan. Had the archduke, therefore, found it practicable to resist for a time one of these armies, whilst he fell upon the other with the main body of his army, it is not improbable that an end might thus have been put to any further invasion of Germany. But the activity of the republican officers was not to be easily checked, nor could their progress be arrested by any partial exertions. His last resource, therefore, was to give battle to Moreau, which he accordingly did; and the action was obstinately contested on both sides. The French, in their endeavors to force the heights of Rollensolhe, were four times repulsed; but, after a terrible slaughter, they at length succeeded in carrying the position at the point of the bayonet.

In consequence of the loss sustained at the battle of Ettingen, the imperial armies retired eastward, the archduke retreating through Suabia towards Ulm, where he had magazines. At every position of any strength he made a stand, in order, as much as possible, to obstruct General Moreau's advance; whilst Wartensleben, in his retreat through Franconia, offered a similar opposition to Jourdan. The archduke was forced by Moreau to cross the Neckar, and afterwards the Danube, by which means the whole circle of Suabia was in the rear of the republicans; and Wartensleben was obliged to retreat through Aschaffenburg, Wartsburg, Schweinfurt, and to cross the Rednitz, in order to avoid the army of Jourdan, which was pressing on his rear. Jourdan continued his advance until his right wing, commanded by General Bernadotte, reached Neumarek, and his advanced posts Teining; and the main

body of the army having pursued Wartensleben beyond the Nab, arrived at Amberg on the 22d of August.

The three republican armies under Moreau, Jourdan, and Bonaparte, thus commanded an immense tract of country, extending from the frontiers of Bohemia to the shores of the Adriatic (excepting only a part of the mountains of Tyrol), and caused unspeakable alarm throughout the whole of Germany. The payment of four millions of francs procured a peace for the Duke of Wirtemberg; and the circle of Suabia obtained it on condition of paying twelve millions of livres, and delivering a large quantity of supplies for the use of the army. Peace was granted to the Margrave of Baden upon similar terms; and negotiations were also entered into by the Elector of Bavaria and the circle of Franconia, each party offering large sums in order to obtain it; and even the diet of Ratisbon sent a deputation to the republican generals to treat for a neutrality. About the same time Spain concluded a treaty offensive and defensive with France, and in consequence soon afterwards declared war against Great Britain. Bonaparte was still detained in Italy; but had it been in his power to traverse the Tyrol, and reach the Danube, it is probable that the emperor of Germany would have been obliged to accept peace upon any terms which the conquerors thought proper to prescribe.

The Archduke Charles having received strong reinforcements, came to the resolution of encountering Moreau at Umersheim. A battle accordingly ensued, which lasted seventeen hours, when one of the wings of the Austrian army succeeded in gaining about four leagues of territory in the rear of the republican army; but as the archduke had received information that Wartensleben was unable to maintain his ground against Jourdan, he deemed it prudent to retreat, and adopt new measures. On the 17th of August he left General Latour to keep Moreau in check, and crossing the Danube at Ingolstadt, marched to the relief of General War-

tensleben, determined with their united forces to fall upon Jourdan. On the 23d he attacked Bernadotte at Teining, and compelled him to retreat towards Nuremberg. The archduke having thus placed himself on Jourdan's right, whilst Wartensleben menaced him in front, the French general was forced to fall back, which he did accordingly on the 24th. The state of the French finances at the beginning of this campaign was such that the armies of Jourdan and Moreau were under the necessity of making the war support itself, or, in other words, supplying their immediate wants by means of requisitions. The archduke and Wartensleben having effected a junction of their forces, the former was enabled to detach General Nauendorf with reinforcements to Latour, in order to keep Moreau in check, whilst he continued his pursuit of Jourdan towards Würzburg. Here the French made a stand on the 3d of September, and a severe engagement ensued, in which Jourdan was defeated with great loss, and obliged to continue his retreat during the night. Having crossed the Lahn, he made a feeble resistance, and marched along the banks of the Rhine, till his army on the 17th arrived at Coblenz and Dusseldorf, the points from which it had formerly taken its departure.

The army of Moreau was now in a situation of extreme peril; yet he maintained his position till the 17th of September, the day upon which Jourdan reached Dusseldorf. But he obviously wavered as to his future movements, and indeed seemed completely at a loss what course to pursue. He made an unsuccessful attempt to arrest the archduke in his pursuit of Jourdan, and frequently attacked, but without effect; on whatever side he moved, the Austrian generals gave way before him. But finding that the retreat of Jourdan was irretrievable, and that Bonaparte was still detained in Italy, he finally resolved to retire. To prepare for this arduous undertaking, he had crossed the Lech, which he suddenly repassed as if fully determined to penetrate further into Austria.

and thus compelled Latour to fall back on Lansberg. Having thus obtained a free passage, he commenced his memorable retreat, passing between the Danube at Ulm and the Lake of Constance, whilst Latour continued pressing upon his rear. The defiles of the Black Forest were occupied by numerous bodies of Austrians and armed peasantry, whilst his right flank was harassed by Nauendorf and Petrasch at the head of twenty-four thousand men. To disengage himself he once more turned upon Latour with terrible impetuosity, defeated him, and took five thousand prisoners. He then continued his retreat, checking Nauendorf and Petrasch with the right wing of his army under General Dessaix, whilst the remainder cleared the passages in front, till he reached the Valley of Hell. This pass, which is a narrow defile extending some leagues between lofty mountains, and in particular places not more than a few fathoms broad, he forced with the centre of his army in a mass, whilst the wings opposed the enemy under Nauendorf and Latour; and after incredible efforts he arrived at Fribourg on the 13th of October. The archduke having discontinued the pursuit of Jourdan, now arrived, forced Moreau to abandon all his positions on the Suabian side of the Rhine, excepting the forts of Kehl, and a tête-de-pont at Hunningen.

As the French frontier was at this time in a defenceless state, the imperial forces took advantage of the circumstance to cross the Rhine at Mannheim, and march in different detachments to Weissenberg, Seltz, and Hagenau, almost to the gates of Strasburg, levying contributions and demanding hostages wherever they went. When these detachments were recalled, the archduke formed the resolution of terminating the campaign by the reduction of Kehl and the fortification at Hunningen; but this he found no easy task. Much of the winter was spent by the Austrians in endeavoring to reduce these places; but the French at length agreed to evacuate Kehl on the 10th of

January, and the fortification at Hunningen was surrendered in the month of February.

But although the republicans had experienced considerable reverses of fortune in Germany, yet Bonaparte continued to be victorious in Italy. Having laid the whole of that country under contribution, he had the means of preserving a vigorous and steady discipline over a well-paid army. The great secret of his tactics consisted in keeping his army always in hand, advancing with the utmost rapidity, and operating in masses on the decisive point; a system which could scarcely fail to succeed against that of cordons, to which it was opposed. The style, too, in which he addressed his army before any great action, was well calculated to inspire them with enthusiasm. He knew the soldier, and possessed the invaluable art of awakening in his mind all those feelings which prompt to the performance of daring actions. His address to the army on entering Lombardy is a masterpiece of its kind. "Soldiers," said he, "you have rushed like a torrent from the summit of the Appennines; you have driven back and dispersed all who opposed your march. Your fathers, your mothers, your wives, your sisters, your mistresses, rejoice in your success, and boast with pride of being related to you. But remains there nothing more for you to effect? Shall posterity reproach us with having found a Capua in Lombardy? But I already see you rushing to arms; an unmanly repose fatigues you, and the days lost to glory are lost to your felicity. But let the people be tranquil; we are the friends of all nations, and more particularly of the descendants of the Brutuses, the Scipios, and the illustrious personages whom we have chosen as models. To restore the capitol, to replace with honor the statues of the heroes who rendered it renowned, and to rouse the Roman people, become torpid by so many ages of slavery, such will be the fruit of your victories; they will form an epoch to posterity, and you will have the immortal glory of renovating the fairest portion of

Europe. The French nation, free and respected by all the world, will give to Europe a glorious peace. You will then return to your homes and your fellow-citizens, who, when pointing to you will say, 'He was of the army of Italy.'"

During the early part of the month of July, Bonaparte was occupied in commencing the siege of Mantua, a place of which he expected to become master towards the end of the month. In this, however, he miscalculated. Aided by Britain, Austria made great efforts, and poured reinforcements from all points into Italy. Twenty thousand troops were sent from the Rhine; large masses arrived from other quarters; and Italy had once more to be conquered. Bonaparte was therefore obliged to raise the siege, in order to make head against fresh masses descending from the Tyrol to dispute the possession of Italy with the youthful conqueror. On the 29th of July, Massena was attacked and driven from his post at La Corona, whilst fifteen thousand Austrians forced the republicans to retire, first from Salo, and next from Brescia, with the loss of all the stores and magazines belonging to the army. The imperial troops, however, committed a fatal blunder in dividing into two columns, separated by physical obstacles, an army which, united, would have been more than a match for the enemy, and thus exposing themselves to be beaten in detail. Of this error the republican chief was fully aware, and did not fail to take advantage of it. He unexpectedly raised the siege of Mantua, and leaving only a small body of troops to keep the Austrians in check, marched rapidly westward, and on the 1st of August retook Brescia, with all the magazines and hospitals. Carrying the mass of his army along with him, he exceeded his enemies in numbers wherever he attacked them. Having formed a large body of his troops into close columns, he awaited the Austrians, who, as yet unacquainted with the new tactics, extended their line with the view of surrounding him. The result was

such as might easily have been foreseen. He penetrated their line in all directions, threw them into the utmost confusion, made four thousand prisoners, and took twenty pieces of cannon. A division of the Austrians finding Salo in possession of the republicans, wandered about in quest of a road by which to make their escape, and, believing that the bulk of the French army had marched in search of Wurmser to give him battle, summoned Lonato to surrender. Their belief was well founded, but Bonaparte was still in Lonato, though with no more than twelve hundred men. His situation was no doubt critical, but, with great presence of mind, he threatened to destroy the whole division, for daring to insult the French army, by summoning its commander-in-chief to surrender. Persuaded that the whole army was in the place, the Austrians abandoned all idea of resistance; and by this admirable acting on the part of Bonaparte, four thousand men were induced to lay down their arms.

On the 5th and 6th Wurmser was attacked by Bonaparte, and driven from Peschiera and the line of the Mincio. On the 7th the Austrians were obliged to abandon Verona, and again to betake themselves to the mountains of the Tyrol; losing in a contest of a few days upwards of twenty thousand men, three-fourths of whom were prisoners. The siege of Mantua was again undertaken by the French; but as their works had been destroyed by the enemy in their absence, and the cannon which they had left behind taken into the city, the French could not undertake a regular siege; and by the beginning of September Wurmser was in a condition to attempt the relief of the place. Informed of his approach, Bonaparte left a division to maintain the blockade of Mantua; and, directing his march northward with the main body of his army, drove the Austrians from Santo Marco and Roveredo to the pass of Calliano. Here, however, they made a stand, and an engagement ensued, in which the Austrians were defeated with the loss of

six thousand prisoners, upon which the French entered Trent in triumph. But instead of retiring, Wurmser threw himself into Bassano, upon the flank and rear of Bonaparte, and then marched with great rapidity towards Mantua. He endeavored to make a stand at Bassano, but was defeated with the loss of five thousand prisoners. He then crossed the Adige at Porto Legnago, and entered Mantua with no more than eight thousand five hundred men, infantry and cavalry. The loss which Wurmser had sustained was great beyond example, but still it had the effect of detaining Bonaparte in Italy to watch the numerous garrison of Mantua. He expected that, owing to its numbers, famine would soon reduce it to the necessity of capitulating; but the flesh of more than four thousand horses, which Wurmser carried into the place, afforded the troops subsistence for a considerable time, and enabled the gallant veteran to signalize himself by as brave a defence as any on record.

The emperor now endeavored to relieve Mantua, by sending another army into Italy under the command of General Alvinzi. But having crossed the Piava, Alvinzi was met by the republicans, and compelled to repossess that river. Davidovich, however, having with his division driven the French down the Adige towards Verona, Bonaparte found it necessary to concentrate his forces. Leaving General Vaubois to keep Davidovich in check, he therefore marched in person against General Alvinzi, and came up with the Austrians in position at the village of Arcole. But as the village could not be speedily turned, on account of a canal, the French were obliged to attempt the passage of a narrow bridge under the fire of the whole Austrian army. Their officers rushed to the head of the column, and in vain endeavored to urge the troops to advance. Angereau rushed to the end of the bridge with a standard, but he was followed by no one. At length the general-in-chief hastened to the bridge, and exclaimed, "Grena-

diers, follow your general;" the soldiers followed till within thirty yards of the bridge, when they became intimidated by the tremendous fire of the Austrians, and Bonaparte judged it prudent to withdraw the troops. In the evening General Guieux carried the village at the head of two thousand men, but the Austrians again recovered possession of it. On the 16th of November a desperate engagement took place in the vicinity of Arcole; but next day the Austrians, whilst pressing on the centre of the republican army, were unexpectedly taken in flank by the left wing of the French army, which was lying in ambuscade. Bonaparte having sent into their rear a party of horse with twenty-five trumpeters, the Austrians concluded from the noise that they were surrounded, and fled in all directions in the utmost confusion. Having driven Alvinzi across the Brenta, Bonaparte resumed the positions of Rivoli and La Corona, and Davidovich was driven back into Tyrol. Wurmser still defended Mantua, which held out during the remainder of the year; but with these operations the campaign in Italy terminated.

Whilst such was the fortune of the field of battle, Great Britain made an attempt to negotiate with France. Passports were obtained from the Directory, and Lord Malmesbury set out as ambassador to Paris. He commenced negotiations with Lacroix, the minister for foreign affairs; but his lordship soon discovered, or fancied he discovered, that the Directory had no serious intention of concluding a peace with Britain. It was proposed by Lord Malmesbury, that the principle of mutual restitution should be agreed upon as the basis of the treaty; but the Directory desired that specifications should be made. Lord Malmesbury therefore proposed that the French should give up the Austrian Netherlands, in return for which Britain, he said, would consent to give up the foreign settlements belonging to the Republic which had been taken during the war. Many of the Dutch possessions abroad would also be

relinquished, on condition that the authority of the stadtholder was acknowledged. His lordship was next required to give in the ultimatum of his government in twenty-four hours; and when he complained of this demand, he was informed, on the 19th of December, that the Directory would agree to no conditions repugnant to the French constitution, and that his further residence was unnecessary. During this year Great Britain maintained her accustomed superiority on the ocean. On the 16th of September, 1795, the Cape of Good Hope was taken by Admiral Elphinstone; but as the Dutch were extremely anxious to recover this settlement, they advanced money to the French to enable them to fit out a squadron destined to co-operate in an attempt to reduce it. Seven ships of the line were accordingly sent out for this purpose, under the command of Admiral Lucas; but the latter having been caught between two fires, found it impossible to escape, and therefore surrendered to the British admiral without firing a gun.

But although Britain maintained her superiority by sea, yet an invasion of Ireland was attempted by the French in the end of 1796. The command was intrusted to General Hoche, without any second in command to take his place in the event of accident. The disaffected party in Ireland had received no information of the approach of the expedition, and the fleet was sent towards a part of the country where the people were not much disposed to receive them. Hoche set sail on the 10th of December, but in working out of Brest a ship of the line was lost, and some others were considerably damaged. The frigate which had on board the commander-in-chief was separated from the fleet in a gale of wind, and, when the latter arrived at Bantry Bay, it found itself without instructions. The officers and troops desired to disembark, but Admiral Bouvet refused to comply with their wishes. After remaining for some days on the coast, he sailed for France, and on the 31st reached Brest with part of the fleet. General Hoche

reached Bantry Bay when it was too late, and consequently could not land. One ship of the line and two frigates foundered at sea, a frigate was captured by the British, and a ship of the line was run ashore to prevent her being taken.

In the beginning of the year 1797 the Archduke Charles was still employed in endeavoring to reduce Kehl and the fortifications opposite to Hunningen. Moreau continued his opponent. Hoche succeeded Jourdan on the Rhine, and Bonaparte was still occupied with the siege of Mantua, whilst powerful efforts were making to reinforce the army of Alvinzi. The youth of Vienna were requested to lend their assistance, and six thousand of them volunteered their services for Italy. By these and other means Alvinzi's army was augmented until it became fifty thousand strong; and with this force he menaced the republicans in all directions, in order to conceal from them the plan of his future operations. Bonaparte was at Bologna, to prevent the escape of Wurmser in that direction, when, receiving information of the approach of the Austrian army, he hastened to Mantua, and thence proceeded to Verona, where the centre of his line had already come to blows with the Austrians; but as they continued to attack on all points at once, he was as yet unable to penetrate the design of Alvinzi. On the 13th of January, however, the movements of the enemy became more serious upon the lower part of his line, near Porto Legnago; but having been informed in the evening that the upper extremity, under Joubert had been attacked by greatly superior numbers, he concluded that the Austrians were there in greatest force. Notwithstanding all the lessons they had already received, the Austrians still persisted in dividing their army; experience had not yet taught them to correct an error which was soon to entail the same destruction on this as on former armies. Ten thousand troops, including the Vienna volunteers, received orders to proceed to Mantua by Porto Legnago, whilst Alvinzi in person advanced

against Joubert, who was forced to retreat, and in fact reduced to such a situation that the capture of his whole division, on the following day (the 14th), seemed highly probable.

Bonaparte having received information as to the real state of affairs, left Verona on the 13th, having ordered Massena to follow him with the centre to Rivoli as fast as possible. On the 14th, at the break of day, the division of Joubert attacked the Austrians, a circumstance which much surprised them, ignorant as they were that Bonaparte had arrived with reinforcements. But the superior numbers of the Austrians baffled all the endeavors of the the French troops to turn their divisions; and the two wings of the republican army were forced back upon the centre in considerable confusion. Alvinzi encountered the centre, which with difficulty maintained its ground; and the Austrian wings, advancing on both sides, entirely surrounded the French. The victory seemed already won, and it is even reported that Alvinzi had sent a courier to Vienna to announce the approaching capture of Bonaparte and his army. But the tide was already at the turn. Forming his troops in three strong columns, Bonaparte led them against the right wing of the Austrians, which they penetrated at various points, and forced to fly in such confusion that four thousand Austrians laid down their arms to a party of republicans which had not arrived in time to join the army, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Bonaparte, perceiving that this part of his line was no longer in danger, left Joubert to prosecute the victory, and proceeded to oppose the march of Provera. A detachment under General Murat having continued their march during the whole night of the 14th, seized on Montebaldo in the rear of the position at La Corona, to which part of the Austrians retreated; and on the following morning Joubert attacked them in front. Thus surrounded, they were thrown into confusion, six thousand were taken prisoners, and numbers perished in attempting to cross the Adige.

During this bloody conflict on the upper part of the Adige, Provera forced his passage across the lower part of the river, near Porto Legnago, and obliged the republican general Guieux to retreat towards Ronco. But as Provera was marching rapidly to Mantua, Augereau came up with his rear, and made two thousand prisoners; notwithstanding which the Austrian general on the 15th reached the neighborhood of that city, which was blockaded at St. George and La Favourite. The Austrian general summoned the republican commander to surrender; but the latter having refused to comply, Provera endeavored, without success, to carry it by assault. He next made an attack upon La Favourite, and was seconded by Wurmser with the troops in the garrison, who had observed his arrival; but as Bonaparte had by this time arrived with reinforcements, Wurmser was defeated, and Provera, being surrounded by the French, surrendered both himself and his troops as prisoners of war. In consequence of these engagements at Rivoli and Mantua, the Austrians lost twenty-three thousand prisoners and sixty pieces of cannon. The surrender of Mantua had now become inevitable, and, in fact, it capitulated from famine on the 2d of February. That the French emigrants might escape, Bonaparte allowed Wurmser to select and take out of the garrison seven hundred men, who were not to be examined nor viewed as prisoners of war; and the general himself was permitted to depart unconditionally.

The most active and vigorous preparations were now making both by the emperor and the French to recommence the contest on the German frontiers, and it was therefore of importance that Bonaparte should leave Italy in his rear in a state of tranquillity. On the 1st of February he sent General Victor with the legion of Lombardy to enter the papal territories; and after the surrender of Mantua, he himself followed in person. The Lombard legion, after storming the position occupied by the papal troops, made a thousand of them prisoners, and took all their

cannon. General Colli had carried away most of the treasure from the chapel at Loreto; but the republicans still found articles of gold and silver worth a million of livres, and the image of the virgin was sent to Paris as a curiosity. At Tolentino the republican chief was met by a messenger from his holiness, with overtures of peace; and on 19th a treaty was concluded, by which the pope promised to pay fifteen millions of livres, and to deliver eight hundred cavalry horses, with an equal number of draught horses and oxen. He also agreed to pay three hundred thousand livres to the family of the French ambassador, Basseville, whom the rabble had murdered at Rome, and to make an apology through his minister at Paris, for that outrage against the law of nations and of humanity.

The French having proved unfortunate in their invasion of Germany through Suabia and Franconia, now determined to make their principal attempt from Italy under the command of General Bonaparte. Considerable bodies of troops were therefore detached by the Directory from the divisions which had served under Moreau, and sent as secretly as possible towards Italy by the way of Savoy. The impending danger was however perceived by the court of Vienna, which accordingly conferred the command on the side of Italy on the Archduke Charles, the only Austrian general who had hitherto been successful against the republicans. The war was now about to be carried into territories where a foe had scarcely ever been seen by the house of Austria. It was necessary that Bonaparte should once more force his way across the Alps; that he should carry the war into that immense chain of mountains which, rising in the neighborhood of Toulon and stretching northward, obtains the names of Piedmont and Savoy, and which, taking an easterly direction, forms the countries of Tyrol, Carinthia, and Carniola, and on the side of the Adriatic constitutes the frontier of the hereditary states of Austria. As to the fertile and level tract which belonged to

Venice, it is situated between the mountains and the sea, and is crossed by many streams, which are increased by the melting of the Alpine snows, and the peculiar characteristic of which is, that they are greatest in summer and least in winter. But the Archduke, instead of being ordered to make a stand in the defiles of the mountains, was sent into the plain to guard the passages of the rivers; a blunder which entered into the whole plan of defence adopted by the council of war at Vienna.

Whilst Bonaparte advanced into the territories of the pope, the Austrian army was assembling on the eastern bank of the Piava. The republicans were on the opposite side of the river, and Bonaparte, after quitting the papal territories, hastened to join them. Having effected the passage of the Piava on the 12th of March, the Austrians retired, skirmishing for some days, till they crossed the Tagliamento, where they halted and concentrated their whole force. On the 17th the republican army reached Valvesone, on the opposite bank of the river, and after some hesitation determined to force the passage. The stream had been diminished by the frost, and though the banks were high, the operation seemed practicable. After some sharp fighting, the French accordingly crossed the river in columns at different points. Joubert, with the left wing, then received orders to pass along the valley of the Drave, beyond the highest chain of the Noric Alps; Massena, at the head of the centre division, entered the defiles of these mountains; and the right division, commanded by Bonaparte, marched along the coast of the Adriatic. On the 19th the town of Gradisca, situated on the river Isonzo, surrendered to the right wing of the army; and its garrison, consisting of three thousand men, were made prisoners of war. On the 21st the same division entered Goritz, where it found the principal magazines and hospitals belonging to the Austrians. Trieste was taken on the 23d, and quicksilver, worth two millions of livres, was sent off by the French from the

mines of Idria. On the 24th a large body of Austrians was kept in check by Massena and part of the right wing under General Guieux; but having procured reinforcements from the archduke, they engaged the French next day, and were defeated with the loss of five thousand prisoners, and from three to four hundred baggage wagons. Equal success attended the left wing under Joubert, Baraguay-d'Hilliers, and Delmas. Four thousand prisoners were taken on the banks of the Lavis, and the enemy was defeated at Clauzen, with a loss of fifteen hundred men. This division then directed its march eastward, along the valley of the Drave, towards Clagenfurt, the metropolis of Carinthia, where it was met by General Massena, who had obliged the archduke to evacuate his headquarters, and to fall back in order to cover the capital of the empire, which was now seriously threatened. Thus in fifteen days General Bonaparte had effected the passage of the Alps, taken twenty thousand prisoners, and arrived within twenty-four leagues of Vienna, which was thus completely exposed. Yet his own situation was not free from danger. The rapidity of his own advance had rendered it impossible to take the necessary measures for protecting his line of communications; a hostile population hung upon his rear; a continued success could alone enable him to maintain his advanced positions, and the slightest reverse might lead to ruinous consequences. Bonaparte, therefore, prudently embraced the present moment of unprecedented success to make overtures of peace. On the 31st of March he wrote to the archduke, deprecating the continuance of the war, and entreating him to use his influence for putting a period to its ravages. But the prince replied evasively, that it did not belong to him to investigate the principles on which the war was carried on, and that he had no power to negotiate.

In the mean while the Austrians raised the peasantry of the Tyrol to harass the rear of the French army, and in consequence gained some advantages under Landohn, who

drove back the republican troops which had been left at Botzen and Brixen. The people of the Venetian states also rose against the troops which had been left amongst them, and, with the assistance of ten Slavonian regiments, murdered every Frenchman they could find, not sparing even the sick in the hospitals, of whom five hundred were massacred at Verona. The Austrians now attempted to surround the invading army; but Bonaparte knew that the embarrassment of the court of Vienna was at least equal to his own. He was at the head of a body of men hitherto irresistible; and to surround his army was not to vanquish it. For these reasons he continued his advance, and on the 2d of April, after a bloody conflict, forced the strong defiles between Friesach and Neumark, making six hundred prisoners. On the 4th his advanced guard reached Hunsmark, where they again defeated the Austrians. The cabinet of Vienna finding that there was now no place where the army of the archduke could make a stand, till it reached the mountains in the vicinity of the capital, thought it high time to treat for peace. With this view, therefore, Bellegarde and Morveltdt requested a suspension of hostilities, to which the French commander consented, on condition of obtaining possession of Gratz and Leoben, about fifty miles from Vienna. This was on the 7th of April, but the armistice, which would have expired on the 13th, was afterwards renewed for a longer period. On the 19th a preliminary treaty was signed, by which the French were to retain the Austrian Netherlands, and the whole of Lombardy, now called the Cisalpine Republic, comprehending the Milanese, Mantua, Modena, Ferrara, and Bologna. Bonaparte consented to return to Italy, on condition that his army should be supplied with provisions during its march; and all further disputes were to be settled by a definitive treaty of peace. The overthrow of the Venetian government, which had so long been in a state of helpless decrepitude, speedily followed the signature of the pre-

liminary treaty of Leoben. Bonaparte had for some time meditated the dismemberment of the Venetian states, and a pretext was now afforded him for carrying this design into execution by the insurrection and massacre above adverted to. He saw his advantage, and promptly seized it; announced that the hour of Venice was now come; declared war against the unfortunate city of the sea; brought up cannon to the edge of the lagoons; and by menaces of retaliation compelled the senate and the doge to pass a decree dissolving their ancient constitution, and establishing a kind of municipal democracy in its stead.

During the approach of Bonaparte towards Vienna, the republican armies on the Rhine were pressing hard on the Austrians, to prevent their sending reinforcements to the archduke. An armistice was offered by the Austrians, but as the French required Ehrenbreitstein as a guarantee, both parties resolved to prosecute the war. The left wing of the army of General Hoche marched from Dusseldorf, whilst the centre and right wing crossed the Rhine near Coblenz. On the 18th of April a fierce contest took place between the hostile armies near the Lahn, in which the Austrians were beaten with the loss of four thousand prisoners. General Moreau having forced the passage of the Upper Rhine near Strasburg, attacked and carried the village of Diersheim; and next day the conflict was renewed with such vigor on the part of the republicans, that the fort of Kehl was taken, and five thousand Austrians were made prisoners. The French then advanced, and the Austrians were retiring towards the Danube, when all military operations were suspended, in consequence of intelligence received from the archduke and Bonaparte, that peace had been concluded. On the arrival of this intelligence, the army of General Hoche was making an attack upon Franckfort-on-the-Maine, which General Warnecht was employing every effort to defend. Both armies received the news about the same time, upon which the troops threw

down their arms, and congratulated each other on the happy event.

A contest of a serious nature was now fast approaching between the legislative and executive branches of the French government. The time had arrived when a third part of the legislative body was to be changed. On the 19th of May Letourneur went out of the Directory by lot; on the 20th the new third took their seats; and on the 21st Barthélemy was chosen a member of the Directory in the room of Letourneur. Pichegru, Jourdan, and Willot, were amongst the members of the new third, so that a decided majority of both councils was of the moderate party; and two members of the Directory, Carnot and Barthélemy, were understood to be men of the same description. The old conventionalists, therefore, employed every means which seemed calculated either to render the Mountain party odious, or to embarrass the Directory. On the 14th of June Gilbert Desmolières brought up a report from a committee on the state of the finances, in which he inveighed against the prodigality of the Directory, and censured in the strongest language the conduct of its agents. On the 18th the same committee proposed a new plan of finance, which went to deprive the Directory of the administration of the public money. On the preceding day Camille Jourdan had presented a report of great length on the subject of religion, in which he insisted on the impropriety of forbidding its ceremonies to be publicly displayed, and the iniquitous nature of that persecution which its ministers had suffered because they could not take the oaths prescribed by the legislature. On the 15th of July the Council of Five Hundred decreed that all the laws against refractory priests should be repealed; and on the following day a decree, requiring from them an oath of fidelity to the constitution, was carried by a majority of no more than six members. Eméry, a new member, proposed the repeal of the laws by which the property of emigrants had been confiscated and their relations declared incompetent to

succeed them. The discussion which these topics underwent made the Directory and the Councils professed enemies to each other. The Councils wished the Directory to be changed before the expiration of the legal time, and the Directory tried to deprive of their seats many new members who had been elected by the people. As Barras was upon the whole the most obnoxious member of the Directory, an effort was made to deprive him of his seat, on the pretence that he was less than the legal age of forty; but his colleagues maintained that he had been born in the year 1755, and no proof of the contrary could be produced. Still the Directory did not want a number of adherents. The resolution of the Councils in favor of the priests had the appearance of a counter revolution, which induced the royalists to resume courage, and journals were rapidly published in defence of their cause. On the 20th of July the Councils received information that a division of the army, under Hoche, was within a few leagues of Paris; whilst the constitution declared that the Directory incurred the penalty of ten years' imprisonment, if it brought troops any nearer the residence of the legislative body, without its consent, than twelve miles. An explanation was demanded, and given; the Directory declared their ignorance of the march, which they said had been undertaken without orders from them, and owing to a mistake on the part of the officer by whom it was conducted; but the Councils paid no regard to an allegation which they evidently disbelieved. The turbulent suburb of St. Antoine adhered to the majority of the Directory; and this encouraged them so much that they lost no time in proceeding to action.

General Angereau had been sent from Italy, upon the pretence of delivering to the Directory some standards taken from the enemy. On the morning of the 4th, the Tuileries was surrounded by a division of the troops, under the command of this officer; the guard of the Councils refused to act against them, and Ramel their commander

was made prisoner. On entering the hall, Angereau seized Pichegru and twelve more of the chiefs of the opposite faction, whom he immediately sent prisoners to the Temple. Carnot made his escape on the preceding evening; but Barthélèmy remained, and was put under arrest. When several members of the Councils came to the hall at the usual hour, they were astonished to find that seals had been put upon the doors, and that they could not obtain admittance. They were ordered to go to the Surgeons' Hall, where the Directory, it was said, had appointed them to meet; but of both Councils not more than a hundred and twenty members assembled, who, however, sent to obtain from the Directory an explanation of the proceedings which had just taken place. They were given to understand, that what had been done was absolutely necessary for the salvation of the Republic, and the Councils were congratulated on their escape from the machinations of the royalists. According to the report of Boulay de la Meurthe, a great royalist conspiracy, the centre of which was in the bosom of the Councils, was endeavoring to subvert the constitution; but, by the indefatigable diligence and activity of the Directory, it had been defeated. It was proposed to banish the conspirators without a trial, and the Councils were so completely imposed upon, that they voted the deportation of fifty-three of their own members, and twelve other persons, amongst whom were the directors Carnot and Barthélèmy. During these transactions the city of Paris remained tranquil.

The negotiations with the emperor were at length terminated, and on the 17th of October a definitive treaty was signed at Campo Formio. The Netherlands were given up to the French Republic, and the Milanese to the Cisalpine Republic; whilst the imperial territories in the Brisgau were surrendered to the Duke of Modena, as a compensation for the loss of his duchy in Italy. It was likewise agreed by the emperor that the French should possess the Vene-

tian islands in the Levant, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Cerigo, and others; and, on the other hand, the emperor was to have the city of Venice, with its remaining territory, from the extremity of Dalmatia, as far as the Adige and the Lake of Garda.

At this time the empire of the seas was so completely possessed by Britain that the republican fleets lay blockaded in their own ports during the greater part of the year. But as the expedition against Ireland had completely failed, the Directory were at a loss how to dispose of the galley slaves who had formed part of Hoche's army. It would have been cruel to send them back to punishment; the troops refused to serve with them in the army; and by the new laws of France they could not receive a pardon, neither was it prudent to set so many criminals at liberty. To get rid of the difficulty, the Directory at last determined to send them over to England; and these criminals, to the number of about twelve hundred, were landed from two frigates and some small vessels on the coast of Wales, with muskets and ammunition, but destitute of artillery. On the evening of the day on which they landed, however (the 23d of February), they were made prisoners by a party of militia, yeomanry, cavalry, colliers, and others, under the command of Lord Cawdor. But although the navy of France continued in port, and therefore out of danger, the Spanish and Dutch allies of that country sustained serious losses by sea. A Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, opposed to a British fleet of only fifteen sail under Sir John Jervis, was completely defeated off Cape St. Vincent on the 14th of February. The Spanish fleet was on its way to Brest to effect a junction with the French fleet; but by the victory of Jervis this object was rendered unattainable. The Dutch were if possible still more unfortunate. Admiral Duncan having blockaded the Texel, where their fleet lay during the summer, a resolution was at length adopted to risk an engagement; and De Winter received positive orders to put to sea. Admiral Duncan was

at this time refitting at Yarmouth; but on receiving intelligence that the Dutch fleet had sailed, he immediately put to sea in quest of the enemy, and on the 11th of October came up with their fleet, consisting of a force rather inferior to his own. The British admiral having carried his fleet through the enemy's line, commenced the attack between them and their own coast, about nine miles from Camperdown. The conflict lasted three hours, at the end of which time the greater part of the Dutch fleet had struck.

After the ratification of the treaty with the emperor at Campo Formio, Joseph Bonaparte was sent to Rome as plenipotentiary of the French Republic. The pope, having now no expectation of foreign assistance, submitted to the demands for the reduction of his troops, and the liberation of every person confined in prison on account of political opinions. But on the 26th of December, 1797, three men waited upon the ambassador, and requested the co-operation of France in bringing about a revolution which a party at Rome was anxious to effect. He refused to countenance the project, and did every thing in his power to dissuade them from embarking in such an enterprise; but unfortunately he neglected to communicate the intelligence to the papal government. On the 28th, however, he went to the cardinal secretary, and showed him a list of persons under his protection who had a legal authority to wear the tricolor cockade; he at the same time consented that all others wearing it should be punished; and he offered to give up six of the insurgents who had taken refuge in his palace. In the evening of the same day, a most serious tumult, in its origin not altogether unknown to his holiness, happened in the courts and vicinity of the French ambassador's palace, and the governor of the city endeavored to disperse the rioters by parties of cavalry and infantry. But in attempting to induce the military to desist from firing upon the people, General Duphot, who belonged to the French mission, was shot by a petty officer belonging to the troops of his

holiness. As soon as the Spanish ambassador received information of this event, he sent to the cardinal secretary, and protested against this daring violation of the privileges of plenipotentiaries. The palace of the French ambassador was still surrounded by the military, when he demanded his passports, which were granted, accompanied by many protestations of the innocence of government, and its sorrow that such an unfortunate occurrence should have taken place. Joseph Bonaparte retired to Florence, and thence proceeded to Paris. The protection of Austria, Spain, Naples, and Tuscany, was earnestly solicited by the pope; but all these powers seemed disinclined to interfere in behalf of the pontiff. General Berthier experienced little or no opposition on his march to Rome, where he subverted the dominion of the pope, proclaimed the sovereignty of the Roman people, and caused the tree of liberty to be planted on the very day on which the anniversary of the pope's election was being celebrated. Whilst in the Sistine chapel receiving the congratulations of the cardinals, the commissioner-general, and Cervoni, who commanded the troops within the city, entered the chapel during the ceremony, and announced to the sovereign pontiff that his reign was at an end.

But scenes of a different and more sanguinary character were in the mean time exhibited in Switzerland, a country which had preserved its neutrality during the conflict between France and the combined powers. About the end of the year 1797, an insurrection broke out in the Pays de Vaud, a district subject to the canton of Berne. This occurrence showed the government its critical situation, and induced it to issue a proclamation on the 5th of January, 1798, requiring the people of the Pays de Vaud to appear in arms, renew their oath of allegiance, and reform all abuses. A commission of the senate of Berne was also empowered to examine every complaint, and redress every grievance; but their motions were considered as too tardy by popular impatience, and the

insurgents endeavored to make themselves masters of the strong places. Troops were sent against them by the government of Berne; but General Weiss having acted with hesitation, a body of republicans appeared under General Menard, who sent an aid-de-camp with two hussars to negotiate with Weiss. As the messengers returned, however, one of the hussars was killed, most probably by accident; but this circumstance was instantly magnified into a horrid breach of the law of nations. The French, therefore, continued to advance, and by the end of January were masters of the whole of the Pays de Vaud. The government of Berne, whilst it used every effort to maintain peace, prepared for war. But a truce was entered into with General Brune, the successor of Menard, and those who had killed the hussar were delivered up. An army of twenty thousand men was collected, the command of which was given to D'Erlach, once a field-marshal in the service of France. But disaffection prevailed in this army, and the people were far from being united amongst themselves. Of this the French were well aware, and therefore they demanded a total change of government. On the other hand, D'Erlach, apprehensive of a still greater defection in his army, requested permission to put an end to the armistice. The French now refused to negotiate, and on the 2d of March General Schawenberg took possession of Soleure at the head of thirteen thousand men; whilst Brune afterwards made himself master of Friburg, and forced the Swiss army to retreat. The government of Berne now greatly alarmed, decreed the *landstrum*, or rising in mass, which the ancient customs of the country justified in the time of necessity. The people assembled, dissolved the government, and offered to dismiss the army, if the republican troops would retire. But this offer was rejected, except upon the condition of admitting a French garrison into Berne, and therefore the Swiss continued to advance. About six thousand of the army of D'Erlach had deserted, leaving him at the

head of little more than fourteen thousand men; and although the rising had abundantly supplied him with numbers, yet raw and undisciplined levies, however numerous, were of little avail against veteran troops, and he was not allowed time to give them any thing like regular organization. He was accordingly attacked on the 5th of March, and driven from Newenbeg and Favenbrun; but having rallied his troops, he made a stand for some time at Uteren. The conflict was renewed at Grauholtz, whence the Swiss were driven four miles nearer the capital; and being at last completely defeated, they in a fit of fury and despair murdered many of their officers, amongst whom was their commander-in-chief. Berne capitulated to the French, and the more wealthy and populous states followed the example; but the poorer cantons made a vigorous effort to preserve their small possessions, and the independence of their country; they compelled Schawenberg to retire with the loss of three thousand men, but were at last totally vanquished by the superior skill and numbers of the republican army. The public magazines were plundered, and a new constitution, modeled on that of France, was forced upon them.

After peace had been proclaimed between France and Germany, the Directory made no secret of their determination to attempt the invasion of Great Britain. It appears that soon after the return of Bonaparte to the capital, where the Directory received him with all imaginable splendor, an army was offered him by the government, with which to invade England; and it is also certain that he accepted the command. After calculating all the chances, he thought it possible to gain a battle on British ground, but quite hopeless to maintain a footing in that country. But England, though invincible on her own soil, might be deeply wounded through her commerce and her colonies; these he considered as the principal sinews of her strength; and if he could divert in different channels the main branch of the one and seize upon the most important of

the other, he doubted not that he would thereby effectually humble the haughty island. Impressed with the common but groundless notion that Britain derived incalculable resources from her Indian dominions, and conceiving that commercial superiority must ever belong to the nation which is possessed of the safest and readiest communications with the East, Bonaparte thought of restoring the trade of India to its ancient channel through Egypt and the Levant. An expedition to Egypt was therefore resolved on, with the full concurrence of the Directory.

This resolution, however, was kept a profound secret, and every artifice employed to mislead the English as to the real destination of the intended expedition. Threats of invasion were therefore studiously reiterated, and matters were so contrived as to give to the necessary preparations, which could not escape observation, an appearance calculated to confirm the idea that an invasion was actually intended. Meanwhile, the fleet was getting ready in the harbor of Toulon, and troops were collected in its vicinity; and when everything had been prepared, Bonaparte embarked with forty thousand veteran troops, and, on the 9th of June, reached Malta. Having landed his troops in different places, he resolved to make himself master of this island; and, after a very feeble opposition, the grand-master capitulated, giving up in a few days a fortress which might have held out for months against all the troops of the French Republic. Bonaparte left in the island a garrison of four thousand men, and on the 21st of June sailed for Alexandria. Admiral Nelson was despatched in pursuit of the French fleet; but being wholly ignorant of its destination, he sailed for Naples, where he obtained information of the attack upon Malta. To that island accordingly he steered his course, and on his arrival he found that Bonaparte was gone; but conjecturing that he had sailed for Alexandria, he immediately prepared to follow him. The French commander, however, instead of keeping a

direct course towards the coast of Egypt, stood along that of Greece, until he had made the easternmost point of the island of Candia; then steering to the southward, he protracted his voyage, so as not to reach the Egyptian coast till Admiral Nelson had left it.

On the 5th of July, Bonaparte landed his troops, and took by storm the city of Alexandria. The republican transports were then drawn up within the inner harbor of Alexandria, and the ships of war were anchored along the shore of the bay of Aboukir. The republican army then marched on towards the Nile, and, in proceeding along the banks of that river, suffered much from the intense heat of the climate. They soon came to action with the Memlooks; but this superb cavalry found itself unequal to contend with European discipline and valor. Under Murad Bey, their most distinguished chief, they made a last effort near the Pyramids; but were routed with the loss of two thousand men killed, four hundred camels with baggage taken, and fifty pieces of cannon. Cairo immediately surrendered.

Bonaparte having proceeded thus far in the conquest of Egypt, framed a provisional government, and issued proclamations in Arabic, protesting that the French were friendly to the religion of Mohammed, owned the authority of the Grand Signior, and were only come to inflict punishment on the Memlooks, the oppressors and spoilers of Egypt. Thus far the good fortune of Bonaparte seemed still to attend him. But on the 1st of August the English fleet under Admiral Nelson appeared off the mouth of the Nile; and before the sun of the morrow rose, that of France had been destroyed, and all communication between the French army and Europe thus completely cut off. The action commenced at sunset, and continued, with occasional intervals, till daybreak, when the morning disclosed to the astounded invaders the extent of the calamity which had befallen them. In consequence of the victory of the Nile the aspect of affairs suddenly under-

went a remarkable change, and the conqueror of Italy was shut up in a distant country, from which the fleets of Britain might prevent his return. Proposals were therefore made by Britain to the northern powers, to recommence hostilities against France; the states of Italy determined to make a vigorous effort for the recovery of their independence; and the court of Naples, encouraged by the destruction of the French fleet, threw off the mask which it had been compelled to wear, and joined the new confederacy against the Republic.

The French, it is well known, had long held out encouragement to the Irish rebels; but as the expectations of the latter were disappointed, they broke out into open rebellion without the promised assistance; and when the spirit of insurrection had been almost wholly extinguished, the Directory, with its usual imbecility, made a feeble attempt to revive it. On the 22d of August General Humbert, with a handful of troops, amounting only to eleven hundred men, landed at Killala. Yet this force, small as it was, would have proved formidable a month before. On landing they were joined by a party of the more desperate rebels in the vicinity, and defeated General Lake at the head of a superior force, taking from him six pieces of cannon. They sent in different directions to announce their arrival, advanced a short way into the country, and maintained their ground for three weeks. But receiving no reinforcements from France, finding the rebellion in a great measure crushed, and being informed that General Cornwallis was about to surround him with 25,000 men, General Humbert laid down his arms to a British force four days after he had dismissed his Irish associates, that they might provide for their own safety. Active measures were now taken by the Directory to send troops to Ireland when it was too late; the vigilance of British cruisers defeated all their endeavors. On the 12th of October, La Roche, a ship of eighty-four guns, and four frigates, were captured by Sir John Borlase Warren,

in attempting to reach Ireland with three thousand men; on the 20th another frigate, destined for the same country, was also taken. The Directory therefore abandoned the attempt as hopeless.

The victory of the Nile, important as beyond all doubt it was in a political point of view, seems nevertheless to have been overestimated by the court of Naples, which, considering the destruction of the army of Egypt as certain, now rushed headlong into a new war with France. Disdaining to wait until the Austrians were ready to take the field against the republicans, the king prevailed on General Mack to assume the command of his army, began the war without any foreign aid excepting that of the British fleet, and thus brought upon himself the vengeance of the French Republic. The Directory had no conception that he would adopt such an insane line of conduct; and consequently, when General Mack appeared at the head of forty-five thousand men, the troops of France in that quarter were not in a condition to contend with him. When General Championet complained of the attack made upon his posts, he was informed that his Neapolitan majesty had resolved to take possession of the Roman territory, advised to retire quietly into the Cisalpine states, and further apprised that his entrance into Tuscany would be considered as a declaration of war. Championet having no force sufficient to contend with the Neapolitan army, accordingly evacuated Rome; but he left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo, and concentrated what troops he could collect in the northern parts of the Roman states. In the end of November General Mack entered Rome without opposition. When these transactions became known at Paris, war was immediately declared against the King of Naples and the King of Sardinia. The latter had committed no act of hostility against the French; but he was accused of disaffection towards the Republic. This charge could scarcely fail to be true. For, ever since the entrance of Bonaparte into

Italy, he had been reduced to a most humiliating condition; his strongest fortresses were in the possession of the French; a garrison had been placed in his capital; contributions were levied from his subjects at the pleasure of the conquerors; and he was reduced to such a situation, that, unable to protect himself, he made a voluntary surrender of his continental dominions, and agreed to retire to the island of Sardinia.

But a period was soon put to the dispute with Naples. The Neapolitan troops were defeated by one-fourth of their number, at Terni, Porto Fermo, Civita Castellana, Otricoli, and Calvi; and as the army of Mack was speedily reduced by defeat and desertion to less than twelve thousand men, he advised the king and his family to take refuge on board the British fleet which was then lying at Leghorn. This advice was adopted, and the royal family reached Palermo in Sicily on the 27th of December. General Mack now requested an armistice, which was refused; and being driven from Capua, the only remaining post of any importance in the Neapolitan territory, and in danger from the disaffection of his troops, he surrendered himself and the officers of his staff as prisoners to the republican general.

In Naples there had long been a numerous body of men called Lazzaroni, who subsisted entirely on charity. These vagabonds frequently threatened the state if their wants were not immediately supplied, and their submission was often purchased by liberal contributions. Having been informed that the French, wherever they came, destroyed all the monasteries and other sources of charity, this immense gang of sturdy beggars determined to oppose them to the utmost, and to appear forsooth as the advocates of royal government. In the beginning of January, 1799, they exhibited marks of discontent, and at last broke out into open insurrection. They appointed as their commander-in-chief Prince Militorni, who, however, did his utmost to restrain their violence

and love of plunder. But all his efforts were unavailing. They declared war against the French, forced open the prisons, and murdered all who had been incarcerated for disaffection to the government. Their ravages now became so dreadful and boundless, that Prince Militorni abandoned them, and proceeded to Capua, where he requested Championet to take possession of the city, in order to rescue it from utter destruction. It was accordingly agreed that a column of French troops should advance against the capital by a circuitous route, and endeavor to enter the city from the opposite quarter. But before this plan could be carried into execution, a great body of the Lazzaroni marched out (on the 19th and 20th of January) to attack the French in the fortifications of Capua. This daring attempt failed, as might have been expected, and multitudes perished by the fire of the French artillery; but in order to favor the capture of Naples by the detachment sent for that purpose, Championet continued on the defensive. On the 21st the Lazzaroni, informed that a French column had marched for Naples, returned to the city; and although Championet closely pursued them, they arrived in time to barricade the streets, and prepare for the defence of different quarters. A fierce conflict now commenced, and lasted from the morning of the 22d till the evening of the 23d of January, when, having been driven from street to street, they finally rallied at one of the gates, where they were almost totally cut off.

This advantage may be considered as the last which the Directory obtained; for the consequences of their past misconduct were now rapidly gathering around them. They were justly unpopular at home, both from their mode of conducting public affairs, and their repeated violations of the constitution. Their profusion was boundless, and the demands which they made upon conquered countries exorbitant. Championet was so ashamed of their proceedings, that he refused to enforce their orders in Italy, and was in consequence deprived of his command,

and thrown into prison; whilst Schérer, the war minister, was appointed his successor. Under the latter the rapacity of the government agents, and the embezzlement of the public stores, were carried to an incredible extent. Still France continued to be dreaded by foreign nations, to whom the true state of her internal affairs was but imperfectly known. A Russian army had arrived, but the cabinet of Vienna was at a loss whether to declare war or temporize a little longer. Britain solicited the aid of Prussia with an offer of large subsidies; but Sièyes, the French plenipotentiary at Berlin, artfully contrived to defeat the negotiation, and counteract the unpopularity of his country in Germany, by giving to the world the secret convention of Campo Formio, which determined the greater number of the German princes to observe neutrality under the guardianship of Prussia.

On the 2d of January a note was presented to the congress at Rastadt, by the French plenipotentiaries, intimating, that if the entrance of Russian troops into Germany was not prevented, it would be considered as tantamount to a declaration of war. To this no satisfactory answer was returned. On the 26th of the same month the strong fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, which had been blockaded since the treaty of Campo Formio, surrendered; and the possession of this place, together with that of Mayence and Dusseldorf, rendered the French powerful on the Rhine. Switzerland and all the fortified places of Italy were also in their hands, so that they were fully prepared to commence active operations. At this period Jourdan commanded on the Upper Rhine from Mayence to Hunningen; the eastern frontier of Switzerland was occupied by Massena; Schérer commanded in chief in Italy, with Moreau under him; and Macdonald was at the head of the troops in the Roman and Neapolitan territories. But these armies thus disseminated did not exceed a hundred and seventy thousand men, a force greatly inferior to that of Austria, independently altogether of

the Russian army. The Directory, however, trusting to the unity of its own plans, the wavering politics of the court of Vienna, and the slow movements of the imperial armies, was anxious to renew the contest; and, accordingly, on the 13th of March war was declared against the Emperor of Germany and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Jourdan had actually crossed the Rhine at Strasburg on the first of that month, and occupied strong positions in Suabia. Mannheim was taken, and General Bernadotte summoned Philipsburg, whilst General St. Cyr entered Stutgardt. To oppose the march of this army, the Archduke Charles crossed the Lech upon the 4th of March; whilst, on the other side, Massena entered the territory of the Grisons, surprised a strong body of Austrians, made the whole prisoners, with their general and his staff.

But the plan of campaign could not be carried into operation without the junction of Massena's and Jourdan's armies; and to accomplish this it was necessary to carry the important post of Feldkirch, which was occupied by General Hotze. Defeated in his first attempt, Massena renewed the attack five times with fresh troops; but the determined bravery of the Austrians rendered all his efforts ineffectual. As the French, however, were in possession of the Grisons, this facilitated the invasion of the Engadine, where the Austrians being too weak to resist, retreated into the Tyrol, and were pursued by the republicans, who forced some of the defiles, and pushed forward their flying parties as far as Glurentz and Nauders.

The vanguard of the principal Austrian army now advanced to meet the French, and on the 20th of March was attacked by Jourdan, who drove in the enemy's outposts; but on the following day the centre of the French army was attacked, and forced to retire to Stockach during the night. The archduke encamped before Stockach on the 24th, and the republicans again attacked him on the following day. Their main object of attack was his right wing under General Meerfeldt,

which they succeeded in driving into a wood between Liptingen and Stockach. Meerfeldt renewed the contest without success. But the left wing having maintained its ground, sent reinforcements to General Meerfeldt, who in his turn obliged the French to retire. The French, however made four thousand prisoners during the various movements of the day. Yet their loss was so great, and the Austrian force so much superior, that Jourdan durst not hazard another engagement. He therefore retreated on the following day, and, finding that he was not a match for the enemy, sent part of his army to cover Kehl and Strasburg, and marched with the remainder towards Switzerland. By this event General Massena, who was forcing his way into the Tyrol and Engadine, was obliged to return to the protection of Switzerland. He was now appointed to the chief command in this quarter, and Jourdan was removed.

The Austrians were not less successful in Italy, notwithstanding they had been attacked by the French before the termination of the armistice. General Kray obtained a complete victory at Legnago, and forced the enemy to fly for protection under the walls of Mantua. On the 15th of April they were again attacked by the Austrians at Memiruolo, and forced to retreat after an obstinate resistance. The loss sustained by the French in these different engagements was certainly great; but the Austrians also purchased their success at a costly rate. Schérer at first gained some advantages over them, but he wanted the skill necessary to improve them. The Austrian posts were forced by a division of his army on the 26th of March, and four thousand men made prisoners; but another division being repulsed, Schérer withdrew his troops, and thus relinquished the advantages he had obtained. On the 5th of April the division under Moreau was again successful, and took three thousand prisoners; but, by the unskillful measures of Schérer, he was not supported, and the Austrian triumph was complete.

A short time previous to this, the Russians had effected a junction with the imperialists, and the command of the combined army was given to Field-marshal Suwarof. The Russian commander on the 24th of April advanced towards the Adda, and after carrying the outposts of Moreau, determined to attack him in his intrenchments. Suwarof maintained a show of attack along the whole line of Moreau, whilst he secretly threw a bridge amongst the rocks at the upper part of the river, where such an operation had been considered as impossible. By this bridge part of the combined army next morning turned the republican fortifications, and attacked their flank and rear, whilst the remainder forced the passage of the river at different points. The French fought with their usual intrepidity, but were soon driven from all their positions, and forced to retreat towards Pavia, with the loss of six thousand men killed, five thousand prisoners including four generals, and eighty pieces of cannon.

General Moreau now established the remains of his army, amounting to about 12,000 men, upon the Po, between Alessandria and Valentia, where, on the 11th of May, he forced a body of Austrians to retreat, and took a number of prisoners. On the 12th about 7000 Russians crossed the Po at Bassignano, and marched towards Pecetto, when Moreau fell upon them with incredible fury; and as they obstinately refused to lay down their arms, about 2000 of their number were drowned in repassing the river, and a few taken prisoners. On the advance of Suwarof, General Moreau was under the necessity of retiring to occupy the Bochetta, as well as other passes leading to the territory of Genoa, when the combined army commenced the sieges of the fortified places in Italy then occupied by the French. Bellegarde drove the French from the Engadine; Massena, pressed by the archduke, was obliged to retire to the vicinity of Zurich; and nearly the whole of Piedmont had risen against the republicans. The armies received no reinforcements from the interior of France, and

their officers were obliged to act upon the defensive. In one instance only they had the power of acting on the offensive, and it was certainly done with great vigor. General Macdonald had still a considerable army in the territories of Naples and of Rome; and the combined powers had made no effort to cut off his retreat, which, indeed, could scarcely be accomplished in the mountainous countries of Tuscany and Genoa. Knowing his situation secure, he was in no haste to withdraw, although nearly the whole of the country between him and France was occupied by the allies. His army amounted to about 30,000 men, and he had received orders from the Directory to leave the territories of Rome and Naples, and unite, if possible, with the army of Moreau. From the situation of the allies, however, he resolved to hazard an action by himself. With Moreau he had concerted a plan for dividing the enemy, and vanquishing them in detail, as Bonaparte had previously done with so much success. Macdonald alone was in a situation to strike an important blow; but it was nevertheless necessary that Moreau should draw upon himself as many of the Austro-Russian forces as possible, in order that the remainder might be the more completely exposed to the attack of Macdonald.

Moreau artfully availed himself of the circumstance of the French and Spanish fleets being in the vicinity of Genoa, to spread a report that they had brought him powerful reinforcements, intending thereby to withdraw the attention of Suwarof from Macdonald. The Russian general was at Turin, and his advanced posts were at Susa, Pignerol and the Col d'Assiette, whilst General Hohenzollern was stationed at Modena with a considerable force, and General Ott occupied Reggio with ten thousand men. General Macdonald began his operations on the 12th of June, when his advanced divisions attacked and defeated Hohenzollern, and made two thousand prisoners. General Ott was also attacked, and compelled to retreat, upon which the French made their entry

into Parma on the 14th. The Austrian general was again attacked on the 17th, and forced to retire towards Giovanni; but here the progress of the French was arrested by a more powerful and determined antagonist.

Suwarof having received information of the approach and successes of Macdonald, left Turin on the 15th of June, at the head of 20,000 men, and came up with the enemy upon the banks of the Tidone. An action immediately ensued, and was continued with desperate fury for three successive days, when victory at length declared in favor of Suwarof. Driven from the Tidone to the Trebbia, the French were finally defeated on the 19th, after a greater slaughter on both sides than the oldest officer ever recollected to have witnessed. Victory had remained doubtful until General Kray arrived with large reinforcements from the army besieging Mantua, and, in direct contempt of his orders, decided the fortune of this protracted and terrible battle. The republicans retreated during the night, and were next day pursued by the army of Suwarof formed in two columns. Seldom could the French be overtaken in retreat; but this the victorious barbarian accomplished, and, having surrounded the rear-guard, obliged them to lay down their arms. The rest of the army defended themselves in the passes of the Appennines and territory of Genoa, after losing nearly half their numbers in killed, wounded and prisoners. Moreau, in the meantime, gave battle to the Austrians under Bellegarde, who, though greatly superior in numbers, were totally defeated. But this temporary advantage proved of little avail. Suwarof rapidly returned from the pursuit of Macdonald, and Moreau was compelled to retire. The fortresses of Italy now surrendered in close succession, and the combined powers regained a complete ascendancy in that country.

The affairs of the republic became equally critical in Palestine. After having defeated the Memlooks, and made himself master of Alexandria and Cairo, Bonaparte led an army

into Palestine. At the head of 10,000 men, with officers eminently skilled in war, he reached Acre on the sea-coast, and laid siege in due form to this town, which was but indifferently fortified, and defended by a small garrison. But Sir Sidney Smith received the command, and detained Bonaparte sixty days before Acre, although the number of the garrison by whom it was defended scarcely exceeded 3000 men. The French commander made eleven successive attempts to carry the place by assault; but in all these he proved unsuccessful, and was at last obliged to raise the siege, after he had lost eight generals, eighty-five inferior officers and nearly one-half of his army. The successful defence of this place destroyed the prestige of invincibility, and mainly contributed to decide the fate of the French army in Egypt.

Whilst France experienced such reverses abroad, she was much disturbed also by internal commotions, and the Directory now found itself in a most critical situation. The new elections were still unfavorable to their interest, and they could no longer command a majority in the Councils. When they sought money they met with reproaches for their profusion; and royalist insurrections in the west and south were with difficulty subdued, on account of the absence of the military. But in the midst of these difficulties an event occurred which seemed to promise the Directory the return of their former influence. On the 28th of April the French plenipotentiaries having received orders to quit Rastadt in twenty-four hours, demanded passports from Colonel Barbases, but were informed that none could grant these excepting the commander-in-chief. They accordingly set out without passports. The three ministers, Bonnier, Roberjot, and Jean D  bry, were in separate carriages, Roberjot having his wife, and Jean D  bry his wife and daughters along with him; and they were attended by the ministers of the Cisalpine Republic. At a short distance from Rastadt, however, they were met by fifty

Austrian hussars, who stopped the carriage of Jean Débry, and fiercely demanded his name. Débry gave them the information required, adding, that he was a French minister returning to his own country. He was immediately torn from his carriage, desperately wounded with sabres, and thrown into a ditch for dead; whilst Bonnier and Roberjot were murdered outright on the spot. When the ruffians departed, the carriages returned to Rastadt, and Jean Débry wandered all night in the woods. Next day he retraced his steps, and demanded the restitution of the papers which the assassins had carried off when they plundered the carriages; but these were refused. Rastadt and its vicinity had been occupied by French troops during the sitting of the congress, and the Austrians had obtained possession of the place only a few days before. In any view, therefore, this event was a severe reproach to the discipline of the Austrian army; but it is probable that more than the want of subordination was at the bottom of a crime so atrocious, indeed unprecedented in the history of civilized nations. The archduke, it is true, lost no time in declaring his utter ignorance of the matter, in a letter addressed to Massena; but this was far from giving satisfaction to the Directory or to France. In a message to the Councils on the 5th of May, they accordingly described it as a premeditated act on the part of the Austrian government, intended to insult France by the murder of her ambassadors.

The introduction of a new third this year into the legislature was the commencement of a violent opposition to the Directory. Sièyes, who had been ambassador at Berlin, and possessed considerable influence over all parties, was elected a member of the Directory. This station he refused to occupy on the establishment of the constitution, and therefore his acceptance of it at such a critical juncture excited surprise. Treilhard was removed upon the pretence that he had held an office in the state within less than a year previously to his election; and Merlin and

Leveillére-Lepeaux were under the necessity of resigning, to avoid a threatened impeachment. Barras, however, still retained his place, and Moulins, Gohier, and Dueos, men little known, were chosen members of the Directory. An attempt was made to revive public spirit by the establishment of clubs; a proceeding of which the Jacobins were the first to take advantage. They soon proposed violent measures, and began to denounce the members as well as the conduct of government. But their intemperance having alarmed the Directory, permission was at length obtained from the Councils to suppress their meetings.

The Directory now employed every effort to reinforce the armies which had lately suffered such dreadful losses. In the beginning of August the army of Italy amounted to forty-five thousand men, and General Joubert was promoted to the chief command. Turin, Alessandria, Milan, Peschiera, and Ferrara were captured by the allies with astonishing rapidity. Turin sustained a bombardment of only three days, Alessandria held out seven, and Mantua only fourteen; the latter place contained thirteen thousand men, who were dismissed on their parole. The combined forces next laid siege to Tortona; but General Joubert resolved to attempt its relief, which he expected to accomplish before the arrival of Kray with reinforcements. On the 13th of August, the whole of the Austrian posts were driven in by the Republicans, who took possession of Novi. But on the 15th they were attacked by Suwarof, who had by this time received reinforcements from Mantua under General Kray. The right wing was commanded by Kray, the left by Melas, and the centre by Prince Bagration and Suwarof in person. The engagement commenced about five o'clock in the morning; but soon afterwards General Joubert, whilst urging his troops forward to charge with the bayonet, received a musket shot in his body, and falling from his horse, immediately expired. Moreau now assumed the command, and after a

bloody conflict the allied army gave way in all directions. The Russians in particular suffered severely from the obstinate manner in which they fought. The French line was attacked at three in the afternoon, but remained unbroken; and the whole would have terminated in the defeat of the allies if General Melas had not turned the right flank of the republican line, and, following up his advantages, obtained possession of Novi, when the French army began to retire under the direction of General Moreau. The French now lost all hope of being able to defend Genoa, and therefore prepared to evacuate that city and territory. The Directory fully expected that the south of France would immediately be invaded; but in this they were happily deceived. The conquered army was astonished to find itself unmolested after so signal a defeat, and in a few days sent back parties to reconnoitre the movements of the allies. Championet, the successor of Joubert, was amazed to discover that they had rather retreated than advanced, on which account he resumed the positions which the army had occupied before the battle of Novi.

So far from prosecuting the advantages which he had obtained in Italy, Suwarof was persuaded to abandon that country with the Russian troops, and to march to the deliverance of Switzerland. In the month of August, the army of Massena in this quarter amounted to seventy thousand men, a force which not only prevented the archduke from pursuing his advantages, but even enabled the French to threaten his position; and the right wing under General Lecourbe had carried Mount St. Gothard, the great pass leading from the eastern parts of Switzerland into Italy. Suwarof's expectations were no doubt high, as he had never yet been beaten; and he felt flattered in being called upon to undertake an enterprise in which the Austrians had hitherto failed, even under their most fortunate general. But when he was ready to march, the Austrian commander in Italy refused to furnish him

with mules for transporting his baggage and asserted that he would be furnished with a competent number at Bellinzona, where, however, none were to be found. Suwarof had, therefore, no alternative but to dismount his cavalry, and make use of their horses to drag along the baggage. In spite of all obstacles, however, he arrived, by forced marches, on the frontiers of Switzerland, upon the very day which he had stipulated with the archduke. But the archduke, either supposing that it would demean a prince of the house of Austria to serve under a Russian general, or not having courage enough to require the most experienced general in Europe to receive orders from one so much his junior, immediately marched into Suabia, and carried with him a large body of troops. It is not easy to conceive upon what principle the council of war at Vienna could imagine that so very able an officer as Massena would continue inactive at the head of an army almost double that which had been sent to oppose him. The archduke marched against the French in Suabia, who resisted him as long as the small number of their troops would permit; but they were gradually driven towards the Rhine. To carry on the deception, however, they made a serious stand in the vicinity of Mannheim, where they lost nearly eighteen hundred men.

In the meantime Switzerland was completely exposed to the army of Massena. As soon as he understood that the archduke had entered Mannheim, and that Suwarof was approaching Switzerland by St. Gothard, he commenced his movements, and, as St. Gothard was defended by Lecourbe, determined to anticipate the Russian general. Having by a false attack, on the 24th of September, drawn the attention of the Russians to another quarter, he suddenly crossed the Limmat, three leagues from Zurich. Some French divisions now engaged the Austrians, but the main body of the army marched against the Russians. Hotze fell in the beginning of the action, and Pe

trassch, who succeeded him, saved himself from a total defeat by retiring in the night with the loss of four thousand men. The Russians fought with singular obstinacy, though in a mountainous country to which they were strangers, and contending against the ablest commanders in Europe. It was in vain to attempt to put them to flight, for even when surrounded they refused to lay down their arms, and stood to be slaughtered on the spot. But the Austrians having retreated on the 25th, the Russians on the 28th followed their example, retiring in good order under General Korsakof, but with the loss of three thousand men, which, considering their perilous situation, was not very great.

During these transactions General Suwarof was advancing from Italy with an army of from fifteen to eighteen thousand men. Having carried the pass of St. Gothard, he descended into the valley of Urseren, drove Lecourbe before him with great slaughter, and advanced as far as Altorf. He next day reached the canton of Glaris, and made a thousand prisoners, whilst General Linken defeated another corps of thirteen hundred men. Massena now turned upon Suwarof, and surrounding him on all sides, expected to take both the field-marshal himself and the grand duke Constantine prisoners. But Suwarof defended himself in a masterly manner, and there being one pass in the mountains which the republicans had left unoccupied, the veteran discovered it, and thus effected his escape, but lost his cannon and baggage amongst the dreadful precipices with which the country abounds. He made his way through the country of the Grisons, and arrived at Coire with only about six thousand men. When Suwarof discovered in what manner affairs had been conducted, when he ascertained the perilous situation in which the Russians had been left by the archduke, and saw the destruction which had in consequence overtaken them, his indignation knew no bounds; he considered himself and his men betrayed, complained

bitterly of the commander of the allies in Switzerland, publicly charged the council of war at Vienna with selfishness and injustice, and refused any longer to co-operate with the Austrian army. He transmitted an account of the whole to Petersburg, and withdrew his forces to the vicinity of Augsburg, there to wait for further orders from his court.

In the mean time Great Britain made active preparations to invade Holland, with an army of forty thousand men, composed of British troops and Russian auxiliaries. The first division, under General Sir Ralph Abercromby, sailed in the month of August, protected by a fleet under Admiral Duncan; but bad weather prevented any attempt to land the troops till the morning of the 27th, when the disembarkation was effected without opposition, at the Helder Point. As the invaders had not been expected to land in North Holland, there were but few troops in that neighborhood to oppose them. But before the British had proceeded far they were met by a considerable body of infantry, cavalry and artillery, hastily collected from the adjacent towns. The Dutch fought with great obstinacy, but, fatigued by the steady opposition of their antagonists, they fell back about two leagues, and in the night evacuated the fort of Helder, which was taken possession of by the British on the morning of the 28th. Admiral Mitchell now entered the Zuyder-Zee with a detachment of the British fleet, in order to give battle to the Dutch under Admiral Story; but the latter, instead of retiring to the shallow water, with which that sea abounds, surrendered his whole fleet, on the 30th of August, without firing a gun, pretending that from the mutinous disposition of his seamen he could not prevail upon them to fight. General Brune was now sent by the Directory with such troops as could be hastily collected, to co-operate with General Daendels. In the meanwhile, as no reinforcement had arrived, General Abercromby could only act on the defensive; and the enemy, encouraged by

his want of activity, ventured to attack him on the 10th of September. Two columns of Dutch and one of republicans advanced against the invaders, but were repulsed in every direction, and forced to retreat to Alkmaer. On the 13th additional troops arrived under the Duke of York, who now assumed the chief command; and the Russians having also arrived, the army, upon the 19th, assumed the offensive. The left wing, under General Abercromby, advanced along the shore of the Zuyder-Zee to attack Hoorne; Generals Dundas and Pulteney commanded the centre columns; and the Russians were led by their own general D'Herman. But, owing to some misconception, the Russians advanced to attack the enemy about three o'clock in the morning, some hours before the rest of the army had begun its march. Their first efforts, however, were crowned with success, and they made themselves masters of the village of Bergen; but as they pressed too eagerly forward, without waiting for the co-operation of the other columns, the enemy nearly surrounded them; their general was made prisoner; and notwithstanding that the British troops came up in time to cover their retreat, they lost upwards of three thousand men. This defeat of the right wing induced the commander-in-chief to recall his troops from their advanced position, notwithstanding Abercromby had by this time made himself master of Hoorne and its garrison, and Pulteney had carried by assault the chief position of the Dutch army. The severity of the weather prevented any fresh attack being made till the 2d of October. On that day, however, an action was fought between the British and the united Dutch and French troops, which was warmly contested, and did not terminate till late in the evening, when the British regained possession of Alkmaer and the neighboring villages. But as this engagement had taken place among the sandhills near the sea, the fatigue which the troops had undergone prevented them from profiting by their victory; and the fugitives were enabled

to take up a position between Baverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee. Here they were again attacked on the 6th by the Duke of York, who, after a sanguinary contest, kept possession of the field. This, however, was the last success gained by the invading army. The Duke of York, finding that he could make no further progress, that the enemy had been rapidly reinforced, and that the difficulties presented by the face of the country and the badness of the weather also conspired against him, retired to Schager Brug, where he waited for fresh orders from England. But being closely pressed by the enemy, the embarkation of the troops must have been effected with great difficulty, had he not entered into a convention with the Dutch and French that his retreat should not be molested, in return for which he engaged not to injure the country by demolishing any of the dykes which defended it against the sea, and also to restore to France and Holland eight thousand prisoners taken before the present campaign.

The affairs of the French Republic now began to wear a more favorable aspect. Championet, it is true, had been defeated in Italy, and Ancona surrendered on the 13th of November to General Frölich; but the French were still masters of the Genoese territory, Switzerland, and Holland; and the new combination formed against them seemed about to be dissolved. Prussia withdrew at an early period, and still preserved a neutrality; and from the fate of Suwarof's army, it was reasonable to conclude that the emperor of Russia would also desert the cause of the allies.

But the crisis of the directorial government was now fast approaching. Bonaparte, on his retreat from Syria, had received intelligence that a Turkish army, supported by a fleet, was about to invade Egypt. He hastened his return across the desert, and arrived in the vicinity of the Pyramids on the 11th of July, when he found that an army consisting of eighteen thousand Moslems had landed at Aboukir, carried that place by

assault, and put the garrison, consisting of five hundred men, to the sword. On the 15th he marched against these new invaders, and ten days afterwards not only defeated, but annihilated, their whole force, slaying half their number, and driving the remainder into the sea. On the 10th of October the Directory received a dispatch announcing this victory; and on the 14th of the same month the less agreeable intelligence was communicated, that Bonaparte, accompanied with his principal officers, had landed on the shores of Provence.

Bonaparte, on his arrival, repaired to the Luxembourg. The Directory praised and feared, but dared not reproach him with the bold step he had taken in returning to France. He had evidently come to watch the course of events, and with this view shut himself up in a modest mansion in the Rue Chanteraine. But it soon appeared that he was the loadstone which drew to it all interests and all ambition; ministers, generals, deputies, men in office who desired to retain their places, and men out of office who desired to dispossess the actual occupants, flocked in crowds to General Bonaparte. All parties in fact made overtures to him; the extreme democrats, who sought in him an instrument, and the moderates, who desired the re-establishment of order at almost any price. Bonaparte took several days to mature his plans, and decide on the course he was to adopt. The democrats and moderates were equally eager in their advances. But his revolutionary connections inclined him to the former; and as his brother Lucien had, in compliment to him, been chosen president of the Council of Five Hundred, Bonaparte proposed, through this party, to become Director in room of Sièyes. Gohier and Moulius were accordingly sounded, but these pragmatistical blockheads objected on the ground of the law which required that a director should be forty years of age. The facility of getting a dispensation voted was hinted at; but they persisted, not seeing the inevitable consequences of their obstinacy;

and Bonaparte instantly joined Sièyes and the moderates, with whom he planned a change, not only in the members, but also in the form of government. But to effect this, it was necessary to commence with a *coup d'état*, or revolution; and the success of the latter must in a great measure depend on the support of the military. Of that order Bonaparte was the natural representative, and great exertions were now employed to secure its co-operation.

On the 18th of Brumaire, the day fixed for this revolution, Bonaparte summoned all the generals and officers in Paris to an early breakfast. It was a kind of levee; some regiments were to be reviewed; and it was necessary to harangue the troops. The Directors Barras, Moulius, and Gohier were kept in ignorance of the plot; they inhabited the same palace, that of the Luxembourg, and, forming a majority of the Directory, might have done mischief. The first step, however, had all the forms of legality. The Council of Ancients, in which the influence of Sièyes predominated, met at six in the morning, and passed the preconcerted decree removing the sittings of the legislative body to Saint Cloud, and conferring upon Bonaparte the command of the troops in the capital. The decree was brought to Bonaparte in the midst of his levee, and immediately communicated to the officers present, whom he also addressed. The moment for action had now arrived. Seizing Lefebvre by the arm, he presented him with a sword, and won the rough soldier by a few magical words. The decree of the Legislative Assembly secured the obedience of Moreau. Bernadotte alone stood firm, but he was not permitted to retire, until he had given a promise not to raise agitations, harangue the soldiers, or act in any way until legally summoned. Having thus made himself certain of the military, Bonaparte rode to the Tuileries, reviewed the troops, and watched the course of events. Talleyrand had been sent to the Luxembourg to induce Barras to resign, and the latter had sent his secretary

to the Tuileries to collect tidings. The directorial emissary was brought to Bonaparte, who instantly addressed him as if he had been the Directory itself: "What have you done with France, which I left so brilliant? I left peace and I find war, victories and I find reverses; I left you the millions of Italy, and I find nothing but spoliation and misery. Where are the hundred thousand soldiers, my companions in glory? They are dead." This was spoken to excite the officers around, and to dispose them to march against the Luxembourg, which he was now prepared to do. But the prudence of Barras rendered such a step unnecessary. Having received from Talleyrand a promise of oblivion for the past, wealth and impunity for the future, he signed his resignation, and left the capital for his house in the country, attended by an escort of dragoons. Moulins and Gohier, less accommodating, were ordered to be put under a guard in the Luxembourg, and Moreau was charged with this invidious duty. As Sièyes and Ducos had also resigned, the Directory was now virtually dissolved; and all that remained to be done was to replace it with a new executive government.

On the following day, being the 19th of Brumaire, the members of the two Councils met at Saint Cloud. Bonaparte had occupied the road and the environs of the château with troops; but his project was still far from being accomplished. The democratic majority in the Council of Five Hundred were indignant; the moderate majority in the Council of Ancients wavered as the crisis approached; and whilst the one prepared for extremities, the other began to repent their own act, and to be apprehensive of the intentions of Bonaparte. When the Councils met, the greatest agitation prevailed. In the Five Hundred the oath of fidelity to the constitution was renewed; and it was feared that some similar demonstration would be made by the Ancients. Informed of this dangerous spirit of resistance, Bonaparte resolved to confront, and if possible put it down by his presence. Surrounded by his staff,

he accordingly entered the Council of the Ancients, and addressed their president, but with so much confusion both of language and of manner that his partisans began to despair. "Representatives," said he, "you are on a volcano. I was tranquil yesterday when your decree was brought me, and I have come with my comrades to your aid. On this account I am recompensed with calumnies. I am stigmatized as a Cromwell and a Cæsar. If such were my character, I had no need of coming here." He then mentioned the resignation of the Directors, the distress of the country, and the agitated state of the Council of Five Hundred, upon which, he said no dependence could be placed; and he besought the Ancients to save the Revolution, liberty, and equality. "And the constitution," exclaimed a voice. "The constitution!" repeated Bonaparte, pausing and collecting himself; "I tell you, you have no constitution. You violated it in Fructidor, in Floreal, and in Prairial, when you seized by force and condemned the national representatives, when you annulled the popular elections, when you compelled three directors to resign. The constitution, forsooth! a name at once invoked and violated by every faction in turn. What force can it possess, when it has ceased to command even respect? The government, if you would have such a thing, must be fixed on a new basis." Having thus shown the necessity of the revolution, he then proceeded to re-assure his partisans, by promising it success; and, pointing to the glittering bayonets of the soldiers, "I am accompanied," added he, "by the god of fortune and of war." The Ancients applauded this speech, and Bonaparte, satisfied with the effect it had produced, hurried to the other wing of the château, where, in the Orangery, the Council of Five Hundred were in a state of extreme excitement. Leaving his staff behind, he advanced into the hall, whilst the grenadiers who followed him remained at the door. As he proceeded towards the chair, which was occupied by his brother Lucien, a violent tumult ensued,

and the epithets "Cromwell," "Cæsar," "Usurper," were freely applied to him from all parts of the house. Had the assembly heard him calmly, and then voted him a traitor or outlaw, his career might have been speedily closed; for Jourdan and Augereau were both without, and might easily have withheld or drawn off the soldiers. Instead of this, however, the exasperated deputies sprang from their seats as soon as he appeared, and pressing upon him, collared, hustled, and maltreated him, whilst Arena Corsican endeavored to dispatch him with a dagger. The grenadiers flew to his assistance, and rescued him from their fury. "Let us outlaw him; a vote of outlawry," was the instant cry of the assembly; "let him be treated like Robespierre, let him be put *hors la loi*." But Lucien refused to put the decree to the vote; he resisted, gained time, and at length, when about to be overpowered, was borne out of the hall by the grenadiers whom Napoleon sent to his assistance. Throughout the whole of this trying scene the civilian showed more courage and presence of mind than the soldier. Divesting himself of his robes, Lucien mounted a horse and harangued the troops, telling them that the majority of the Council of Five Hundred were held in terror by a few democrats armed with poniards, who menaced them, and attempted to assassinate the general. This declaration produced a great impression; and the demand whether they might be reckoned on was answered with acclamations by the troops. A company of grenadiers was instantly ordered to clear the Orangery. They advanced from the one end to the other with fixed bayonets, whilst the deputies escaped by the windows and through the woods, leaving in their retreat fragments of their robes upon almost every bush. In the evening of the same day the Council of Ancients, and about fifty members of the dispersed Council of Five Hundred, passed a decree abolishing the Directory, and establishing in its room three consuls, Bonaparte, Bièyes, and Roger Ducos, as a provisional

government, which, in concert with two committees chosen from each council, was authorized to prepare a constitution.

The plan of a new constitution was presented to the public by the consuls in the month of December 1799. According to this plan, eighty men, who had the power of nominating their own successors, and were called the Conservative Senate, had likewise authority to elect the whole of the legislators and executive rulers of the state, whilst none of these offices could be held by themselves. One man, called the chief or first consul, was to possess the sovereign authority, to hold his office for ten years, and to be competent to be re-elected; and other two consuls were to assist in his deliberations, but to have no power to control his will. Bonaparte was appointed first consul, and Cambacérès and Lebrun second and third consuls.

Bonaparte had not been long in possession of the reins of government, when he made overtures for negotiating peace with the allied powers at war with France. Separate proposals were made to the different belligerent powers, no doubt with a view to dissolve the coalition; but the decrees of the Convention which had declared war against all the powers of Europe still remained unrepealed. Departing from the forms sanctioned by the custom of nations in carrying on diplomatic correspondence, he addressed a letter directly to his Britannic majesty, the substance of which was, whether the war, which had for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the globe, was to be eternal? and whether there were no means by which Britain and France might come to a good understanding? To these questions the British ministry made a formal and elaborate reply, in which they dwelt much on the bad faith of the revolutionary rulers, and the instability of the governments of France since the subversion of the monarchy. The overture transmitted to Vienna was of a similar description, and experienced similar treatment; but, irritated by the shameful treatment of Suwarof while carrying on the war in Italy and Switzerland,

the emperor of Russia abandoned the coalition.

On the 7th of March, Bonaparte sent a message to the legislative body, containing his ideas as to the conduct and designs of the British cabinet, and assuring them that he would invoke peace in the midst of battles and triumphs, and fight only for the happiness of France and the repose of the world. This message was followed by two decrees; the one calling, in the name of honor, upon every soldier absent upon leave from the armies of Italy and the Rhine, to join them before the 5th of April; and the other appointing a fresh army of reserve to be assembled at Dijon, under the immediate command of the first consul.

About this time the belligerent powers were nearly ready to open the campaign both in Italy and on the Rhine. The Genoese Republic formed the only territory of any importance in Italy, which remained in the hands of the French; but the army by which it was defended had been very much reduced since the preceding year, and might be considered as in a state of mutiny, from the want of pay, clothes and provisions. The Austrians were most anxious to obtain possession of Genoa and its dependencies; and in this they were seconded by the Genoese themselves, who regarded the republicans as the destroyers of their commerce. Massena received the command of the army in Genoa, with extraordinary powers, and by his conduct proved himself a general of consummate abilities. Carrying with him a reinforcement of troops from Lyons and Marseilles, and reducing to order and obedience all whom he had found ready to desert their standards, he was soon at the head of a force sufficient to check the progress of the Austrians, and to keep the Genoese in subjection. But after a number of battles, all of them most vigorously contested, he was at length obliged to retire within the city, where he had soon an opportunity of distinguishing himself by one of the ablest and most obstinate defences on

record. The appearance of the British fleet on the 5th of April was the preconcerted signal for Melas to attack Genoa, the communication between which and France was thus cut off. But previously to the arrival of Lord Keith, a quantity of wheat and other provisions had been thrown into the city, by which means the army and inhabitants were rescued from immediate famine. The surrounding country was soon occupied by the Austrians; but as Massena still lived in the expectation of supplies from France, he obstinately refused to surrender the city. General Melas having nothing to apprehend from the army shut up in Genoa, left General Ott to continue the blockade, and with the remainder of his forces marched against Suchet, who commanded another division of the French army. On the 7th of May a battle was fought, between Ceva and St. Lorenzo, in which the republicans were defeated with the loss of twelve hundred prisoners and ten pieces of cannon. The consequences of this defeat, which in the circumstances was perhaps inevitable, proved eminently disastrous to the French.

But the campaign on the Rhine did not open in so favorable a manner for the Austrians as that of Italy. At the opening of the campaign, the council of war at Vienna had sent General Kray instructions how to dispose of his forces; and, having no general under him to support his views, he was under the necessity of obeying his instructions, whether he approved of them or not. Instructions of a similar nature had been transmitted to Moreau by the chief consul, but he refused to fight under restraint. Conscious that in knowledge of the military art he was not inferior to Bonaparte himself, whilst he possessed the advantage of being infinitely better acquainted with the country, he sent a courier to Paris to inform the first consul, that if the orders sent him were to be rigidly obeyed, he should feel it his duty to resign his command, and accept of an inferior station. He accompanied his resignation with a plan of the campaign which he had framed

for himself; and, as the propriety of his suggestions forcibly struck the mind of the first consul, he was ordered to act according to his own judgment.

Being thus judiciously left to adopt and execute his own measures, General Moreau crossed the Rhine, and drove the Austrians from one post to another, till General Kray, finding it impracticable to adopt offensive measures with a mutinous army and disaffected officers, resolved to maintain his position at Ulm, and wait for reinforcements from Vienna. He had been defeated at Stockach, at Engin, and at Möskirch, although on almost every occasion he gave proofs of ability and determination. Convinced that it was absolutely vain to attempt any offensive operation, Kray intrenched himself strongly at Ulm, which, as it commands both sides of the Danube, is consequently a place of great importance. But Moreau, perceiving his intentions, resolved to attempt the passage of the Danube, and force Kray to a general engagement by cutting him off from his magazines at Donawert; and, with this view, he ordered Lecourbe with one of the wings of his army to take possession of a bridge between Donawert and Dillingen. This was not effected without difficulty and loss; but it fully disclosed the intentions of the French general. The Austrians, in fact, perceived their danger in all its magnitude, and accordingly disputed every inch of ground with the enemy. Kray sent reinforcements to the left bank to oppose the passage, and a battle in consequence ensued at Hochstet, in the vicinity of Blenheim, where victory again declared for the French, who made four thousand prisoners. Sensible that his situation had now become perilous in the extreme, Kray left a strong garrison at Ulm, and marched against the enemy, whom he attacked at Neuburg. The troops on both sides fought with determined bravery; but, after a severe contest, the Austrians were obliged to fall back on Ingolstadt. This battle may be said to have decided the fate of Germany. The electorate of Bavaria was now in the pos-

session of the French, besides other territories of less extent; and, as they approached the hereditary dominions of the emperor, republican sentiments were loudly expressed, whilst the people in many parts evinced such a leaning towards the enemy, as to convince the court that no dependence could be placed on armies composed of such persons.

On the 6th of May, the first consul left Paris and proceeded to take the command of an army, the strength and destination of which had given rise to so many conjectures. This army, which had been reinforced from the Rhine, and amounted to about forty thousand men, immediately began its march into Switzerland, and on the 20th, crossed the Great St. Bernard. The passage of this mountain is justly accounted one of the most extraordinary achievements in modern warfare, and is not inferior in any of its circumstances to the celebrated passage of the Alps by Hannibal. The French army now advanced by a path which had hitherto been considered as practicable only for mules and foot-passengers; they removed their cannon from the carriages, placed the guns in the hollowed trunks of trees, and thus dragged them up the steep ascent. In May, winter still reigns with unmitigated severity in these regions; and the rigors of a northern climate—snow, ice, and whirlwinds,—increased the dangers of the march; but all difficulties were overcome by the enthusiasm and perseverance of the troops. On reaching the summit, refreshments awaited them at the convent, to the monks of which large sums had been transmitted for the purpose; and, in that cloud-capped habitation of peace, the soldiers as they passed received a cordial welcome, and enjoyed some needful rest. The division which crossed the Simplon, encountered still greater difficulties than that which passed the Great St. Bernard; having to clear deep fissures in Indian file, and sometimes clinging to a single rope. In descending from Mount St. Bernard into the valley of Aoste, the road passes under the fort of Bard, by which it is completely commanded.

Here then, was a lion in the path. The troops might avoid it by clambering over the adjoining precipices, but for the artillery, this was impossible. The fort was summoned and cannonaded, but in vain; the governor disregarded the menaces of the invaders, and his little citadel was secure against a *coup-de-main*. What was to be done? The case seemed desperate, but ingenuity at length triumphed. The street of the village immediately below was covered with straw and small branches, and the cannon were dragged past during a dark night without attracting the attention of the garrison. Had the fort opened its fire, and delayed the army longer, all the advantages of this bold march would have been lost. But fortune still remained true to her favorite; and Bonaparte, having cleared an obstacle which at first appeared insuperable, followed the course of the Doria and the Po, entered Milan and Pavia, and thus accomplished his first object, namely that of placing himself on the communications of Melas.

The Austrian general had already retrograded; he could not credit the report of Bonaparte being in Italy, but still he had taken the precaution to fall back. What above all astonished him was, to hear that the French had cannon. How had they passed the Alps? Bonaparte arrived at Milan the 2d of June, and there expected Moreau to join him with reinforcements from the army of Switzerland. In the mean time, he dispatched his lieutenants to seize the towns on the Po; which was promptly effected. In occupying Piacenza, Murat intercepted a courier on his way to the Austrian head-quarters with tidings of the fall of Genoa. This event, which disengaged and rendered disposable a large Austrian force, left Napoleon no alternative but either to fall back and wait for his expected reinforcements, or to march against Melas and put all to the hazard of a battle. He chose the latter course; and, trusting that his own genius and fortune would compensate for his deficiency in effective force, resolved to anticipate the enemy. Melas had concen-

trated his whole force at Alessandria, on the Bormida; and General Ott, having reduced Genoa, was rapidly advancing with the intention of surprising the French advanced posts on the Po, and at the same time combining his operations with those of the principal army in a grand effort against the enemy. But Ott was himself surprised by Lannes at Montebello; and, after a severe action, completely defeated with the loss of five thousand men. The French army now advanced to Stradella, where it took up an advantageous position, and remained several days to allow Suchet to close upon the enemy's rear, and Massena, with the liberated garrison of Genoa, to join from the south. The Austrians in the meanwhile made no movement; and Napoleon, apprehensive that Melas might escape him, either by marching north towards Turin, or south towards Genoa, advanced into the plains of Marengo; thus giving a prodigious advantage to the enemy. But, although Melas was greatly superior in cavalry and might, at his option, either attack the French or defend the course of the Bormida, behind which his army was concentrated. Bonaparte was still so apprehensive that he might file off towards Genoa, that he detached Desaix, who had just arrived from Egypt and taken the command of a division, to counteract any movement in retreat, and to compel the Austrians to receive battle. But this measure, which in its consequences had nearly proved fatal to the French army, proceeded on a total miscalculation; for, at the very moment when Napoleon was thinking of preventing the flight of Melas, it was decided in a council of war, that the only mode of securing Genoa was to give battle to the French.

On the morning of the 14th, which Melas had fixed on for the attack, the French were echelloned in an oblique formation, extending from Marengo, the village next the Bormida, which was occupied by their advanced guard, to San Giuliano, where the head-quarters were established, with considerable intervals between the divisions. The Austrians

passed the Bormida in three columns, by as many bridges, which they had thrown across the river. One cause of the want of preparation on the part of Napoleon was, the assurance he had received that the principal bridge had been broken down; and this was perfectly true; but the Austrians had not lost a moment in reëstablishing the bridge, and thus restoring their communications with the opposite bank of the stream. The first burst of the attack was directed against the French at Marengo; but, instead of advancing boldly to the charge, and storming the key of the position, the imperialists deployed, planted batteries, and waited to effect tardily by their fire what an assault might have at once accomplished. This afforded the French time which they so much wanted, and enabled Napoleon to recall Dessaix. The right and left of the Austrians had scarcely an enemy to contend with; for, being composed chiefly of cavalry, in which arm the Austrian army was eminently powerful, they swept everything before them; and at length, turning towards the centre, drove the enemy from the village of Marengo across a swampy rivulet in the rear. At mid-day, the plain presented an extraordinary spectacle. The French in disordered masses were in half retreat, yet still maintaining a vigorous resistance; whole columns of wounded and stragglers were pressing towards the rear, and throwing into confusion the ranks which still held firm; the Austrian cavalry domineered in the plain, and threatened at every moment to break in upon the disordered troops; the fate of the day seemed already decided. Seeing himself victorious at Marengo, General Melas retired to Alessandria to write his dispatches, leaving the chief of his staff, Baron Zach, to complete the victory. He had already withdrawn from the field a considerable body of cavalry, which he deemed it necessary to send against Suchet; a fatal error which he had soon reason to repent. But, whilst Melas thus indulged in the security of an assured triumph, Bonaparte was preparing to make a stand at San Giuliano, and

to avenge the defeat of the morning by fighting a fresh battle in the evening. Dessaix had now joined and highly applauded the resolution of the general-in-chief. The artillery was at the same time placed in battery upon an eminence commanding the high road, along which the Austrians shortly afterwards advanced in column. But success had rendered them as imprudently confident in the evening as the French were in the morning, and they came on less to dispute the victory than to gather up the fruits of one which had been already gained. Bonaparte now rode leisurely along his newly-formed line. "Soldiers," said he, "we have retreated enough for to-day; you know it is my custom to sleep on the field of battle." When the imperialists led on by Zach approached San Giuliano, the battery, unmasked, opened its fire; Dessaix led on his fresh division of infantry to the attack; Kellerman, with a brigade of light horse, watching the favorable moment, charged and broke through the advancing column, then wheeling round, charged back and again penetrated it. Thus surprised and enveloped, the head of the column laid down its arms, and the remainder scarcely attempted to make a stand; being speedily routed and put to flight, it communicated its panic to the troops in the rear, which, had they come up with suitable determination, might have repeated at San Giuliano the success of Marengo. All was now lost: The imperialists fled across the plain of Marengo towards the bridges, pursued by the French, who slaughtered the fugitives in all directions. The carnage was dreadful, and continued until nightfall, when the victors, weary of slaying and oppressed by fatigue, slowly withdrew. Thus, the battle of Marengo was restored and gained by six o'clock in the evening. Dessaix fell early in the second battle, to which the brilliant charge so opportunely executed by young Kellerman gave the decisive turn.

Italy was thus conquered at Marengo; and France by one battle regained her superiority in the field. An armistice was now agreed

to, the terms of which were, that Piedmont and Genoa were to be given up to the French, and that the Austrians should retire behind the Mincio; thus abandoning at once all the conquests of Suwarof. The convention with Melas was considered as preparatory to a treaty; and, in fact, Bonaparte offered to Austria the terms of Campo Formio; but the cabinet of Vienna, more resolute in adversity than in prosperity, pleaded her engagements with Britain, as precluding her from treating, excepting in conjunction with that power, her ally. Hohenlinden was destined to add its glories to that of Marengo, before peace could be conquered.

General Kray was anxious to avail himself of the armistice concluded in Italy in order to arrest the progress of Moreau; but that able general refused to listen to any overtures upon the subject, until he should have received instructions from Paris. Count St. Julien, however, arrived with proposals of peace from the imperial cabinet, in consequence of which the armistice was extended to Germany; and the posts then occupied by the respective armies were considered as constituting the line of demarcation. But, in opposition to the spirit of the stipulations with General Melas, the French reinforced their army in Italy, levied immense contributions, and raised troops in different states which they themselves had declared independent.

Whilst France was thus victorious in Europe, her troops in Egypt were subjected to the greatest hardships. The circumstance of their being abandoned by their chief gave rise to bitter complaints; and Kléber is said to have declared that the same universe should not contain him and Bonaparte. Under the auspices of the latter, a convention for the evacuation of Egypt by the French was concluded at El Arisch on the 24th of January, 1800, between the Grand Vizier on the part of Turkey, and Sir Sidney Smith on that of Great Britain. By virtue of this convention, the republican army, with its baggage and effects, were to be collected at

Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, and to be conveyed to France in vessels belonging to the Republic, or such as might be furnished for that purpose by the Sublime Porte.

Toward the close of the year 1799, the British ministry had reason to believe that an arrangement would be entered into between the Grand Vizier and General Kléber for the evacuation of Egypt by the French; and as such an event was much to be desired, Lord Keith received orders to accede to it, but only on condition that Kléber and his army should be detained as prisoners of war. The convention of El Arisch accordingly fell to the ground; and but for the honorable conduct of Sir Sidney Smith, Kléber would have been treacherously attacked by the Grand Vizier whilst resting upon his arms, in reliance that the treaty would be ratified. But the Turks paid dear for their meditated perfidy. On the 20th of March, Kléber attacked and totally routed them at Heliopolis, near Cairo, with the loss of more than eight thousand men, killed and wounded, on the field of battle. This victory restored to the French Cairo, which in terms of the convention of El Arisch they had abandoned. Kléber again proposed to evacuate Egypt, upon the terms agreed to by the Grand Vizier and Sir Sidney Smith; and Lord Keith being now empowered to agree to them, a suspension of hostilities took place, and the Turks were about to be delivered from an enemy whom they were not able to expel, when General Kléber was suddenly assassinated. Both parties had reason to regret this event, as Kléber was not only one of the most able, but also one of the most upright and honorable men ever intrusted with the command of an army.

Menou succeeded Kléber in the command of the French army in Egypt, but refused to quit that country by capitulation; in consequence of which the British government formed the resolution of expelling him by force. Sir James Pulteney had received the command of twelve thousand men in the Mediterranean, with orders to act in such a

manner as might most effectually annoy the enemy ; but as this plan had been disconcerted by the result of the battle of Marengo, he was superseded by Sir Ralph Abercromby, who carried out with him reinforcements, together with a train of artillery from Gibraltar. Having touched at Minorea and Malta, Sir Ralph steered his course thence for the coast of Egypt, which he reached on the first of March, 1801, and next day anchored in the Bay of Aboukir. But the weather prevented him from attempting to land till the 8th, when the first division effected a landing in the face of the French, to the amount of four thousand men, and the disembarkation was continued during that and the following day. The army moved forward on the 12th, and coming in sight of the enemy, gave them battle on the 13th. The conflict was obstinate on both sides, and the loss very considerable ; but victory in the end declared for the British. This advantage was followed up with vigor, and on the 21st a more decisive battle was fought about four miles from Alexandria, where, after various turns of fortune, the British were finally victorious. In the heat of the action, General Abercromby received a mortal wound, and died on the 25th. The loss on both sides was severe.

As the fate of Egypt was in a great measure decided by these two battles, we shall now advert to affairs of great importance which about this time took place in Europe. The northern powers, jealous of the maritime superiority of Britain, and acting under the influence of the Emperor Paul, resolved to revive the armed neutrality of Catharine II. established during the American war, and to claim the right of trading to the ports of France without being subjected to what they conceived the intolerable evil of having their vessels searched. The ministry of Great Britain had determined to break up this confederacy ; but to the astonishment of the nation, which was not prepared for such an occurrence, they suddenly resigned. The new ministry commenced their career by solemnly pledging themselves to the nation

that they would employ their united efforts in procuring a safe and honorable peace with France, which in fact was loudly demanded by the nation.

About this time measures the most hostile were adopted towards Britain, by the powers composing the northern confederacy. The city of Hamburg was taken by a Danish force under the Prince of Hesse ; and the King of Prussia likewise sent a numerous army into the electorate of Hanover, all with the view of injuring British commerce. To punish this audacious conduct, and dissolve the northern confederacy, a fleet of seventeen sail of the line, four frigates, four sloops, and some bomb vessels, was fitted out in the ports of Britain, and sailed from Yarmouth on the 12th of March, under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelson, and Rear-admiral Graves ; and having passed the Sound, appeared before Copenhagen on the 30th of the same month. The Danes did not appear in the smallest degree moved by this display of force, thinking it impossible to molest either their fleet or their city without passing through a channel so extremely intricate that it was once believed hardly safe to attempt it even with a single ship unopposed by an enemy. But this channel was sounded by Lord Nelson, who undertook to conduct through it a large division of the fleet ; and having requested from Sir Hyde Parker the command of the squadron, it was accordingly given him, and Rear-admiral Graves was appointed his second in command. As the largest ships drew too much water for being employed in so hazardous an attempt, his lordship selected twelve of from seventy-four to fifty guns, together with four frigates, four sloops, two fire-ships, and seven bombs. To this a prodigious force was opposed, consisting of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, each mounting from eighteen to twenty-eight heavy guns, one bomb-ship, and a number of schooners ; and these were supported by the Crown Batteries, mounting eighty-eight pieces of cannon, by four sail of the line, moored in the mouth of the harbor

and by a few batteries on the island of Amak. On the 2d of April, Lord Nelson attacked this tremendous force, and after an obstinate and bloody action, which lasted four hours, silenced the fire of the batteries, taking, burning, and sinking about seventeen sail, including seven ships of the line. A suspension of hostilities was the immediate consequence of this victory, and the armed neutrality was in fact dissolved.

When the armistice was signed between the Austrian and French generals in the year 1800, the troops of the latter were in possession of Germany almost to the banks of the Inn, and of Italy to the frontiers of Venice; but the spirit of the emperor was yet unsubdued, and he declined abandoning his allies by ratifying the preliminaries of peace which Count St. Julien had agreed to at Paris, more especially as the latter was alleged to have exceeded his powers. Kray having retired from the army, the Archduke John succeeded him in the command, and with the emperor in person repaired to the army; but they soon found it impracticable to undertake any offensive operation against Moreau, and therefore another armistice, comprehending Italy, was agreed to. The emperor wished to include Britain in any treaty which might be entered into with France; but as Bonaparte refused to admit any plenipotentiary from that power until a naval armistice had been agreed to, Moreau received orders to resume his military operations. The command of the Austrian divisions was now given to generals whose very names were unknown beyond the confines of their own country, and who had shown themselves but little acquainted with the military art. Moreau was on the banks of the Iser, with his troops considerably disseminated; the Austrians were on those of the Inn, occupying a good line of defence if they had understood its importance, or had the prudence to maintain it. But whilst the French general-in-chief was meditating the plan of his winter campaign, the right wing of his army was attacked and driven back by the Austrians; and had they known how

to make a judicious use of their advantage, the French commander would in all probability have been reduced to act on the defensive. Elated with success, however, they unaccountably abandoned their position on the Inn, and marched to attack the French along wretched roads, rendered nearly impassable by November weather. Moreau was with his army at Hohenlinden, behind the forest of Ebersberg, where he awaited the approach of the enemy. The archduke ordered his army to advance in separate columns by the roads and paths leading through the forest, on the exterior edge of which he intended to deploy and give battle. His centre, under Kollowrath, took the principal road, but was encountered as it debouched from the forest, by the divisions of Ney and Grouchy; whilst another division of the French under Richempanse turned the flank of the Austrians, and fell with great fury upon its rear at the other side of the forest. This double attack was attended with complete success. The centre was entirely routed, with the loss of no less than eight thousand prisoners, besides killed and wounded; and the defeat of the rest of the army followed as an inevitable consequence. Had the Archduke Charles commanded on this occasion, a defeat caused by such a blunder would have been impossible; but this prince was now in disgrace for having counselled peace. At Hohenlinden the Austrians lost in all eighty pieces of cannon, two hundred caissons, and ten thousand prisoners.

Moreau allowed the enemy no time to rally, but marching directly towards the Inn, crossed that river on the 9th of December, drove the enemy before him, and struck the court of Vienna with consternation and dismay. Prince Charles was recalled and invested with the command of the army; but after many fruitless efforts to retrieve its honor, he on the 27th of December proposed an armistice, which was acceded to by the French commander, upon condition that it should be immediately followed by a definitive

treaty. If the archduke could have placed any dependence upon his army, this armistice would not in all probability have taken place. The position of Moreau was, in fact, perilous in the extreme. Having advanced into the very heart of the Austrian states, he had behind him on his right about thirty thousand men in the Tyrol, and upwards of fifty thousand on his left. But Austrian valor was now well nigh extinguished by so many reverses of fortune; the officers were discontented; and the army was not in a condition to make head for a single day against so able and enterprising an enemy. Accordingly, the armistice was followed by a treaty of peace, which was signed at Luneville on the 9th of February, 1801, between the emperor for himself and the Germanic body on the one hand, and the first consul of the French Republic, in the name of the people of France, on the other. By this treaty the emperor ceded the Brisgau to the Duke of Modena, in lieu of the territories lost by that prince in Italy, and bound himself to find indemnities in the Germanic empire to all those princes whom the fate of war had deprived of their dominions. The Grand Duke of Tuscany renounced his dukedom, with its dependencies in the isle of Elba, in favor of the Duke of Parma, who assumed the title of King of Etruria; and for this the empire was to provide him with an adequate indemnification. Italy resumed its republican forms and divisions of governments under French influence and protection; and the Rhine still continued the boundary of France on the side of Germany. On the 28th of March, peace was also concluded between the French Republic and the King of the Two Sicilies. By this treaty his majesty obliged himself to shut the ports of Naples and Sicily against ships of every description belonging either to the British or the Turks; and he renounced for ever Porto Longano in the island of Elba, his states in Tuscany, and the principality of Piombino, to be disposed of in such manner as the French Republic might think proper.

Great Britain had now no ally left to aid her in the contest with France, excepting the Turks in Egypt and the Portuguese in Europe, powers which rather diminished than increased her strength. At the desire of France the Spaniards had made an attack upon Portugal, and conquered some of its provinces; but a treaty of peace was concluded on the 6th of June, by which the King of Spain restored all his conquests excepting the fortress of Olivenza; and the Prince Regent of Portugal and the Algarves promised to shut the ports of his territories against the ships of Great Britain, and to make indemnification to his Catholic Majesty for all losses and damages sustained by his subjects during the war. When the first consul had made peace with all his other enemies, he threatened Great Britain with an immediate invasion; a circumstance which at first gave great uneasiness to a considerable part of the nation. But in order to assuage this alarm, Lord Nelson was sent to destroy the shipping in the harbor of Boulogne; and though he entirely failed, he nevertheless made such an impression on the enemy as showed that Britain could annoy the coast of France with as much facility as France could molest that of Britain.

During the summer of 1801, attempts were again made by Britain to negotiate with France. From the total dissolution of the northern confederacy, the first consul could not fail to perceive that it was impossible for him to ruin British commerce, and consequently that all the treaties which he might make for excluding English ships from neutral ports would signify nothing. He seemed determined, however, to keep possession of Egypt; and Britain, on the other hand, was as fully resolved to wrest it from him. On this account the negotiations were protracted till the conquest of that country became known both at London and Paris. On the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, General Hutchinson succeeded to the command of the British forces in Egypt, and as he was acquainted with the designs of his predeces-

sor, one spirit seemed to actuate both. Rosetta surrendered, and this was soon followed by the capitulation of Cairo; and Menou having accepted of similar terms for Alexandria, the whole of Egypt fell into the hands of the allies, and the republican troops with their baggage were conveyed to the nearest French ports in the Mediterranean, in ships furnished by the allies. After these events, the negotiations between Britain and France proceeded more agreeably; and, on the 1st of October, the preliminary treaty was signed at London by Lord Hawkesbury on the part of his Britannic Majesty, and by M. Otto on that of the French Republic. By this treaty Great Britain engaged to give up all the conquests made by her during the continuance of the war, excepting the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad, whilst France was in fact to restore nothing. The Cape of Good Hope was to be free to all the contracting parties; the island of Malta was to be given up to the Knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; Egypt was to be restored to the Ottoman Porte; Portugal was to be maintained in its integrity, excepting what had been ceded to the King of Spain by the Prince Regent; Naples and the Roman States were to be evacuated by the French, and Porto Ferrajo by the British, together with all the ports and islands occupied by them in the Mediterranean. Plenipotentiaries were also appointed to meet at Amiens, for the purpose of drawing up and concluding a definitive treaty. This accordingly took place on the 22d of March, 1802, and the French Republic was thus acknowledged by the whole of Europe.

The truce of Amiens having been concluded (it had none of the characteristics of a solid peace), Bonaparte pursued his plans of internal organization with an evident view to the re-establishment of monarchy in France. A church had already been reared up, and the Catholic religion, with a suitable hierarchy, re-constituted by the state. With this view the Pope had been spared when the course of events placed him at the mercy of

the conqueror; and the year 1801 was spent in negotiating a "concordat" with Rome, by which, in return for a decree declaring the Catholic religion that of the great majority of the French, and undertaking to grant salaries to the clergy, the pontiff agreed to consecrate such bishops as should be nominated by the French government, to give up all claim to the lands which had belonged to the church, and to order a public form of prayer for the consuls. At the desire of Bonaparte, the court of Rome further consented to secularize Talleyrand, and to make certain other concessions, all indicating an accommodating, if not an obsequious spirit towards the ruler of France. The next desideratum was an aristocracy, which, after the conclusion of the peace, every effort was used to supply. The ancient nobility were allowed, nay, even encouraged, to return to France; Napoleon seemed anxious to gather around him the fragments of a monarchy sanctioned by time, though at last overthrown by the force of opinion and circumstances; but, stripped of their properties, and alike disinclined to the revolution and its representatives, they refused to abandon the cause of legitimacy for an equivalent or anomalous place in the consular court. Accordingly, Napoleon, obliged for a time to abandon this idea, formed a scheme eminently calculated to attach to him a nation which, with all its professed republicanism, still retained a strong predilection for the trappings of monarchy. This was the institution of the Legion of Honor, by which an order of merit was created, into which every man of ambition or enterprise might hope one day to gain admission, and which was calculated to ensure the attachment of all the men of courage and ability in the country.

But whilst Napoleon was thus reconstructing the supports and providing the ornaments of monarchical power, he did not neglect the necessary means for raising the edifice itself; that is, the establishment of a permanent sovereignty in his own person and family, on a basis involving a full recognition





Napoleon

of the rights and interests created by the Revolution. Accordingly, he began by feeling the pulse of the nation in a pamphlet, which, it is said, was written by his brother Lucien, and corrected by himself. But as the public mind was not yet prepared for so violent a transition, the experiment failed; ridicule was provoked at the idea of an Emperor of the Gauls; and, the first consul, throwing the blame of this alleged imprudence on his brother, deprived him of his office of minister of the interior, and sent him as envoy into Spain. In May, 1802, Bonaparte was declared first consul for another ten years; and, after a short interval, this was amended into a vote by which he was appointed first consul for life.

The views of the consular government in concluding the peace of Amiens were now sufficiently indicated by the course which Napoleon pursued in extending his influence over the neighboring states. The Cisalpine Republic had been remodelled to suit his views and the first consul elected as president of its legislature. The Batavian and Ligurian Republics were obliged to submit to similar modifications; Piedmont was formally annexed to France, and divided into departments; and the stipulations of the treaty of Luneville, which guaranteed the independence of the republics of Italy and Holland, thus became void. Britain began to show alarm and distrust, though the grounds for such a feeling were scarcely stronger now than at the time when the treaty of Amiens had been concluded. Bonaparte was merely following out the system which he had previously adopted. Remonstrances were made against these encroachments and usurpations; but the answer was ready and conclusive. "You must have foreseen all this. The Cisalpine Republic chose the first consul as its president in January, 1802, two months before the signature of the preliminary treaty of Amiens; you could not be ignorant of the fact. And why should England complain of the infraction of the treaty of Luneville, when Austria, with whom

its was concluded, remains silent?" This seems wholly unanswerable. Great Britain was neither a party to nor the guarantee of the treaty of Luneville, and no stipulation had been included in that of Amiens, that the articles of the treaty of Luneville should be observed. She had obviously, therefore, no right whatever to interfere. The French observed the treaty to the letter; by the English it was decidedly violated. The British ministry may have had rational grounds for their mistrust; indeed it is certain that they had such; but in withholding Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, merely because France had increased her territories and encroachments in Europe, they took up an indefensible position, and consequently were under the necessity of supporting their cause with vague and unstatesmanlike recrimination. But whilst the peace which had so recently been concluded was thus endangered by the hesitation of the British government to surrender Malta, and the transmission of counter orders not to deliver up the Cape of Good Hope to the Batavian Republic, other sources of division and alienation were unhappily opened up. Sensitive at all times to public opinion, and peculiarly so at this time when employed in rearing the fabric of his power, the first consul felt deeply the unsparing attacks which were now made upon him by the English press, and re-echoed by the papers of the French royalists in England. To him this was a species of warfare at once more dangerous and more galling than any other. A formal demand was therefore made by the French ambassador in London that this torrent of abuse should be checked; and, further, that the press should be prohibited from indulging, in future, in strictures offensive to the head of the French government. The ministry replied that the press in their country was free; that so far from having any control over its conduct, they were themselves daily exposed to the utmost severity of remark; and that all persons aggrieved by it must seek redress in the ordinary courts of law. Nevertheless,

to avoid the appearance of conniving at or encouraging such attacks, they consented to gratify him as far as might be done in a constitutional way, by sending one of the libels complained of to a jury. But this made matters ten times worse. Peltier was acquitted, and an obscure libel received consequence from the prosecution, and notoriety, if not fame, from the incomparable splendor of the defence. Another demand, that the Bourbons and their partisans should be expelled from England, met with a firm and generous refusal. Chagrined and exasperated, Bonaparte now condescended to enter into a personal quarrel with the English press, and employed his time in dictating articles for the "*Moniteur*," filled with acrimony and insult. About the same time also appeared a report by Sebastiani (who had been employed in a mission to the Levant), in which, amongst other things, it was stated that 6,000 French soldiers could reconquer Egypt, and that England durst not renew the war against France. To say that intemperate paragraphs in newspapers, and silly vaunting in reports, could ever become a reasonable ground of war, is preposterous. But the English government, by its want of foresight and precaution, if not also by its want of faith, was reduced to the humiliating necessity of appealing to such authorities in vindication of its conduct. The first consul now demanded why Malta had not been evacuated according to stipulation. The English ministry replied by a claim to retain it, on the ground that France had increased her territory in Europe, and that Egypt was threatened. But the first objection was irrelevant, and the second ridiculous. Bonaparte, whose throne was being erected on the basis of national glory, could never consent to the retention of Malta by the English; to demand it of him was in fact to declare war. "England," said the French minister, "shall have the treaty of Amiens, and nothing more than the treaty of Amiens."

A rupture was now inevitable, as indeed

it had from the first been, and accordingly both countries made preparations for war. Napoleon assembled troops in the fortresses of Holland and the north of France, and dispatched envoys to Austria and Prussia. Britain was not less active; in all her ports and harbors the deep note of preparation was heard. Still Bonaparte was unwilling to commence war, and, unavoidable as it now seemed, made a last effort to ward it off. In an interview with the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, he expressed himself with a degree of frankness and sincerity unusual in diplomacy, but which unhappily led to no amicable result. Napoleon was exceedingly averse to war at this time, when he had good cause to apprehend that the basis on which his power was fixed had not yet become sufficiently consolidated to withstand the rude shock of a fresh contest. For the same reason England was inexorably bent upon trying again the fortune of arms. A warlike message from the king to parliament in March, 1803, formed the prelude to the storm which was now ready to burst. Bonaparte replied in a diplomatic note of singular ability and unanswerable cogency of reasoning.

Lord Whitworth was now instructed to demand that the French forces should evacuate the Batavian and Swiss territories; that a suitable provision should be made for the King of Sardinia, and that Britain should be permitted to retain possession of Malta for ten years. This was called an ultimatum, and a week was insultingly fixed as the term beyond which no reply would be received. Yet even now the French government did not assume a peremptory tone. Talleyrand was sincerely averse to war, and to the last used every effort to prevent it; foreseeing, probably, the pernicious consequences which would result even from fresh victories. But the English ministry resisted every advance towards an accommodation of the points in dispute, gave wretched and shuffling reasons for a mistrust which in the main was perhaps not altogether groundless,

and sought to cover the blunders of their diplomacy by means of sullen pride and defiance. Out-witted, out-argued and outdone, both in talents and in good faith, they had no voice for, no resource in, anything but war. Orders had already been issued for seizing the ships of France, and those of the states dependent on or in close alliance with that country; a measure entirely in the spirit of that usurpation which they at once denounced and imitated; and the first consul retaliated by retaining all the British subjects whom curiosity or business had induced to visit France. And thus recommenced between the nations a quarrel unrivalled for the inveteracy of its spirit and the variety of its fortunes.

The first step of Napoleon, on the renewal of hostilities, was to put his armies in motion; that of Holland to occupy Hanover, and that of Lombardy to invade Naples, and garrison Tarentum. Britain, secure from direct attack in her insular fortress, could only be combated by establishing the power of France in the sea-ports, and excluding British commerce from the Continent. To bestride Europe like a huge colossus, having one foot on the Mediterranean and the other on the Baltic, was therefore the grand object of Napoleon; and this menacing attitude he lost no time in preparing to assume towards England. That power now reigned supreme as empress of the seas; but "her control stopped with the shore," which was now about to be closed against the enterprise of her people. Towards the end of May, 1803, General Mortier marched against Hanover with an army from Holland, and speedily made himself master of the country. The troops of the electorate, incapable of offering any serious resistance, retreated before the enemy, and at length capitulated, when they were discharged on condition of not serving against France during the war. About the same time the kingdom of Naples was re-occupied with equal facility by a French force. These sudden conquests, however, excited uneasiness and suspicion on the

part of the northern powers. Russia, which had taken the Sicilian Court under its protection, was offended by the re-occupation of the Neapolitan territory, and still more seriously displeased to observe the French flag waving on the shores of the Baltic. Prussia had still greater cause for alarm at the presence of so formidable a neighbor; more especially as the French, not satisfied with Hanover, already threatened to occupy Hamburg and Bremen, the possession of which was necessary to enable them to give the law to the north of Germany. The blow aimed at England thus recoiled on a power whose selfish and temporising policy had induced her to withdraw from the contest with republican France, and leave her allies to defeat and humiliation. But as these proceedings placed the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg under the necessity of either humbling themselves before France, or throwing themselves once more into the arms of Britain, Napoleon sought by every means to conciliate these powers, and even to bribe them to join him in his attempts to destroy the commercial and maritime superiority of that country. Prussia, in short, was to be fattened and enriched at the expense of acting in subservience to the views of France, and Hanover was offered to her as the price of her submission. The bribe was tempting, and there was considerable hesitation in refusing it. All the old ministers were disposed to accept the electorate with the French alliance; Hardenberg alone was of a contrary opinion, and his view ultimately prevailed. But the influence which decided the Prussian court to reject the insidious proposals of Bonaparte was that of the Emperor Alexander, whose opinions, arguments and weight overcame all the representations of Duroc and the other French envoys, even when on the point of accomplishing their object.

By a singular turn of opinion and events, every act of Bonaparte now told in favor of Britain, the ministry of which, had he remained on the defensive, could scarcely have

persisted in a war which had been undertaken without any adequate object, and in the prosecution of which there was no reasonable prospect of success. But the occupation of Hanover and the south of Italy excited the apprehensions of Europe; whilst the army collected on the northern coasts of France, and destined to invade England, had the effect of exciting the patriotic energies of that country, silencing the arguments of the friends of peace, firing the national pride, and uniting all by the tie of a supposed common danger. The voice of reason, prudence and humanity, was drowned in the tumult of contending passions; and the most unjustifiable war in which Britain had ever engaged, suddenly became, in the broadest sense of the term, a national one. Meanwhile, as a field of battle was denied to Napoleon, he turned his activity towards military organization, forming the armies and preparing the resources with which his most brilliant conquests were afterwards achieved. Alexandria was fortified upon the most approved principles, at an enormous expense, and rendered the bulwark of Italy. From Otranto to the Texel every coast and sea-port was put in a state of defence; and the British fleet, whilst blockading every harbor, and menacing every accessible point, might observe the gigantic attempt made by the enemy to surround Europe, as it were, with a wall of iron. The few remaining colonies or foreign possessions of France now fell into the hands of Britain; and Louisiana, which had been wrested from Spain, was sold to the United States, as the only mode left of deriving advantage from the acquisition, and at the same time defeating the views which England might entertain in regard to the occupation of the province.

Whilst public attention was mainly directed to the army and flotilla assembled at Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and other places adjoining, for the professed purpose of invading Britain, it was suddenly diverted from military projects by the discovery of a conspiracy against the first consul. The decree

which conferred upon Napoleon the consulship for life had encountered very considerable opposition. Lafayette protested against it; Camille Jourdan published a reclamation in favor of the liberty of the press; and Madame de Staël opened her brilliant saloon to the most distinguished opponents of the consular government. Of all this the royalists now took advantage; and a correspondence was entered into with Louis XVIII., who promised, in the event of his restoration, to respect the principles of liberty, and further to grant a charter in which these should be fully recognised. The hopes of the royalists were thus kept alive; the activity and confidence of their adherents were augmented; whilst the watchfulness and jealousy of the government were proportionally increased. But although the opinions and predilections of speculative persons seldom lead those who entertain them to embark in the perilous adventure of conspiracy, the Bourbons counted amongst their more zealous and active partisans men eager to strike a blow at the head of the new government, and to anticipate events rather than to wait for their tardy development. Of these, General Pichegru was one. His fortunes were now desperate; and he had many wrongs, or at least misfortunes, to avenge. Having escaped from Sinamary, to which he had been banished by the faction of the 18th of Fructidor (4th September, 1797), the expatriated general returned to Europe; openly espoused the cause of the Bourbons; and, as Bonaparte had now become master in France, wished to attempt by a *coup-de-main* to overturn the principal author of his misfortunes. A plan of conspiracy, having for its object to overthrow the consular government and to restore the Bourbons, was accordingly arranged at London, in conjunction with Georges Cadoudal, son of a miller at Morbihan, a determined Chouan, and other persons well fitted to engage in such an enterprise. The views of the conspirators can only be gathered from circumstances, and from the admissions afterwards made by themselves when arrested

by the French police; but it seems tolerably certain that the assassination of the first consul was regarded by them as a preliminary measure, indispensable to the success of the counter revolution which it was their main object to bring about. The whole fabric of Bonaparte's power rested on the basis of his character and reputation; he was not part of a system established on a wide and solid foundation, but the system itself; the existence of the consular government depended entirely on him; and hence the surest as well as speediest mode of overturning his authority was to begin by destroying himself. But be this as it may, the ultimate success of the enterprise depended on providing beforehand the means of giving it a determinate character, and at the same time acting powerfully on public opinion.

What the conspirators most wanted, therefore, was a name to oppose to that of Bonaparte; a leader of eminence, whose reputation might conciliate public opinion, and bear to be put in competition with that of the first consul. Moreau was precisely such a personage, indeed the very man they required. Possessing great talents for war, his success had been commensurate with his ability as a commander, and the renown of Hohenlinden had equalled, if not eclipsed, the glory of Marengo. Besides, he was discontented, living in affected obscurity, and full of resentment on account of the unmerited neglect with which he had been treated since the 18th of Brumaire. But though a brave soldier, Moreau was deficient in moral courage. He could not persuade himself either to yield or resist; he wanted the strength of mind or the dissimulation necessary to restrain the expression of his resentment; nature had denied him that promptitude of volition as well as energy of action which are so indispensable in the chief of a party; and, on the 19th of Brumaire, he had not dared to convert that revolution to his own advantage or that of the nation, and had even served, though with a bad grace, as aide-de-camp to his more audacious rival.

His wife also had great influence over him, and having been slighted at the consular court, now exerted it to induce him to listen to propositions for overthrowing the tyranny of Bonaparte. The royalist agents, ever on the watch, took advantage of these dispositions, effected a reconciliation between him and Pichegru, and thus entangled him in a scheme destined to prove his ruin. Pichegru arrived from England in January, 1804; Georges Cadoudal had preceded him by several months. They both saw Moreau, who was disgusted with the ferocity of the Chouan; but their scheme, whatever it was, made little progress towards maturity. From the first, indeed, Fouché had spread his toils around them; numbers of their accomplices were already arrested; and if Pichegru and Cadoudal were still allowed to remain at large, it was only that they might gain over Moreau, and effectually implicate him in their schemes. Meanwhile the conspirators were unable to come to any decision. At their last interview Pichegru showed much hesitation; Moreau possessed ambition which he could not conceal, but was totally wanting in character; Georges, and especially Pichegru, perceived that he had personal views. Cadoudal, endowed with great energy, and devoted to the cause of the Bourbons, pressed, conjured, threatened Moreau, but could not decide him to act; and Pichegru ended by proposing to adjourn the execution of the plot for four days. But in the night fixed for action, the conspirators, whilst impatiently waiting the signal agreed on, received counter orders, and dispersed; some indulging in the most violent proposals, others resolved to mix no longer in such intrigues. The police was on the alert; the most inquisitorial means were employed; all kinds of seduction were had recourse to; Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges were successively arrested. When interrogated as to the project of assassination, the Chouan answered frankly, "I came to Paris to attack the first consul openly by force; by the same means, in short, which he takes to protect

himself. We waited to act until a French prince arrived in Paris." This prince was, it seems, the Duke d'Enghien; and the voluntary confession of the Chouan sealed his fate.

But in the interval between the arrest and trial of Pichegru and his associates, Bonaparte struck a blow which stunned all Europe, and was no doubt intended to strike terror into the hearts of those who had so often plotted his destruction. We allude to the seizure and military execution of the Duke d'Enghien. This young prince, a son of the Duke de Bourbon, and grandson of the last Prince of Condé, inhabited the château of Ettenheim, belonging to the elector of Baden, and only four leagues distant from Strasburg, where he had lived for some time in perfect security. The proximity of his residence to the French frontier; the fact, of which the consular government had received information, that Dumouriez was at Ettenheim; and, above all, the confession of Cadoudal that he and his brother conspirators only waited for the arrival of a French prince in order to commence operations, satisfied the first consul that the duke was not only aware of, but deeply implicated in, the counter-revolutionary movement which had been concerted in Paris; and this conviction was much strengthened by the reports of the police, all of which represented the conspiracy as having assassination for its principal object. "The air," said Fouché, "is full of poniards." The life of the first consul had already been attempted by means of the infernal machine; and although, on that occasion, he had escaped as it were by miracle, he could not always hope that the hand of the assassin would miss its aim, or that his machinations would fail of success. The law of self-preservation, which gives to every man, when his life is in jeopardy, the right of defending it by all the means in his power, seemed therefore to sanction the adoption of measures calculated not merely to ward off the present danger, but also to strike a salutary terror, which might in future pre-

vent the renewal of such attempts. Accordingly a detachment of French gendarmes, under the order of Captain Charlot, was directed by General Ordener to surprise the castle of Ettenheim, and carry off the Duke d'Enghien; whilst another expedition under General Caulincourt, moved upon Kehl and Offenburg to seize some emigrants at those places. But the gendarmes advanced so rapidly, that on the night of the 15th of March the prince was seized in his bed, and hurried off to Strasburg. The tidings of his capture were immediately conveyed to Paris by the telegraph, and through the same channel orders were received on the morning of the 18th, in consequence of which the prisoner was rapidly transported to the castle of Vincennes, but without traversing the capital. He reached Vincennes at nine o'clock in the evening, much fatigued with his journey, and the same night was brought before a military commission, specially appointed to try, or rather to condemn him.

The charges brought against him were six in number. Interrogated on each of them, the prince made the best defence which circumstances admitted of, oppressed as he was with fatigue, and exhausted from want of food and rest; but, after a trial, which lasted about three hours, he was found guilty upon all the counts, and condemned, although not a single document had been produced, nor a witness examined in evidence against him. It is said that the commission which so summarily tried and convicted the young prince, did so under the impression that the punishment of death would not be inflicted; but if they entertained any such belief, the event speedily showed that it was entirely groundless. The prince requested to see and speak with Bonaparte, and begged that this request might be communicated to the first consul. Savary, however, who had positive orders to see the judgment carried into execution, refused to grant any indulgence; and at daybreak the prince was conducted to the fosse of the château, where, beside a new-made grave, destined to receive his remains, he was

shot by a party of gendarmes, and died with a courage worthy of his race.

The French government had early intimation of the sentiments with which this crime was regarded in other countries. The Emperor of Russia lost no time in instructing his chargé d'affaires at Paris to notify that he had learned with equal surprise and grief the event which had taken place at Ettenheim, the circumstances which followed it, and its deplorable result; and, that the interest felt by his imperial majesty was the stronger, because he could in no way reconcile the violation of the territory of Baden with those principles of justice and humanity regarded as sacred by nations, and which alone protect their mutual relations. The Russian minister, at the diet of Ratisbon, also presented a note, in which he forcibly represented this violation of the Baden territory as endangering the peace and security of every state in Germany. A long diplomatic correspondence ensued, without leading to any result; and, on the 29th of August, the Russian chargé d'affaires quitted Paris, after which all relations ceased between his country and France.

Some time after this tragedy, Pichegru, who had been confined in the Temple since the 28th of February, was found strangled in his prison. The operation had been performed by means of a faggot-stick inserted between the neck and the cravat, so as to act like a tourniquet, or rather like what is commonly called a Spanish windlass. Wright, an English captain, who had landed Cadoudal upon the coast of Normandy, and had afterwards been taken prisoner, was also found with his throat cut. The French government published all the details relative to both suicides; but the recent catastrophe of the Duke d'Enghien had produced in all minds an impression so unfavorable to Bonaparte, that without proof, and even without examination, the death of Pichegru in particular was at the first moment imputed to him. But time has demonstrated the injustice of this imputation. The circumstances

of real evidence connected with the deed itself, the clear interest of Napoleon to bring Pichegru to a public trial, as he afterwards did Moreau, the situation of that unfortunate man himself, and, above all, the fact that even after the fall of Bonaparte, not a particle of evidence was discovered to contradict the statement originally published by the government, or to warrant so much as a suspicion of foul play; all unite to prove that Pichegru died by his own hand. He saw himself undone without resource, and being unable to endure the ignominy of ascending the scaffold with brigands, chiefly known by their exploits on the highway, he put an end to his existence. Georges Cadoudal, and several of his more guilty associates, were soon afterwards brought to trial, condemned and executed, without the slightest manifestation of public feeling in their favor.

The prosecution of Moreau commenced on the 10th of June. He was arraigned on a law which declared the concealment of proclaimed conspirators an offence punishable with six years' imprisonment in fetters; and the specific fact charged against him was the harboring of Georges Cadoudal and his accomplices. His conduct on this occasion fully justified the opinion which we have previously pronounced as to his character. The public declared loudly in his favor; but he did nothing corresponding to the great interest excited in his behalf. But, always feeble and incapable of taking a decided part, Moreau had recourse to supplications addressed to the first consul, to whom, in a letter from his prison in the Temple, he presented the most humble excuses, at the same time imploring the "bienveillance" of the head of the government. Nor was his conduct less humiliating when brought before his judges. The exigencies of his defence imposed upon him the dire necessity of denying the statement which he had written to the Directory, and signed with his own hand, that "the proofs of the treason of Pichegru were as clear as day, but that he doubted whether they could be exhibited in a judicial form." Accord

ingly, after having repeatedly affirmed that "it was but too true that Pichegru had betrayed the confidence of the whole nation," he had now recourse to the most miserable shifts in order to invalidate all the accusations which he had presented against Pichegru, when the latter commanded the army of the Rhine and Moselle in 1795 and the beginning of 1796, as guilty of maintaining a correspondence with the Prince of Condé and the enemies of the Republic. But the force of public opinion had made itself felt even on the bench; and the recollection that he had gained thirty battles for the Republic, and saved two armies, created an interest in his favor which all his weakness and folly could not destroy. Moreau was, accordingly, declared culpable, but excusable, and condemned to suffer two years' imprisonment, which was afterwards commuted into exile. Of forty-six others who were at the same time arraigned, twenty were condemned to death, five to two years' imprisonment, and the rest acquitted, but not released. The Polignacs were spared at the intercession of Josephine and Madame Murat, afterwards queen of Naples.

In the early part of this year a law was passed which decreed the reunion of the civil laws in a single code, under the title of *Code Civil des Français*. The advantage which a country derives from the establishment of uniform laws does not need to be proved; but, to appreciate the full importance of this benefit to France, it is only necessary to cast a glance at the state of the law under the old regime. It was divided into two principal systems; that of written law, and that of the countries governed by customs or common law. Both systems were subdivided into an infinite number of branches. "Besides the forty thousand Roman laws, of which some one is always cited at random," says Voltaire, "we have five hundred different customs, reckoning the small towns and burghs, which derogate from the usages of the principal jurisdiction; so that a person traveling post in France

changes laws oftener than he changes horses, and an advocate who is very learned in one city is no better than an ignoramus in that next adjoining."

The failure of the royalist plot to overthrow the consular government, together with the exposure of the follies committed by Drake and Smith, the English residents at the courts of Munich and Stutgardt, materially contributed to advance the project which Napoleon had for some time cherished of assuming the imperial purple. According to the logic of the time, a necessity had arisen not for abating the despotism, but for placing in on a more solid and permanent foundation; or in other words, for declaring it hereditary in the person and family of the man who was already invested with absolute power. Thus reasoned the partisans of Napoleon; and, in their view of the question, correctly; because anything was preferable to a government which might, at any given instant of time, be overthrown. Measures were therefore taken to effect the object which was now declared to be so necessary to the safety and happiness of France. On the 30th of April, a motion was made in the Tribunate, to confide the government of the Republic to an emperor; and to declare the empire hereditary in the family of the first consul, Napoleon Bonaparte. This motion was made by an obscure member of the legislative-chamber, named Curée, who concluded his speech on the occasion by declaring that the nation desired a chief as illustrious as its destiny. Ever since the 2d of August, 1802, when, by an organic senatus-consultum, the members of the Tribunate were reduced to a hundred and fifty, Bonaparte had completely controlled the deliberations of that body; indeed, almost all the tribunes were either sold or intimidated, and scarcely a shadow of representation remained. The proposition to confer upon Bonaparte the title of emperor was therefore adopted by the Tribunate; but the unanimity of that body was greatly troubled by the heroic opposition of Carnot.

The vote of the Tribune was communicated to the Conservative Senate, which, on the 4th of May, decreed on the motion of the second consul, Cambacérès, "that it is for the decided interest of the French people to confide the government of the Republic to Napoleon Bonaparte as hereditary emperor;" and fourteen days afterwards, the same body, without waiting until the vain formality of obtaining the sanction of the people had been gone through, passed another decree, in which the first consul is styled "Emperor of the French," a title which according to the mover, "is only the expression of an authentic wish already manifested by the nation." An organic *senatus-consultum* next declared the imperial dignity hereditary in the direct, natural, and legitimate descendants of Napoleon, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of women and their descendants. It provided, however, that the emperor might adopt the children or grand-children of his brothers, if he had no male offspring himself at the moment of adoption; and, that the children who might thus be adopted should enter into the direct line of descent, but could only be called to the succession after legitimate and natural descendants. In default of an heir of Napoleon, the imperial dignity was to devolve upon Joseph-Napoleon and his descendants, and, failing the latter, upon Louis Bonaparte and his descendants.

Having assumed the title of emperor, which the senate had bestowed on him, Bonaparte lost no time in exercising the powers belonging to his new dignity. On the 19th of May, he created eighteen of his generals marshals of the empire. Addresses now flowed in from all parts of the hundred and eight departments into which the territory of the imperial republic was divided. The authorities, the functionaries, the magistracy, and the army, all brought to the foot of the throne, assurances of the most profound devotion. The fact of his assumption of the imperial dignity was formally announced to all the states of Europe, Britain alone excepted,

and negotiations were at the same time opened with a view to obtain its recognition. Austria was the first to acknowledge the new emperor of the Gauls; and the opportunity was even chosen by her sovereign for modifying his own title, to which he now added that of hereditary emperor of Austria. But the other powers either hesitated or delayed. The army, however, formed the true basis of Napoleon's power, and their sanction was essential to its stability. To obtain this with suitable éclat, he visited Boulogne in the course of the summer, and soon after his arrival in the camp, ordered a grand review, during which he distributed to the military, crosses of the Legion of Honor; which, created by the law of the 19th of May, 1802, had been solemnly inaugurated at Paris a short time before (14th July). Here, on the 16th of August, seated on a temporary throne in the midst of his numerous hosts, with the shores of England and its fleets before him, he received, as it were, in presence of the enemy, the exulting acclamations with which the troops answered his claim to empire, and seemed like another Clovis raised on their bucklers to be the founder of a new dynasty in France. From Boulogne, Napoleon hurried to Aix-la-Chapelle, the ancient capital of Charlemagne, where the acknowledgment of his new dignity, by the Emperor Francis I. awaited his arrival. Lastly, on the 1st of December, the Conservative Senate presented to him the plebiscitum, as it was called, which recognized the imperial dignity as hereditary in his family.

That nothing might be wanting, the Church was required to give her formal sanction to the new dynasty. The Gallican clergy had already signalized their zeal by proclaiming Napoleon emperor; nor was the successor of St. Peter, and the vicar of God upon earth, less accommodating than the members of the Gallican Church. At the command of Napoleon, his holiness made a journey to Paris, in order to place the crown on the head of the new Charlemagne, who had despoiled the Church of the very possessions which had

been bestowed on her by the pious emperor of the Franks. The sovereign pontiff was no other than that Bishop of Imola, who, in December, 1797, exhorted his flock to follow the traces of the democratic revolution of France. The ceremony of the coronation took place in the church of Notre Dame, on the second of December, and no labor or expense had been spared to give splendor and magnificence to the spectacle. During the ceremony, Napoleon, impatient of its slow march, seized the crown, which he placed on his own head, and next he also crowned the Empress Josephine. The holy father then performed the triple unction on the head and the two hands, after which he recited the following strange formula of consecration: "Almighty and eternal God, who hast established Hazaël to govern Syria, and Jehu king of the Jews, in manifesting to them thy will by the organ of the prophet, Elias; who hast equally shed the holy unction of the kings on the head of Saul and of David, by the ministry of the prophet, Samuel; shed, by my hands, the treasures of thy grace and of thy benediction on thy servant Napoleon, whom, notwithstanding our personal unworthiness, we do, this day, consecrate emperor in thy name."

The events of 1804 prepared the way for a new coalition against France. The breach with Russia, resulting ostensibly from the seizure and execution of the Duke d'Enghien, had accomplished the first wish of Great Britain, which was to find a continental ally. Menaced with invasion, the mere threat of which, independently of any danger to be apprehended, was an evil, because an insult, that power, acting upon the most obvious principles of policy, naturally sought to find employment on the Continent for the legions which frowned defiance on the opposite shores of the Channel; and a prospect of accomplishing this object was unexpectedly opened in consequence of the event to which we have alluded. But this prospect was for a time overclouded by an unjustifiable aggression on the part of Britain. Spain had

for several years been in close alliance with France, which she secretly aided with subsidies; yet the English government, though fully aware of the circumstance, pretended not to observe it, and had hitherto respected Spain as a neutral power. This policy, however, which, in the circumstances, was not less wise than cautious, the English ministry suddenly abandoned, and, by a most unjustifiable act of aggression, threw Spain into the arms of France. Without any declaration of war, or the least indication of a change in the system which had hitherto been pursued by England, several Spanish vessels, returning laden with treasure, were attacked by a superior force, and after a sharp action captured. This proceeding, stamped with all the characters of violence and treachery, was immediately followed by a declaration of war on the part of the Spanish government; and from this time Britain had not only to contend with the fleets of France and Spain united, but, in consequence of the gigantic schemes of Napoleon, became seriously exposed to all the perils and miseries of an invasion.

Meanwhile, as the clouds of hostility were gathering around him, Napoleon addressed a letter directly to the King of Great Britain (14th January), containing overtures of a peace. "I attach no dishonor," said he, "to making the first advance. I have, I think sufficiently proved to the world that I do not dread any of the chances of war. Peace is the wish of my heart. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the satisfaction of giving it to the world. A coalition will never have any effect but to increase the continental preponderance and grandeur of France." In any view, this was a politic proceeding. It served to conciliate public opinion in France, and to throw upon England the odium of persisting in embroiling the Continent. The reply of the English ministry was cold and repulsive. Both parties were equally insincere. Britain desired to abide by the fortunes of a third coalition; Napoleon pursued his schemes of aggrandise

ment, and on the 18th of March announced to the senate that he had accepted the crown of Italy, in conformity, as he said, with the wishes manifested by the Italian Republic. At Milan, where he was received with enthusiasm, he had exchanged his title of President of the Cisalpine Republic for that of King of Italy, and placed upon his head the iron crown of Charlemagne, amidst the acclamations of a people charmed with the idea of a kingdom of Italy. This was followed by an act of a still more unequivocal character, namely, the incorporation of Genoa, lately the Ligurian Republic, with the French empire; a measure certain to alarm Austria, and to furnish Great Britain and Russia with a new and powerful argument for inducing that power to join the coalition against France.

Many persons have thought, and some gravely maintained, that Napoleon was not serious in his menace of invading England. But the contrary has been proved by the most incontrovertible evidence. He was well aware, however, that without obtaining at least a temporary superiority of naval force, such a project would be impracticable; and accordingly all his efforts had, for some time past, been directed towards the accomplishment of this preliminary object. His plan was to distract the attention of England, by sending a powerful fleet to the West Indies, which, after threatening her possessions in that quarter, should suddenly return to Europe, effect a junction with the Spanish fleet, then disengage the squadron blockaded in Brest, and having rallied under its flag-ships from other ports, enter the Channel with an overwhelming force of nearly sixty sail of the line. This project was admirably conceived, and most skillfully combined; and if the execution had at all corresponded with the design, or if Villeneuve had obeyed his orders, or if, even after his indecisive action with Sir Robert Calder, he had made sail for Brest, instead of going into Cadiz, it would beyond all doubt have succeeded.

Whilst Napoleon was thus menacing England with invasion from the heights of Boulogne, his looks were at the same time anxiously directed towards the east and north of Europe. He was by no means ignorant of the coalition which was forming against him; but as the position which he at present occupied enabled him at once to threaten England and observe Austria, he waited for the development of events in order to judge whether he should attack the former upon her own soil, or strike a blow at her in Germany. Prepared for instant operations, his principal object was to suffer the continental power to anticipate him in declaring war, and then in turn to anticipate them, by promptly assuming the offensive, dashing into the very heart of Germany, overpowering Austria before she had time to concentrate her means of resistance, and thus destroying the coalition by, as it were, cutting off its head. And this plan, based on the most accurate prescience of events, was that which he ultimately carried into execution with the most astounding success. On the 8th of April a treaty of alliance was concluded at St. Petersburg, between Great Britain and Russia, in which the contracting powers engaged to employ the most prompt and effectual means to form in Europe a general league, capable of constraining the government of France to consent to the re-establishment of peace, and of the equilibrium of power; and to attain this object, the force to be employed was fixed at five hundred thousand effective men, exclusively of the succors to be furnished by England. The special objects of the league were, the evacuation of Hanover and of Germany; the independence of Holland and of Switzerland; the re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with a considerable extension of territory; the security of the kingdom of Naples; and the entire evacuation of Italy by the French. Sweden, having already decided against France, acceded to these stipulations. Prussia approved of their spirit, but temporized; and finally resolved to persevere in that neu-

trality by which she had already profited so much. Austria, anxious to redeem her defeats, and regain her ascendancy in Italy, formally acceded to the treaty of St. Petersburg (on the 9th of August), notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Archduke Charles, who, foreseeing the peril, earnestly counselled peace. She engaged not to lay down her arms except with the consent of her allies, and was to receive from England a subsidy of three millions sterling during the current year, 1805, and of four millions during each of the following years. These negotiations did not long remain a secret from Napoleon, who had anxiously watched the gathering storm; and scarcely had Austria acceded to the third continental coalition, when the French army, assembled upon the shores of the Channel, was in full march towards the Rhine. Bavaria had previously been secured by a promise of territorial aggrandisement; the Russians were still in Galicia; and Austria, as the Archduke Charles had foreseen, was thus left to contend single-handed with the whole power of France. In these circumstances Austria pushed forward her troops, and peremptorily demanded that the Elector of Bavaria should abandon the alliance of France, and unite with her in maintaining the independence of Germany. The elector temporized, pleaded his engagements, gained time, and succeeded in drawing off his army. The Austrians then occupied Munich, thereby committing the very act of aggression which Napoleon expected and required.

The Archduke Charles, finding his pacific counsels disregarded, had resigned the presidency of the war department, and refused to assume the general direction of a war which, he foresaw, would be attended with ruin to his house. The command of the Austrian army, therefore, was in an evil hour intrusted to General Mack. Of his total incapacity he gave early and lamentable proofs. Conceiving that Napoleon must necessarily advance by the same road which had formerly been made choice of

by Moreau, he took post at Ulm, and there awaited the approach of the enemy. The French emperor, however, had very different views. His preparations had been made with such rare ability, and the plan of the campaign so well digested beforehand, that towards the end of September the French grand army had arrived on the right bank of the Rhine. It was divided into seven corps, with a grand reserve of cavalry. Napoleon entered Germany at the head of about a hundred and sixty thousand men, including his guard. By the 6th of October Bernadotte and the Bavarians occupied Weissemburg, twelve leagues south of Nuremberg; Marmont was in the vicinity of Neuburg; Davoust was at Oettingen, eight leagues north of Donawerth; Soult was at Donawerth; Ney was at Kessingen, three leagues west of Donawerth; Lannes was at Neeresheim, two leagues north-north-west of Donawerth; and Murat with his cavalry was on the borders of the Danube. In thus placing himself in rear of the enemy, Napoleon accomplished two grand objects; he avoided exposing his flank to the debouches of the Tyrol; and by the rapidity of his march he had completely disconcerted the plans of the Austrians, whilst, by turning towards the north, he might cut off the Russians who were advancing from Galicia towards the Danube. But in order to operate a prompt re-union of all his columns, it was necessary that Bernadotte, setting out from Hanover, and Marmont from Holland, should traverse the country of Anspach, belonging to Prussia. Napoleon had secured the neutrality of that power by the corruption of the Prussian ministry. But this violation of its territory wounded the self-love of the sovereign, as well as the pride of several distinguished military men, who, desiring to see an end put to the humiliation of their country, loudly demanded war against France. The indignation inspired by this insult had more effect on the cabinet of Berlin than all the efforts of England and Russia; and Prussia, when it was too late, renounced the neutrality

which she had observed ever since the peace of Bâle, 5th April, 1795, to engage single-handed in a contest with France.

The contest in Germany now advanced, with singular rapidity, towards a crisis. On the 8th of October a combat took place at Wertingen, four leagues south-west of Donauwörth, in which Murat, supported by Lannes, enveloped an Austrian division, making a great number of prisoners. On the 9th the Archduke Ferdinand was defeated by Ney at Guntzburg, six leagues east of Ulm, with considerable loss; and on the same day Soult occupied Augsburg. On the 12th Bernadotte occupied Munich; and on the 14th Memmingen, a considerable place on the Iller, surrendered by capitulation to Soult, when four thousand Austrians were made prisoners. The same day a combat took place at Elchingen, two leagues north-east of Ulm, in which Ney signalized himself by the most chivalrous bravery. Three thousand Austrians were made prisoners. It had become necessary to obtain possession of the bridge and position at Elchingen, in order to isolate on the left bank of the Danube the mass of the Austrian army confined in Ulm. The bridge and the position, defended by six thousand men with four pieces of artillery, were twice carried by the bayonet, and as often recovered; but a third onset, made with the greatest impetuosity under Ney in person, proved successful. On the 15th the head of the first Russian column arrived on the Inn. The corps of Bernadotte was then in position between that river and Munich. At the combat of Langenau, three leagues north-east from Ulm, Murat, on the 16th, came up with the division of Werneck, which had escaped from Ulm, and made three thousand prisoners.

Thus, by the direction given to his army after the passage of the Rhine, and by the rapidity of his marches, Napoleon had, as it were, overwhelmed the Austrians, and reduced all their offensive plans to a defensive without method. Mack at Ulm was placed in nearly the same situation in which Melas

had found himself before the battle of Marengo. Both had their retreat cut off; but Melas tried to break through the enemy in his rear, and had succeeded in his object, when an accident deprived him of the reward of his resolution; whilst Mack, closely invested in Ulm and its immediate vicinity, made no effort to force his way with his masses united, although continual rains favored such an attempt, but preferred risking the escape of his divisions separately. Thus the Archduke Ferdinand, nominally general-in-chief, but placed under the tutelage of Mack, had left Ulm with part of the cavalry; whilst Mack, who had the title of quarter-master-general, still remained there. His situation had now become desperate. The French occupied all the surrounding heights, and he had nothing left but to capitulate. General Segur, sent to demand his submission, found every thing in disorder, and the brain of Mack entirely corresponding. This poor man had no clear idea of the state of things until the French themselves informed him; and he did not even know that Napoleon was his antagonist. He began by demanding eight days' truce, or death, and concluded by immediately capitulating. Ulm, with all its magazines and artillery, was surrendered to the French; and thirty thousand combatants became prisoners of war. The officers, including sixteen generals, were discharged on their parole; the sub-officers and soldiers were conducted into France. In less than fifteen days, the Austrians had lost above fifty thousand prisoners, two hundred pieces of cannon, many thousand horses, with about eighty colors and other trophies, and were now forced to shelter themselves behind the Inn. Never was triumph more rapid or more complete. The surrender of Ulm took place on the 20th of October, and on the 21st was fought the battle of Trafalgar, in which Lord Nelson annihilated the fleets of France and Spain, and by the results of that disastrous day counterbalanced to England the advantages which Napoleon had just reaped in Germany

But the disasters which Austria had sustained at Ulm might have been repaired, and the fortune of the war changed, if Prussia, otherwise so well disposed towards the coalition, had even now struck in. By her hesitating and (as the result proved) ruinous policy, a heavy blow had fallen on Austria; but there was still time to check the advance of the French, and even to reduce them to the necessity of acting on the defensive. On the 25th of October an interview took place at Berlin, between the Emperor Alexander and Frederick-William III., and, at the tomb of Frederick II., these two sovereigns promised to unite their efforts to restrain the ambition of Napoleon. But this political and sentimental farce ended in nothing. The favorable moment thus allowed to escape could not be recalled; the King of Prussia was ere long at the feet of Napoleon; and the Emperor of all the Russias became the friend of the man who had granted him his life upon the field of battle. Very different indeed was the course pursued by the French Emperor. After reconducting his ally, the Elector of Bavaria, to his capital, Napoleon advanced into the heart of the Austrian states, whilst his lieutenants continued to drive all before them. On the 1st of October he had crossed the Rhine; on the 20th Mack and his army were prisoners; and on the 15th of November he made his public entry into Vienna, which had capitulated on the 13th. The Austrian court and army had retired into Moravia; but in evacuating the capital they had neglected to break down the great bridge on the Danube, of which Lannes, by an act of unexampled audacity, now made himself master. The Emperor Francis had hoped that the Russians would arrive in time to act on the right bank of the Danube, and thus save his capital from occupation; but in this he was disappointed. The first Russian army under Kutusof having advanced higher up the Danube than Vienna, immediately fell back towards Brunn on receiving intelligence of the occupation of the capital. Justly apprehensive of having his communi-

cations with the second army intercepted, which in fact was the aim of Napoleon, the Russian commander felt himself compelled to execute this retrograde movement, which he did with all possible celerity. But being warmly pursued beyond Vienna, and attacked in the midst of his movement by Murat with the French cavalry, he proposed an armistice, with the sole view of gaining time to receive the reinforcements which were advancing from Upper Moravia, and to secure his retreat. Murat, who was already at Hollabrunn, fell into the snare, and accepted the artful propositions of the Russian commander, which, however, were immediately rejected by Napoleon. By means of this stratagem Kutusof saved his army from the imminent perils to which it was exposed, and on the 18th November effected a junction with the second Russian army under Buxhowden, at Wischau, six leagues from Brunn, the capital of Moravia, where he assumed the command in chief of the allied army. Kutusof's retreat was covered by Prince Bagration, who, with a corps of six thousand men, made a desperate stand at Juntersdorf against a greatly superior force under Murat, Soult, and Lannes, and, in spite of every effort that could be made to dislodge him, maintained his ground till night, when he withdrew with the remains of his corps.

The French now occupied Brunn, a strong place, well armed and supplied with munitions of war, which the Austrians had precipitately evacuated on the evening of the 18th of November, and on the 19th Napoleon established his head-quarters at Wischau. Still the situation of the French army was one of imminent hazard. Hurried on by the ardor of success, it had arrived in the centre of Moravia, more than two hundred leagues from the frontiers of France; it had in its rear neither magazines nor strong places to serve as *points d'appui*; its line of operations was disproportionately long; and it was exposed in a space of about ninety leagues of hostile country. Bohemia was in

a state of insurrection, and threatened the communications by the left. The warlike Hungarians had risen in mass upon the right. The Archduke Charles, having escaped from Massera, whom the appearance of an Anglo-Russian fleet had retained in Italy, was within fifty leagues of Vienna, the numerous population of which was in a state of extreme fermentation. Prussia had secretly acceded to the coalition, and her minister Haugwitz brought to Napoleon an ultimatum, the rejection of which was to be immediately followed by an official declaration of war. In a word, all the probabilities were against the French army, which had no resource but in a prompt and decisive victory, and, without immediate prodigies of bravery and military science, could not hope to escape from the numerous enemies by whom it was about to be enveloped. What Napoleon most wanted, therefore, was a great battle; but, in proportion as this had become necessary to him, the clear interest of the allies recommended for the present a Fabian system of tactics, and at any sacrifice avoiding a decisive action, by the result of which alone could the French army be saved from destruction. But, in spite of the strong and urgent reasons for acting upon the defensive, it was nevertheless resolved at the headquarters of the allied emperors to deliver battle.

On the 2d of December the three emperors with their troops were near Austerlitz, a village about two leagues south of Brunn. The Russian army, reinforced by a second corps (18th of November), reckoned about 80,000 effective combatants; and that of Austria amounted to about 25,000. The French army did not exceed 80,000 men on the field of battle. The artillery on both sides was formidable, but the allies had the advantage in the number of cavalry. The allies no doubt desired to gain time, in order to await the arrival of a third Russian corps, now only eight marches distant; but the manœuvres of Napoleon, and, we may add, his artifices, induced, if not compelled them

to accept battle. The immense accumulation of troops around Olmutz, resulting from the extraordinary rapidity of events, occasioned such a scarcity of provisions, that the general-in-chief, Kutusof, felt himself constrained to precipitate offensive operations. This determination had, without his knowledge, entered into the plan of Napoleon, who, three days before, had withdrawn his advanced guard, in order to fight upon ground which he had reconnoitred, and all the accidents of which were consequently known to him. The hesitation of Kutusof allowed a precious opportunity, and circumstances extremely favorable, to escape him. But not having attacked when the French forces were scattered, he ought to have continued his retreat, in order to engage them still more in advance, either by moving upon Hungary to operate a junction with the Archduke Charles, or upon Bohemia to communicate with Prussia, whose army was assembled and in a condition to act; in short, he ought to have temporised until the simultaneous co-operation, now close at hand, of all the members of the coalition had been obtained, in which case the retreat of the French army towards the Rhine would have been rendered impossible. But instead of acting in this manner, by which eventual success would have been placed almost beyond the reach of accident or fortune, he decided to risk the chances of a general battle when the respective forces of the combatants were nearly equal.

Marshal Lannes, having under him General Suchet, commanded the left; Marshal Soult directed the right; Marshal Bernadotte commanded the centre; Marshal Davoust kept himself in observation before the left of the allies; Marshal Murat, with his cavalry, and twenty-four pieces of light artillery, supported the right under Marshal Lannes; and the reserve consisted of ten battalions of grenadiers under General Oudinot, flanked by ten battalions of the guard under General Junot, the whole being provided with forty pieces of cannon. The ac-

tion commenced at sunrise, and continued until night. The sun rose with unclouded brilliancy, and was long remembered as the sun of Austerlitz. Its first rays discovered the Austrians and Russians disseminated on, around and behind the village of Austerlitz, where the allied emperors had taken post to observe the first efforts of the attack. This was directed against the French right, and sustained by Soult and Davoust with their wonted activity and skill, aided greatly by their positions, which were amongst flooded and marshy ground, where the ice was still too weak to support the weight of men or horses. All that Napoleon required of these officers was to maintain their ground for a certain number of hours, whilst with his left and centre he simultaneously attacked that portion of the enemy's force in front, which he proposed to cut off from the wing engaged. This was the decisive movement; but he delayed long in giving the signal for the premeditated attack, so little anticipated by the enemy, fearing lest they might recall their troops from their left, by which they proposed to assail the French. But as soon as he heard the sound of battle fully engaged in that direction, he gave the word; his generals hurried to their respective posts; and Lannes, Bernadotte, Legrand, St. Hilaire, each at the head of a division, advanced. At this moment the allied columns were descending from the heights, and filing off in the direction of their left, where they expected to find the main strength of the battle. But it was nearer them than they imagined, even in their front, where, owing to their ignorance of the true position of the French army, they had not looked for any serious opposition. Surprised and attacked during the oblique movement, by columns of equal or superior force to their own, the Russian line was intersected; and the French having gained the heights, drove their adversaries down into the defiles behind. But between the village of Austerlitz and the heights thus carried were the Russian reserve, consisting of chosen troops, including

the imperial guard, commanded by the Grand Duke Constantine. These, too, were marching towards the left, when, to their astonishment, the French light troops, supported by cavalry, broke in amongst them. A scene of surprise and confusion ensued. But the emperor aided by Kutusof, rallied the troops; the Russian guards, assisted by some other regiments, charged with great fury; the French, victorious a few moments before, were now driven back; and some regiments which had formed squares were broken by the impetuosity of the Russians. Napoleon did not observe what was taking place, Austerlitz being hidden from his view by the intervening heights; but his ear having caught sounds betokening anything but victory, he instantly ordered General Rapp, one of his aides-de-camp, to advance at the head of the grenadiers *à cheval* of the French imperial guards. Rapp galloped off at the head of these superb squadrons, rallied the stragglers as he advanced, and on approaching the immediate scene of conflict, found the victorious Russians sabering the French as they were driven from the broken squares. Without hesitating a moment, he sounded the charge, broke through a superb regiment of the Russian imperial guard, and made Prince Repnin, one of its colonels, prisoner. This afforded the French time to rally; and, with their usual promptitude and intelligence, they quickly regained their order. Rapp returned to the charge, and overpowered the regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine, who was indebted for his safety to the swiftness of his horse; whilst General Gardanne, charging with a division of dragoons, completed the discomfiture of the enemy. From the heights of Austerlitz the Emperors Alexander and Francis witnessed the defeat of the Russian guard. The Emperor Napoleon then directed his efforts to the right, where the enemy still continued to oppose a vigorous resistance; and the Russian corps, being at length surrounded and driven from all the heights, were forced back to the margin of a lake, where the

French artillery made a terrible carnage. From 15,000 to 18,000 Russians, attempting to escape over the ice, were drowned; two columns, each 4000 strong, laid down their arms; the whole Russian artillery was taken, whilst forty standards, including those of the imperial guard, also fell into the hands of the French; and the remains of the Russian army, without artillery, without baggage, in a state of the most frightful disorganization, and surrounded on all sides, must have surrendered at discretion had they been vigorously pressed. Even the life of Alexander was at the mercy of Napoleon, who ordered his artillerymen not to fire on the Emperor of all the Russias, and, from motives of generosity or policy, allowed him to escape. Such was Austerlitz, one of the most remarkable battles fought in modern times. It consisted of a series of manœuvres, every one of them successful, by which the Russian army, surprised in an oblique march, was cut into as many portions as there were columns directed against it. The loss sustained by the Russians, in killed, drowned in attempting to cross the lake on the ice, wounded and prisoners, has been estimated at 35,000 men; fifteen generals were either killed or taken; the general-in-chief, Kutusof, received several wounds; and a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon were abandoned. The French appear to have lost about 10,000 men, including a general of division and two colonels, who died on the field of battle. At Austerlitz, masses of the French cuirassiers charged, for the first time, the enemy's batteries; a bold manœuvre, which, being rapidly executed and courageously sustained, during nine hours, by the corps of Marshal Soult, contributed powerfully to the success of the battle. Marshal Bernadotte also took an active part in this mighty conflict. At the moment when the Russian guard was defeated, he advanced at the head of the centre of the army, and by means of his cavalry vigorously charged the enemy; whilst Marshal Lannes, who commanded the left, charged at the same instant, with rare intrepidity,

and thus threw them into the most frightful disorder.

On the evening of the battle the Emperor of Germany sent to demand an interview with Napoleon. It was arranged for the 4th of December, and took place within a few leagues of Austerlitz, by the fire of a bivouac. "I receive you," said Napoleon, "in the only palace which I have inhabited for two months." "You made so good use of this kind of habitation," replied the Emperor of Germany, smiling, "that it ought to content you." The sovereigns remained two hours in conversation, during which the terms of agreement appear to have been arranged. Napoleon showed great forbearance and moderation. The Emperor of Russia, to whom he afterwards restored the portion of his guard who had been made prisoners, was permitted to retire unmolested to his dominions, under the protection of an armistice; but although the czar professed great admiration of the man who had so generously spared both himself and the wrecks of his army, he declined to enter into any treaty, or even to acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor of the French. The King of Prussia had a more difficult part to perform. He had been ready openly to join the coalition, to which he had secretly acceded; and his minister, Count Haugwitz, had arrived, prepared to employ the language of menace. But fortune had embarrassed all the calculation of Prussian policy; and Haugwitz, finding Napoleon successful, changed his tone, and complimented him on the victory which he had just gained. "This is a congratulation," said Napoleon, in reply, "of which fortune has changed the address." In proportion as he had shown forbearance to Austria he gave way to his indignation against the duplicity and perfidy of Prussia, and so terrified Count Haugwitz that the latter concluded a treaty, accepting Hanover in lieu of Anspach and Bareuth, which were to be given up to France. At the very moment when the transfer in question was concluded by Haugwitz, Hardenberg had required the

assistance of Britain, conjunctly with Russia, in case Prussia should be attacked; and these incompatible agreements were, to its no small embarrassment, soon laid before the cabinet of Berlin. The difficulties thus created were no doubt great; but it endeavored to escape from them in the best way it could, by accepting Hanover as a deposit, and by yielding up Anspach, together with Cleves, Berg and Neufchâtel, as had been agreed to by Haugwitz. On the 26th of December, a treaty of peace was concluded at Presburg, between France and Austria. The ancient states of Venice, including Dalmatia and Albania, were ceded to the kingdom of Italy. The principality of Eichstett, part of the archbishopric of Passau, the city of Augsburg, the Tyrol and all the possessions of Austria in Suabia, the Brisgau and the Ortenau, were transferred to the Elector of Bavaria, the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Duke of Baden; and the independence of the Helvetic Republic was also stipulated. The Germanic constitution, so much damaged by the treaty of Lunéville, was now virtually dissolved by two of its members, the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg assuming the title of kings, under the auspices of France, without the consent either of that body or of its chief. By this treaty, Austria likewise sanctioned all the partitions previously effected both in Germany and Italy, and lost a territory of 1,100,000 square miles, with a population of 2,600,000 souls.

Napoleon declared to the French Senate, as he had previously done to the Emperor of Austria, that he had sought no aggrandizement for France. If France, however, was not aggrandized, all the states in dependence on her were so. Venice and Dalmatia were added to the kingdom of Italy. Naples, which an Anglo-Russian force had invaded, was occupied, and the reigning house expelled, as if by the mere word of command. Berthier and Murat were created German princes. The newly acquired provinces of Venice, Dalmatia, Istria, Friuli, Belluno,

Feltre, Bassano, Vicenza and Rovigo, were declared duchies, and assigned to the generals and civilians of the imperial court. Bavaria and Wirtemberg had already been aggrandized out of the spoils of Austria, and their rulers raised to the rank of royalty. Napoleon's elder brother Joseph was now declared King of Naples, and his younger brother Louis, a man of mild and amiable character, King of Holland; whilst various matches were made, all having for their object at once to aggrandize and unite the new imperial family.

The commencement of the year 1806 was brightened with a momentary prospect of peace. On the 23d of January, not two months after the battle of Austerlitz, where all his schemes had been overthrown, Pitt breathed his last. With the bitter exclamation, "Oh, my country!" on his lips, he expired, leaving Europe in confusion, and England beset with difficulties. On the accession to power of Mr. Fox and his friends, hopes of peace were entertained; and that statesman having opened a correspondence with the French emperor, by apprising him of an offer which had been made to assassinate him, negotiations followed. But serious obstacles unexpectedly arose, one of them relating to Sicily, which the French insisted should be conjoined with Naples. Talleyrand, however, pushed the conferences with great activity, and evinced the utmost anxiety to conclude a peace. But all these efforts proved, unhappily, vain; nor, in fact, would any peace that might now have been concluded have proved lasting. Napoleon could not descend from the position to which victory had raised him; and England could not acquiesce in the continued exercise of an ascendant influence subversive of the general balance of power and the independence of states in Europe. Austria and southern Germany were under the dictation of the French emperor; Italy, from the Alps to the Gulf of Tarentum, was subject to his immediate sway; Spain had degenerated into a mere province of the French empire. The

only independent power bordering on France was Prussia, and she was already marked out as the next object of attack. In such circumstances peace was unattainable, or, if nominally attained, would have only been a renewal of the truce of Amiens.

Prussia, however, had acted a part equally imprudent and unworthy. We have already adverted to the two treaties, one concluded by Haugwitz with Napoleon, and the other by Hardenberg with England, in December, 1805. Perplexed by the results of her own perfidy and double dealing, she derived advantage from neither. She naturally hesitated to accept of Hanover, and to shut her ports against England; but, on the other hand, as Anspach, Cleves and Berg, ceded by Haugwitz, were already seized by the French, the desire of an equivalent prevailed over all sense of justice or regard even to decency, and this hesitation was overcome. On the 1st of April, Hanover was annexed to the Prussian territory, in virtue of a proclamation which set forth that, since Hanover belonged to France by right of conquest, its legitimate possession had been transmitted to Prussia as an equivalent for the cession of three of her provinces to France. Whilst Prussia had thus dishonored herself for the sake of Hanover and the French alliance, she had the incredible mortification to learn, through the English papers, that Napoleon had offered to restore Hanover to Britain as the price of peace. She had sacrificed her character to obtain Hanover, and she had even dismissed her minister, Hardenberg, to please the French emperor; she had rendered herself an object of scorn to the government of England, and France now rewarded her abasement and humiliation with contempt.

A compact still more alarming to Prussia than any which had yet been formed was now entered into. This was the confederation of the States of the Rhine, which was concluded on the 12th of July, between the Emperor Napoleon and several princes of the south and west of Germany. These

princes separated themselves, in perpetuity, from the territory of the Germanic empire, and united together in a new federation, of which the Emperor of the French was declared the protector. The contingent to be furnished by each of the allies was determined; a great number of secularisations and annexations of territory in their favor were recognized and sanctioned; the old constitution of the Germanic body was dissolved; and Napoleon became, in fact, lord suzerain of a large portion of Germany. His object, indeed, seems to have been to make the confederation of the Rhine the centre and pivot of his future power. The notification of the treaty of the 12th of July was made to the Diet at Ratisbon on the 1st of August, when fourteen German princes declared their separation from the Germanic body, and their new confederation under the protectorate of Napoleon. The common interests of the confederate states were to be discussed in a diet which was to sit at Frankfort-on-the-Maine; and this diet was to be divided into two colleges. In the college of kings were to sit the representatives of the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who had each assumed the title of king, together with those of the Grand Dukes of Baden, Berg, Darmstadt, and the prince primate; and in the college of princes were eighty petty princes bearing inferior titles. The contingents were, for France, 200,000 men; for Bavaria, 30,000; for Wirtemberg, 12,000; for Baden, 8,000, etc.; making in all, 263,000 men. Such was the confederation of the Rhine, which, in the course of six years, was augmented by all the sovereigns of Germany, old or new, with the exception of the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Dukes of Brunsvick and Oldenburg, the King of Sweden as Duke of Pomerania, and the King of Denmark as Duke of Holstein.

On the 20th of July, preliminaries of peace between France and Russia were signed at Paris. This was before the treaty of the confederation of the Rhine had transpired

When that organic compact had become known, the cabinet of St. Petersburg refused (15th of August) to ratify the stipulations which had been agreed to with France, upon the pretence usual in such cases, that its envoy had exceeded his instructions. Meanwhile the situation of Prussia was every day becoming more and more critical. If she had cause for mistrust on discovering that Napoleon had offered to restore Hanover to England, this was not lessened by the organization of a powerful, and, from its very constitution, hostile confederacy on her most defenceless frontier. Russia having refused to ratify the stipulations of the 20th of July, was preparing to renew the struggle; all hopes of an accommodation between Britain and France were completely at an end; and Prussia, single handed, was not in a situation to contend with a power which had so recently overthrown Austria, even when assisted by Russia. But, neglectful of all this, the court of Berlin, passing from the extreme of caution to the extreme of temerity, gave full intimation of its intentions as early as the month of August, by increasing the army and calling out its reserves.

It was the height of imprudence in Prussia to decide upon a war in which Austria was no longer in a condition to take part; it was sheer madness not to have both secured and waited for the co-operation of Great Britain and Russia. Instead of this, however, when Lord Morpeth, the British envoy, spoke of Hanover, he was answered that its fate depended upon a battle; plainly intimating that, if victorious, Prussia meant to retain it. The same indifference was manifested as to the aid of Russia; and the army, which, indeed, it was difficult to restrain, pushed forward into Saxony to compel the elector to join his forces to those of Prussia, and to induce Hesse to espouse the cause of the north of Germany against France. For the sake of these secondary objects, the blunder of Mack at Ulm was repeated. The French troops were already assembled. Napoleon left Paris in the end of September,

and proceeded by Mayence and Würzburg to Bamberg, the rendezvous of his army, where he arrived on the 6th of October. Proclamations, the usual preludes of war, now followed. The King of Prussia required the French to quit Germany, the soil which they had no right to tread. Napoleon returned the bravado by some sarcastic remarks on the Prussian queen and court. "The Queen of Prussia," says a French bulletin, "is with the army clothed as an Amazon, wearing the uniform of her regiment of dragoons, and penning twenty letters a day, in order to kindle flames on every side. One might believe her to be Armida out of her senses, setting fire to her own palace. Near her is the young Prince Louis, overflowing with valor, and expecting vast renown from the vicissitudes of war. Echoing these two illustrious personages, the entire court cries out for war. But when war shall have come, with all its horrors, it is then that each will vainly endeavor to excuse himself of the guilt of having drawn down its thunders upon the peaceful countries of the north."

The Prussian army, commanded by the king in person, and the old Duke of Brunswick, whom his campaigns against the French had not instructed in their new system of tactics, was scattered along the high road from Eisenach and Weimar. Having advanced so far, it should have assumed the initiative, and, by a great offensive effort, endeavored to break through the enemy's line before his corps were in a condition to afford mutual support. But Brunswick was alike incapable of conceiving or executing such a plan of operation; he hesitated when he should have decided; marched and countermarched without object; and, worst of all, committed the fatal error of dividing his army when almost in presence of the enemy. The road by which the Prussians had advanced, and along which their magazines were established, from Weimar, in a northeasterly direction, to Leipsic, ran obliquely to the line on which the French were now approaching from the south. Instead of attacking Weimar, where

their main force was concentrated, Napoleon therefore resolved to throw himself on their communications, intersect their line of retreat, and cut them off from their principal magazines. And this he effected by one of those rapid and masterly movements which, executed by him, had so often decided the fate of armies. The only resistance which the French met with was at Saalfeld, where, on the 10th of October, the division of Suchet, belonging to the corps of Lannes, was opposed by Prince Louis of Prussia, commanding the advanced guard of the corps of Hohenlohe. A fierce combat ensued; but the Prussians, being unsupported, were overpowered, the brave prince lost his life, and thirty pieces of cannon, with a thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the French. The French now occupied the line of the Saale, with their backs towards Germany; whilst the Prussians, in order to face them, were obliged to turn theirs to France. The belligerents having thus, as it were, changed places, the main body of the French under Napoleon crossed the Saale at Iena; the interval between Iena and Naumberg was occupied by Bernadotte, who had orders to observe the Saale as far as Doernberg, by which he was to debouch, in order to cut off the enemy's masses from their reserves, and to fall upon their rear, in case they should move in force upon Naumberg or Iena; and Davoust, with three fine divisions of infantry 30,000 strong, but weak in cavalry, was posted between Naumberg and Doernberg, on the right of the Saale, to guard the defiles of Koesen. To drive the French from these positions, and to restore the communications, was now the great object of the Prussians. Accordingly the king and the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of the main body of the Prussian army, marched to dislodge Davoust; whilst the remainder, under Prince Hohenlohe, advanced against the main body of the French army, commanded by Napoleon. In this way Davoust found himself in the presence of an enemy more than 60,000 strong, one-fifth of whose force consisted

of cavalry, in which arm he was disproportionately weak; whilst, on the other hand, Hohenlohe advanced to attack a force which outnumbered him in a still higher ratio, and was supported by the main body of the cavalry under Murat. Both parties appear to have had false notions of each other's movements; but Napoleon was evidently misled by the extraordinary proceeding of the Duke of Brunswick, in dividing his army on the eve of a great battle, an error which exceeded all ordinary calculation or experience.

The battles of Iena and Auerstadt were fought on the same day, the 14th of October, at the distance of six leagues, without contact or communication. That of Iena does not present any masterly or decisive manœuvre. It was decided by charges of the cavalry under Murat, who, supported by Augereau, completely routed the half of the Prussian force, and pursued the remains of it five leagues from the field of battle, indeed as far as Weimar. The action at Auerstadt was long and bravely disputed. Marshal Kalkreuth and General Blucher combated with vigor under the eye of their sovereign. But the invincible firmness of Davoust, supported by Generals Guidin, Friant and Morand, triumphed over numbers, and this portion of the Prussian army was, notwithstanding its great superiority in numbers and in cavalry, also thrown into disorder, and driven from the field. The battle of Auerstadt, which was in fact the grand and decisive combat, reflects infinite honor upon Davoust. Surprised by the sudden apparition of the main body of the Prussian army, and denied all assistance by his colleague Bernadotte, who, from a narrow construction of his orders, and still more perhaps from an unwillingness to act a secondary part, withdrew his corps to continue a movement which had no longer an object, he was thrown upon his own resources, and, but for his own experience and inflexible tenacity, his corps, thus compromised, might have been overthrown and destroyed. Forming his battalions into squares, he received and

repulsed the repeated charges of the Prussian cavalry led on by Blücher; and when the latter, disordered by the failure of their own efforts, were obliged to retreat, he attacked and broke through the centre of the enemy. The Duke of Brunswick and Prince William of Prussia again led the cavalry back to the charge, but in vain; nothing could shake the firmness of the French. A last effort to retrieve the fortune of the day was made by the king in person, with no better success. The centre being broken, the retreat of the wings became inevitable; and, as almost all the Prussian generals had been severely wounded, the troops, left in a great measure to themselves, fell into a state of the most frightful disorder. No rallying point had been fixed in the rear; no provision made for the contingency of a defeat. In fact, the idea of an eccentric retreat, that is, withdrawing on diverging lines, at this time possessed the Prussian tacticians; and the destruction which so rapidly overtook the remains of the Prussian army may in a great measure be ascribed to the circumstance of this absurdity being now reduced to practice. The extent of the disaster which had befallen the Prussian arms was only known when the troops defeated at Jena and Auerstadt mingled in their flight towards Weimar. In killed, wounded and prisoners, the Prussians, including their Saxon auxiliaries, lost more than forty-five thousand men; whilst a hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, with immense magazines of provisions, fell into the hands of the conquerors. At Jena and Auerstadt the French had about 12,000 men put *hors de combat*.

Frederick William, in his flight, sent to demand an armistice, which was refused; and the following day, Erfurth, containing a hundred pieces of cannon, fourteen thousand men, and numerous magazines, was surrendered to Murat. The French now pushed on without intermission for Berlin, which Napoleon entered at the head of his guard on the 27th of October, amidst the silence and tears of the people. He had spent the

25th at Potsdam, in the apartments of Frederick II., for whose character and memory both as a warrior and a sovereign, he professed the greatest veneration; but this feeling did not prevent him from taking away the sword and the order of the black eagle worn by Frederick, and sending them, with the colors of his guard, to the Hôtel des Invalides at Paris. Meanwhile the King of Prussia retired behind the Oder, in the hope of collecting the scattered remains of his army, and making a stand under cover of the strong places by which that line was defended. But fortress after fortress, though powerfully garrisoned and well supplied with ammunition and provisions, surrendered with a rapidity inexplicable on any supposition except that of treachery or infatuation. Thus, by two simultaneous battles, in which both parties fought on wrong principles and erroneous information, was the Prussian monarchy not only shaken, but destroyed. Napoleon had not only avenged the defeat of the French at Rosbach, but also the peril in which he had himself been placed by Prussia during the campaign of Austerlitz, and he now wreaked his vengeance with unsparing severity.

At Berlin, Napoleon had once more to enter upon the task of organizing a new empire. The smaller states of Germany were compelled to join the confederation of the Rhine; Saxony was treated with politic leniency; Hesse-Cassel and Brunswick were doomed to expiate their loyalty by rigorous contributions; and the electorate of Hanover was seized in the name of France. The occupation of the free city of Hamburg, against which the Emperor Napoleon had no assignable cause of war, immediately followed. On the 19th of November, Mortier took possession of the town in the name of the French government, and the same day issued an order, enjoining the inhabitants to make known all funds and merchandise belonging to the English. A measure of still more extraordinary character followed. On the 21st of November was issued an imperial

decree, dated at Berlin, in which the British islands were declared in a state of blockade. By this decree all commerce and correspondence were interdicted; every subject of England, of whatever state or condition, who should be found in the countries occupied by the French or their allies, was to be made prisoner of war; the commerce in English merchandise was prohibited, and all merchandise, of whatsoever kind, proceeding from England, was declared lawful prize; lastly, all vessels coming directly from England or from English colonies, or having been there since the publication of the decree, were not to be received into any port.

Towards the close of November, Russia declared war against France. About the same time the King of Prussia, who had retired to Königsberg, made an attempt to negotiate; but as Napoleon demanded the cession of the whole country between the Rhine and the Elbe, Frederick William, hoping that the power of Russia might yet give a check to that of France, refused to accept terms less severe than those which he was afterwards under the necessity of submitting to. But, unfortunately for this hope, war broke out at the same moment between Russia and Turkey. In a few days of successful intrigue, Sebastiani, whom Napoleon had sent to Constantinople, succeeded in putting an end to the amicable relations subsisting not only between Russia and Turkey, but also between England and the Porte; the invasion of Egypt by France, and its deliverance by England, were forgotten; French officers were seen directing works for strengthening the batteries of the Dardanelles, as well as training the Turks to serve the guns with which they were armed; and a war followed on the Danube, which occasioned a powerful diversion in favor of Napoleon, and crippled the exertions of Russia in the approaching struggle.

Napoleon now advanced in pursuit of the Prussian monarch, and at Posen, the capital of that part of Poland acquired by Prussia, he, on the 11th of December, concluded a

treaty of peace and alliance with the Elector of Saxony, who acceded to the confederation of the Rhine, and assumed the title of king. From Posen he proceeded to Warsaw, which was evacuated on his approach. At the sight of the Russian and Prussian eagles retiring from the capital of their country, the Poles were in exultation. Their patriotism and national spirit revived; the youth crowded into the Polish regiments which were now formed to act in concert with the French, and the throne of Sobieski seemed already re-established. But Napoleon, though resolved to make use of their zeal, had no intention to reward it with that independence which they so ardently desired.

By the 1st of December all northern Germany, except Königsberg, with the fortresses of Stralsund and Colberg, was either under the direct domination or under the immediate influence of Napoleon. Hesse, Brunswick, Hanover, the Duchies of Oldenburg and Mecklenburg and the Hanseatic Towns, were in his power. Prussia, which for half a century had been gradually rising in the highest rank amongst military powers, was overturned at the first shock. Hostilities commenced on the 9th of October, and on the 14th she received a mortal blow. In seventeen days, the French soldiers, having traversed the forests and defiles of Franconia, the Saale and the Elbe, reached Berlin; and by the end of November they were beyond the Vistula. The overthrow of the Prussian monarchy in a campaign of six weeks, is one of those events the reality of which will hardly be credited by posterity.

Hostilities recommenced at Czarnovo, near the confluence of the Bug and the Warka, on the 23d of December; but the Russians, though numerous and advantageously posted, were dislodged by the division of Morand of the corps of Marshal Davoust. A more important combat took place at Mohrungen, sixteen leagues south of Elbing, on the 25th. The Russian generals, observing that the French army had suspended its march, and was preparing to go into cantonments on the

Vistula, came to the determination of attempting to cut off the left wing; and their design would probably have succeeded if Bernadotte had servilely executed the orders he had received the evening before to retire to Little Strasburg, seven or eight miles from Thorn. But having received information of the movement of the Russian columns, and foreseeing the disasters which would result from the execution of the orders he had received, he suspended his march; assembled his corps on the plains of Mohrungen, where the Russian column of attack arrived about noon; checked its advance, and, after a severe action, forced it to retire with considerable loss behind the Passarge. The determination of Bernadotte saved the headquarters of Napoleon and the division of Ney, perhaps the French army itself, which, if the Russians had succeeded in their attack, would have been completely compromised. Alarmed at this bold movement, Napoleon, who intended to pass the winter on the Vistula, pressing the siege of Dantzick, and awaiting the arrival of 80,000 conscripts of the year 1807, judged it necessary to clear his front, and, if possible, so to intimidate the Russians as to prevent a repetition of such enterprises. With this view Lannes, reinforced by a division of the corps of Davoust, attacked Beningsen at Pultusk, near the confluence of the Narew and the Orzye, on the 26th of December. A murderous conflict ensued, but the action remained undecided. The slaughter of the French was great, Beningsen having manœuvred so as to expose them throughout the day to a destructive fire of artillery. The Russians retired unmolested during the night. On the same day another action took place at Golymin, eight leagues north of Warsaw, between the corps of Angereau, supported by part of that of Davoust, with the cavalry of Murat, and a strong Russian division under General Buxhowden. This combat was maintained with equal tenacity; but the French, though dreadfully maltreated, ultimately succeeded in forcing their adversaries to retire. The

extreme rigor of the season now determined the belligerent armies on the Vistula to take some repose, which both so much required. But this was destined to be of short duration.

Beningsen having leisurely retired from the field of battle at Pultusk, followed but not harassed by the French, moved northward, determined, after a short interval of rest, and concentrating all his disposable means, to resume offensive operations. Accordingly, having mustered his forces, and rallied the remains of the Prussian army under Lestocq, he formed the project of penetrating between the main body of the French and their left wing, which bordered on the Baltic, raising the siege of Dantzick, and thus turning all the positions of the enemy. In the end of January, Napoleon, having become aware of this design, assembled his army and marched northward, in the hope of anticipating Beningsen, and attacking him in the midst of his movement. But an intercepted letter addressed to Bernadotte apprised Beningsen of his danger, and he immediately fell back. Both projects thus failed; but nevertheless the French had the advantage of obtaining the lead. Napoleon, therefore, continuing his movement northward, came up with Beningsen at Willenberg, whence the two armies, the one retiring and the other advancing, traversed rapidly the country between the Alle and the Passarge. Irritated by the close pursuit, and the privations to which his soldiers were exposed, Beningsen resolved to turn on the enemy, and make a stand at the little town of Preussisch-Eylau, twelve leagues south of Königsberg. He first endeavored to defend the place, and, during the evening of the 7th of February, Prince Bagration and General Barclay de Tolly made the most gallant efforts to keep back the enemy; nor were they dislodged from a cemetery in which they had intrenched themselves until late at night, and after a most sanguinary combat. On the morning of the 8th, the Russians, under cover of a tremendous fire of artillery,

attacked with the greatest fury the French in Eylau and its vicinity. Divisions belonging to the corps of Davoust, Soult and Ney, and the entire corps of Angereau, withstood the efforts, equally impetuous and unexpected, of the Russians, whose force was estimated at between 60,000 and 70,000 men. The approaches to and the interior of the village of Eylau exhibited a terrible scene of carnage. The aim of each general was the same—namely, to overthrow his adversary's left. But Bonaparte having, in addition, sent strong columns against the Russian centre, these, during a heavy fall of snow, missed the proper direction, and penetrating between the centre and right of the enemy, were attacked on both flanks, whilst the Russian reserve charged them with great impetuosity in front. A dreadful scene of confusion and slaughter ensued; several generals were killed or wounded; and the 24th regiment of the line, 3,600 strong, was annihilated. To extricate the troops thus compromised, Napoleon was obliged to order the cavalry, supported by his reserves, to charge; which increased the fury and indecision of the battle. Davoust having made a considerable detour, now arrived on the left flank of the Russians, which was refused as he advanced, and about to fall back in good order, when the Prussians, under Les-toeq, came up, and this terrible battle was renewed. Davoust retreated in his turn; but Ney having by this time arrived with his division at the other extremity of the Russian line, the fury of the conflict was transported thither, where mutual charges were executed with headlong impetuosity. Order there was no longer any; masses alone, impelled by the instinct of combat, continued the desperate struggle. The Russians, though huddled together in a small space, determinedly maintained their ground; whilst the French, in equal confusion, were unable to bring up a force sufficient to decide the fate of the battle. The loss on both sides was enormous. That of the Russians was, by their own account, 7,900 men killed and

12,000 wounded; but Napoleon only acknowledged a loss of 1900 men killed on the field of battle, and 5700 wounded; an admission evidently as far below the truth as that of Ruschel, who stated the French loss 30,000 killed and 12,000 wounded, was above it. The Russians remained on the field of battle; but as they had been dreadfully cut up, and as Bernadotte was advancing with his corps to reinforce Napoleon, Beningsen withdrew next morning, and retired behind the Pregel. Had he remained a little longer, the French would have left him undisputed master of the field. Napoleon had also contemplated a retreat; but, on the disappearance of the Russians, he kept his ground, remained an entire week at Eylau, and then retired to occupy the line of the Passarge, establishing his headquarters at Osterode.

The tidings of a drawn battle, fought at the northern extremity of Prussia, filled the Parisians with apprehension and alarm. The good fortune of Napoleon had hitherto been so constant that people looked on the battle of Eylau as the breaking of the spell, and began to consider reverses as probable. Nor was this feeling confined to Paris, where it occasioned a considerable fall in the funds, and even shook public confidence. It prevailed also in the army, where more than one general officer counselled a retreat behind the Vistula. But Napoleon persisted in remaining on the Passarge, where he continued until the month of May, when Dantzick surrendered after a gallant defence. Reinforcements had in the meanwhile reached both armies, which were consequently soon in a condition to take the field. Napoleon, however, determined to leave as little as possible to chance, had opened negotiations, evidently with no other object than to gain time, and retard the commencement of operations until his utmost available means were collected for the decisive struggle. Accordingly, when all was ready, the negotiations were broken off; and, on the 5th of June, two Russian columns attempted to force the passage of the Passarge at Span

den, three leagues northeast of Guttstadt; but, after an obstinate combat, in which Bernadotte was severely wounded, they were repulsed. Another encounter took place at Heilsberg on the 10th, between the principal mass of the Russian army and the corps of Soult and Lannes, supported by the cavalry under Murat. The Russians disputed the ground inch by inch, whilst their artillery tore up the ranks of the French, who had several generals killed or wounded, and maintained themselves in close columns in their intrenchments, which they did not evacuate until the 12th. Both armies now moved northward, the Russians on the east, and the French on the west, of the Alle. But as Beningsen's object was to cover Königsberg, it became necessary to pass the river by the bridge at Friedland, on the road leading to the ancient capital of Prussia, and sixteen leagues distant therefrom.

As the French had but one division (that of Ney) immediately opposite Friedland, Beningsen brought up forces to attack it. Bonaparte was at Eylau, eight leagues distant, whence he hurried with the rest of his army to Friedland, where he found Ney making what resistance he could. It was the 14th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, and welcomed by the French emperor as betokening good fortune. Forming his columns in the woods, he allowed Beningsen to cross the bridge with the greater part of his army. When the Russian general thus heedlessly advanced, he little suspected that the whole French army were lying in wait for him; but dense columns issuing from the woods, and getting their cannon into position for the attack, soon convinced him that he would have to fight at a disadvantage, and without even the possibility of retreating in the event of sustaining a reverse. He drew out his line, however, with his left resting on the bridge, and prepared to receive the shock which was now inevitable. A considerable time passed in manœuvres, skirmishes and partial combats; and it was not until five in the evening that the battle be-

came general along the whole line. The principal attack, led by Ney, was of course directed against the bridge of Friedland, by which alone the Russians could retreat; but in his ardor to carry it he was repulsed, and the head of his column was broken. Supported by Dnpont, however, he rallied his troops, and was preparing to renew the attack, when Napoleon, who had acquired some experience of Russian firmness and tenacity, judged it best to achieve the victory by means of his artillery. A battery of thirty pieces, commanded by General Senarmont, advancing four hundred yards ahead of the columns, opened a destructive fire of grape on the Russian masses, huddled up as it were in a corner; heavy charges of cavalry filled up the intervals of the cannonade, breaking many of their squares; and towards evening the French infantry again advanced to complete the victory. The Russians had suffered much; retreat was inevitable; and as the bridge was swept by the enfilading fire of the enemy's artillery, they threw themselves into the river, where thousands perished in addition to those who had fallen in the field of battle. Such was the decisive victory of Friedland, which re-established the superiority of the French arms, which the battle of Eylau had brought into question, and which Napoleon had long desired, as the means of disposing Alexander to an accommodation. In this battle the Russians lost 17,000 men killed, drowned, or wounded, nearly as many prisoners, and seventy pieces of cannon. The loss sustained by the French was also great, and included a number of generals killed as well as wounded.

But the results were eminently decisive. Königsberg surrendered to Soult. The last hope of Prussia was annihilated. Beningsen retired beyond the Niemen, on the banks of which the French soon afterwards arrived. At Friedland was terminated the series of operations commenced at Spanden on the 5th; and in this campaign of ten days the Russian army had experienced enormous losses, and been forced to retreat within its own

frontiers. The Emperor Alexander having now joined the army, an armistice was demanded and agreed to on the 21st of June; and, on the 25th, an interview took place between the emperors, in a tent raised on a raft in the Niemen, at Tilsitt, an open place of small importance on the left bank of the river. At the second interview, which took place the following day, the King of Prussia was admitted, on the urgent entreaty of Alexander; and the half of the town of Tilsitt being neutralized, the two emperors established themselves there, and were soon upon terms of the greatest familiarity, if not friendship. Not so the unfortunate King of Prussia, who, having arrived as a suppliant, was treated with disrespect and severity. Even the czar, won by the attentions of Napoleon, or overawed by the ascendancy of his genius and fortune, soon evinced a diminished sympathy for his unfortunate ally; nor could the presence of the beautiful Queen of Prussia, with all her fascinations, overcome this influence, or soften the premeditated rigor of the French emperor. The latter had many grounds of resentment against Prussia. At Austerlitz she had held his destiny in her hands, and acted with perfidy, without, however, reaping the reward of her bad faith.

The terms granted to the King of Prussia were equally severe and humiliating, and were made to appear as concessions to Alexander rather than stipulations with Frederick-William. He was deprived of all his territories between the Rhine and the Elbe, and forced to abandon to Saxony almost the whole of Prussian Poland, which was erected into the duchy of Warsaw, as well as the circle of Cothbus, in Lusatia. Several military roads were also to be opened through the Prussian state, to form communications between the kingdom of Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw; all the countries which remained to Prussia were to be shut against the navigation and commerce of England; and these provinces were to be evacuated before the first of October, 1807, provided the war contributions were discharged, which they were

to be held to be whenever the intendant of the French army should have certified the validity of the securities offered.

But the primary stipulations at Tilsitt were between Napoleon and Alexander, lords of the old world, the one from the Atlantic to the Niemen, the other from the Niemen to the Pacific. If the half of his dominions was restored to the King of Prussia, it was from regard to the Emperor Alexander; and the latter, equally complaisant, consented that the greater part of the ancient Polish territories should pass under the sovereignty of Saxony, and that Dantzick, with a radius of two leagues, should be declared independent, but with a garrison of French troops. Napoleon accepted, for form's sake, the mediation of Alexander with England, whilst Alexander, in return recognized the confederation of the Rhine, and the three brothers of his conqueror, Joseph, Louis and Jerome, as the kings of Naples, Holland and Westphalia. The Russian troops were also to evacuate the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. It appears, also, that, by a secret article, the expulsion of the Turks beyond the Bosphorus had been determined on. But if such a convention was actually agreed to, the Emperor Napoleon could not have seen far before him in politics, whatever may have been the extent of his genius in military and administrative affairs. For, to permit Russia to dismember the Ottoman empire, that is, to establish herself in a given time at Constantinople, was, in effect, to deliver up to her in a given time Italy and the Mediterranean, and, by a necessary consequence, to abandon Europe, before the lapse of a century, to the barbarians of the north.

Prussia was now annihilated; Spain and Sweden were directly menaced; Austria and Turkey were prospectively endangered; England was of course devoted to ruin. Denmark preserved a nominal neutrality; but, irritated by the violent and arbitrary nautical maxims of Britain, particularly in regard to the right of search claimed by her, and, moreover, placed in nearly the same relative

situation to France as Holland had formerly been, that northern power was, by the force of circumstances, induced to adopt a line of policy adverse to the interests of England. But latterly her position had changed for the worse. The exigencies of Napoleon's continental system required that Denmark should be obliged to shut her ports against the commerce of Britain, and Holstein was already menaced by the French troops which occupied Hamburg and Lubeck; whilst on the other hand, information received by the British government of what had secretly passed at Tilsitt gave them reason to suspect that an attempt would be made on the part of the French to occupy Denmark, and to appropriate its fleet. To prevent such a contingency, an expedition which had been fitted out for a different purpose was dispatched to the Sound, and, on the refusal of the Danish government to discontinue its relations with France, Copenhagen was attacked on the 7th of September. After a bombardment of three days, and the burning of six hundred houses, a capitulation was entered into, and the Danish fleet seized as a deposit, to be restored at the conclusion of the war. This proceeding on the part of England was strongly censured at the time, and still merits severe reprobation. In point of injustice, it equalled the worse deeds with which Napoleon was reproached; and in point of impolicy, it was not surpassed by the most stupid act of violence ever before committed. Denmark immediately closed her ports against England, declared war against that country, and soon afterwards (16th October) concluded a treaty of alliance with France. Russia, also, availed herself of the favorable opportunity thus afforded to announce publicly her adoption of the continental system, to which she had already secretly acceded, to break off all intercourse with England, to annul the convention of the 17th June, and to proclaim of new the principles of the armed neutrality.

Napoleon was now in the zenith of his glory, victorious on every side, and possessed

of a power by land which nothing seemed capable of withstanding. Against Britain, on the other hand, the whole civilized world was now arrayed in hostility. Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Italy, Spain, were all in arms against her; even Turkey, her ancient ally, had proved ungrateful; and, excepting Sweden, which was misruled by a madman, and Portugal, which was governed by a fool, all Europe was forbidden ground. Even the new world was hostile from north to south; and, what was worst of all, a deep shade had been cast on the justice of her cause by the ill-timed attack on Copenhagen. At this time, too, the character of Napoleon stood fair; he had not misused victory beyond what the morality of the world indulges to a conqueror; and if he had abstained from aggression on the Peninsula, his power might, in a very few years, have acquired a stability which would at length have compelled England, however reluctantly, to sue for peace. His decline may be dated from the moment when he intermeddled with the affairs of Spain and Portugal, and endeavored to convert these ancient and independent kingdoms into dependencies of France.

The first object of attack was Portugal. On the 17th of October, an army of about twenty-seven thousand men, under the orders of Junot, marched from Bayonne for Portugal. The professed object of this invasion was to enforce in that country the adoption of the continental system. But, on the 27th of the same month, a secret treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau, between the Emperor Napoleon and the minister of Spain, by which Portugal was to be conquered, and the province of Entre-Minho-e-Douro given to the king of Etruria in exchange for Tuscany; whilst the Algarves and the Alemtejo were to be bestowed in sovereignty upon Godoy, the Prince of Peace, and favorite of the Queen of Spain, and the remainder, including Lisbon, was to be retained in reserve until a general peace. This scheme, however, formed but a small part of Napoleon's design, which was to seize and occupy the

entire Peninsula. Accordingly, another corps of forty thousand men was ordered to assemble at Bayonne, at latest by the 30th of November, to be in readiness to support Junot in case the English should send assistance to Portugal, or even menace an attack. Meanwhile that general continued his march to Lisbon, which he entered with his advanced guard on the 30th of November. After much irresolution, the court had at length determined to shut its ports against the English, in the hope that this concession would stop the march of Junot; but, as might have been expected, it proved wholly unavailing. Conquest, not concession, was the object aimed at; the *Moniteur* announced that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign; and the royal family hastened to fulfill the declaration, by abandoning the country which they were incapable of defending. The court thought only of flight, not resistance, and the country was surrendered without a single blow being struck in its defence. The escape of the family of Braganza, however, may nevertheless be considered as the first check which the fortune of Napoleon received on the Continent.

We have already noticed Napoleon's Berlin decree. Another dated from Milan, the 17th of December, contained new measures against the commerce and maritime system of Great Britain. After reference to certain orders in council, issued by the British government, in virtue of which the vessels of neutral powers were not only subjected to search by the English cruisers, but also made liable to detention and to an arbitrary impost, it decreed, first, that every vessel, of whatsoever nation, which should have undergone search by any English cruiser, or performed a voyage to England, or paid a duty to the English government, became thereby denationalised, in other words, lost the protection of its flag, and became English property; secondly, that all such vessels were good and lawful prize of war; and, thirdly, that the British islands were in a state of blockade by sea as well as by land,

and that every vessel, of whatsoever nation, which had cleared out from ports in England, or entered into any of these, might be lawfully captured. It was added, that the dispositions contained in this decree would become null whenever England adopted as the rule of her conduct the principles of the law of nations, which were also those of justice and humanity. It must be confessed that this decree embodied a measure of retaliation which, in the circumstances, was allowable. In discarding the maxim that neutral bottoms make neutral goods, England could appeal to no other sanction but that of force. In the law of nations, the maritime sovereignty, which she seems to have considered as an acquired and incontestible right, found no support; and the code which she adopted was viewed by other countries as a system of organized piracy, differing but little in principle from that exercised by the buccanniers and the Algerines. It was never before maintained that the law of war, and the right of conquest thence derived, extended to peaceable and unarmed citizens, to private habitations and properties, to merchandise of commerce and the warehouses which contained or vehicles which transported it, to unarmed vessels which plied upon the rivers or navigated the seas; in a word, to the persons and properties of private individuals. But in giving it this unprecedented and unjust extension, Great Britain necessarily exposed herself to retaliation, and the avowed principles of her maritime policy left her without the smallest right to complain of such measures as those embodied in the Berlin and Milan decrees.

Napoleon had now realized one part of his scheme respecting the Peninsula. Portugal was occupied by his troops, and it now remained to complete his design by seizing on Spain. With this view a second army, under Dupont, crossed the Pyrenees about the same time that Junot entered Portugal, and a third followed on the first days of 1808. In fact, all the disposable troops of France were secretly pouring into Spain. In a short

time San Sebastian, Pampeluna, Figueras, and even the forts of Barcelona were in the hands of the French; who, by a mixture of artifice and audacity, easily contrived to dispossess the imbecile governors and invalid garrisons to whom these fortresses had been confided. As if by magic, the whole line of defence which covered the Pyrenean frontier fell into the hands of the French. The imbecility, not to say profligacy, of the rulers of Spain, had afforded not only a pretext, but an occasion for this unexampled aggression. The Prince of Asturias, indignant of the influence possessed by Godoy, had secretly addressed himself to Napoleon, and, as a pledge of his sincerity, solicited a wife of the Bonaparte family; whilst, on the other hand, Charles IV., on discovering the machinations of his son, complained to the French imperial court of his undutiful conduct. Napoleon, thus constituted a sort of umpire in the quarrel, gave promises to both parties, sent a splendid present to the king, and at the same time issued orders to his generals to seize the principle fortresses in the north of Spain. This last proceeding opened the eyes of Charles, and even of Godoy; but it was already too late. The keys of the kingdom were in the hands of the French; and those worthless personages who, only a few months before, had plotted with Napoleon the dethronement of the house of Braganza, were now, by a righteous retribution, reduced to seek safety in flight. Preparations were accordingly made for retiring to Cadiz, and the royal party were ready to commence the journey to that port, when the population of Aranjuez, raised by the partisans of Ferdinand, stopped the carriages, and prevented the flight. But matters did not rest here. The tumult thus excited swelled into an insurrection; Godoy's house was attacked, in the hope of sacrificing the hated favorite as a victim to popular vengeance; and Charles was compelled to abdicate in favor of his son, who was proclaimed king by the style and title of Ferdinand VII. Charles, however protested against the act as void,

because compulsory, and sent his protest to Napoleon, accompanied by a letter from the queen; but as this letter passed through the hands of Murat, who, with a body of troops, had advanced as far as Burgos, that officer immediately marched upon Madrid. The affair now became complicated. Ferdinand reckoned on the support of the French; the abdicated monarch did the same; whilst the people, delighted with the fall of Godoy, hailed the new king as the deliverer of his country, and as a sovereign destined to revive its ancient splendor. Raised to the throne by an insurrection, the popularity of Ferdinand was unbounded. Nothing, in fact, could exceed the favor and enthusiasm with which he was regarded by the nation, except the innate worthlessness of the object on which it was lavished. But, in every view, Ferdinand was not a monarch suited to the purposes of Napoleon, or calculated, even as a tributary, to advance his views. It became necessary, therefore, to remove him from Madrid, where the loyal frenzy of the population gave him force, and then to decide according to circumstances in what way he and the other members of his family should be disposed of. With this view Savary was sent to entice him to Bayonne; and Ferdinand, more willing to rely on the French emperor than on the Spanish nation, resolved to propitiate Napoleon by giving him the meeting, which, he was led to believe, would take place within the Spanish territory. In this, however, he was deceived. Filled with hopes of meeting Napoleon at every post, he was enticed on until he had crossed the Bidassoa, when his eyes were at last opened. Napoleon did not receive him as king of Spain. But he was now in the snare, and escape impossible. Charles and his queen also arrived at Bayonne, where Napoleon was about to decide the quarrel of the Spanish royal family in his own favor. Their mutual recriminations were alike disgusting and disgraceful; the queen impeached the legitimacy of her son in the presence of her husband; and Ferdinand retorted by apply-

ing to his mother epithets which her unblushing immoralities but too well merited. All this had probably been foreseen and calculated on. At all events, pretending to identify the nation with its rulers, Napoleon, taking advantage of the degrading exhibition made by the latter, resolved to set aside the reigning house, and to substitute a new one of his own in its stead. But in the mean while the news of the insurrection of Madrid, on the 2d of May, had reached Bayonne, and the French emperor saw that no time was to be lost. Through the influence of Godoy, Charles was induced to resign his crown in favor of Napoleon; threats overcame the stubbornness of Ferdinand; and the Spanish royal family having played the part required of them, were sent off, the old king and queen to Fontainebleau, and the princes to Valençay. A hundred and fifty Spanish nobles, who had been mostly gained over to the French interest, were then summoned to assemble at Bayonne, where they met in June, assumed the name of the Spanish Cortes, and submissively received Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain and the Indies. The events which followed the consummation of this detestable juggle belong partly to the history of Spain and partly to that of Britain, to which heads, accordingly, the reader is referred. The nation had been no party to these infamous transactions, by which its honor was insulted, and its independence assailed, if not destroyed. A patriotic spirit burst forth; the insurrection of Madrid produced similar movements all over the country, the nation roused itself from the lethargy in which it had been long sunk; the aid of Britain was solicited and obtained; and in a little time that contest commenced, which was destined to terminate in the deliverance of the Peninsula, and the overthrow of Napoleon himself. See the articles **BRITAIN** and **SPAIN**.

The invasion of Spain, wild and desperate as it at first appeared, soon assumed a shape which left no doubt that it would operate as a serious drain upon France. The procla-

mation of the intrusive King Joseph was the signal for the general outbreking of the spirit of resistance, which, as in almost all popular commotions, displayed itself in acts of sanguinary vengeance. The French were assailed and massacred in most of the towns; the soldiers made common cause with the people; and those commanders who sought to resist the general will were mercilessly sacrificed. The flower of the Spanish army had been marched to the north of Europe; but the void was soon filled up, and in a few weeks insurgent armies made their appearance in all parts of the Peninsula. In the first encounters, indeed, in most general actions, the French, as might have been expected, were successful; and the defeat of Blake and Cuesta, at Rio Seco, seemed the battle of Almanza to the new dynasty. But Lefebvre, though successful in the field, was repulsed from Zaragoza; and Dupont, after an unsuccessful attempt to reach Cadiz, was intercepted in his retreat across the Sierra Morena, and obliged to surrender at Baylen. These successes kept alive the national spirit, and encouraged the Spaniards to hope that their efforts would ultimately be crowned with success. Meanwhile the flame of insurrection had spread to Portugal, where the inhabitants rose against Junot, and united with the Spaniards in asserting their independence. The British government availed themselves of the opportunity thus offered. In the end of July, 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at the mouth of the Mondego, to the north of Lisbon, with about fifteen thousand men; and, after a short but brilliant campaign, terminating in the battle and victory of Vineira (21st August), Portugal was, in virtue of the convention of Cintra, cleared of the enemy.

The court of Vienna now began to show signs of returning spirit, and, encouraged by the events in Spain and Portugal, armed, increased the regular force, and organized a landwehr. At a public levee, held in August, Napoleon took the opportunity to reproach Metternich, the Austrian envoy, with

these preparations; but the intelligence received from the Peninsula, together with certain appearances of the commencement of a re-action, gave hardihood to German independence. Resolved openly to insult, if not to menace Austria, Napoleon, in September, held a meeting with the Emperor of Russia at Erfurth, where, as at Tilsitt, great European interests were discussed, and Austria was again excluded as a secondary power. On the part of the French emperor this was the consummation of that foolish insolence which is begotten of success. Being thus insulted, trampled on, and despised, Austria determined, though alone, and opposed instead of being supported by Russia, to renew the struggle with France; but her effort was reserved for the year 1809. Napoleon foresaw the storm which was gathering, and, that he might be prepared to meet it with undivided means, made preparations to extinguish by one grand effort the insurrection in Spain, and to settle the government of that country. From Erfurth he issued orders to his veterans to march to the Pyrenees, and by the beginning of November he had himself crossed these mountains, and established himself at Vitoria. Napoleon was now in the midst of the Spanish armies, with a greatly superior force; and as they were disseminated on a lengthened and irregular line, so as to be incapable of acting in concert or affording mutual support, his plan was to crush them one after another, by means of rapid movements executed with overwhelming masses. Accordingly, from the central position of Vitoria, he attacked and defeated Blake at Espinosa, overthrew Belvedere near Burgos, and totally routed Castaños at Tudela; so that whilst the English were slowly advancing into Spain, one column by a circuitous route, the armies with which they had expected to co-operate were completely swept from the field. Napoleon now pushed forward to Madrid, which, after a vain stand made in the passes of Somosierra, and a show of resistance when he approached the walls, he entered in the begin-

ning of December. Here, however, he remained but a short time. Having passed some decrees intended to conciliate the liberal Spaniards, having abolished the Inquisition, suppressed the convents, and made a variety of judicious and salutary regulations, he turned his arms against the English, whose principal force was assembled in the neighborhood of Salamanca; crossed the Guadarama range in the depth of winter at the head of eighty thousand men; and advanced with incredible velocity upon Astorga, the strategic point, in order to cut off their retreat. But his skillful combinations and rapid execution were defeated by the masterly retreat of the English general Sir John Moore; and Napoleon, finding that the enemy had escaped him, left Soult to continue the pursuit, galloped back to Burgos, and thence hurried to Paris. The preparations of Austria, of which he had received fresh intelligence whilst proceeding against the British, required his immediate presence in the capital to watch the movements of that power.

A fifth continental coalition had already been formed. Availing herself of the diversion occasioned by the events in the Peninsula, Austria had armed; whilst in France new conscriptions were ordered, and the imperial guard, hastily recalled from the pursuit of the British, marched against the Austrians on the Danube. The war seemed interminable; and Talleyrand's prediction was in course of being realized. The court of Vienna had made incredible exertions, and an army of nearly 200,000 men, commanded by the Archduke Charles, menaced France and Italy; whilst another, in Galicia, was intended to oppose whatever forces Russia might bring into the field to support her new ally. On the 9th of April the Austrians crossed the Inn at Brunnau and at Scharding, and the Salza at Burghausen; the Archduke Charles declaring to the commandant of the French troops stationed in Bavaria, that he was about to advance, and would treat as enemies all who should resist him. On the 15th hostilities also commenced in

Italy, and the following day the French under Eugene Beauharnais were completely defeated¹ at Pordenone, on the Tagliamento. Napoleon, on receiving the first tidings of the advance of the Austrians, hurried from Paris, and at Dillingen met the King of Bavaria, who had been forced to abandon his capital. The French, in fact, were quite unprepared for the adoption of such a vigorous offensive course on the part of the Austrians; and the corps of Davoust, which Berthier had stationed at Ratisbon, was so much in advance as to be seriously compromised. But Davoust took upon himself the responsibility of executing a flank march from that city upon Abensberg; checked the advance of the Austrian army at Tann; gave his hand (as the military phrase is) to the Bavarians; and thus prepared for Napoleon, who was on the point of arriving, the means of penetrating the enemy's line, and beating in succession the two great Austrian corps under the Archdukes Louis and Charles. Upon the 20th, Napoleon defeated, at Abensberg, the corps under the orders of the Archduke Louis and General Hiller, after an engagement of only an hour and a-half. Great advantages resulted from this success, which, upon the following day, forced the Austrians to abandon 9000 prisoners, 30 pieces of cannon, 600 ammunition wagons, 3000 vehicles of various sorts, and three pontoon trains. On the 22d, the archduke directed his efforts against Davoust, who was in position at Eckmühl; but the portion of the army under Napoleon, which had followed to Landshut the corps defeated at Abensberg, rapidly counter-marched, and having appeared on the left flank of the Austrians, compelled the archduke to abandon his position and cross the Danube. Thus, after a campaign of a week, on almost every day of which a victory had been gained, the French emperor was enabled to send forth one of his astounding proclamations, announcing the capture of 100 pieces of cannon, 50,000 prisoners and 40 stand of colors. Davoust, to whom the last success had been mainly owing, was cre-

ated Prince of Eckmühl on the field of battle.

The archduke having crossed the Danube at Ratisbon, retreated into Bohemia, no doubt in the hope of drawing the French after him in pursuit; but Napoleon preferred marching along the right bank towards Vienna. This, however, was not effected without opposition. At Ebersberg, a large town situated upon the right bank of the Traun, three leagues from Lintz, there occurred, on the 4th of May, one of the most sanguinary combats on record. The French generals, acting under the eye of their chief, attempted to carry this strong position at the first onset, and without hesitation sacrificed 5000 men, who were either drowned in the torrent, destroyed by the musketry, overwhelmed amidst the rubbish, or consumed by the flames of the houses, to which the enemy set fire on beating a retreat; a carnage as useless as it was horrible, seeing that Marshal Lannes had already turned the position, and rendered the retreat of the enemy inevitable. On the 13th of May, exactly a month after the Austrians had commenced the war, Vienna was occupied for the second time by the French army, though not until it had stood a bombardment of thirty-six hours. The resources in munitions of war found in the Austrian capital were sufficient for a campaign. The imperial family and the court had, as before, abandoned the city to its fate. Meanwhile the Archduke Charles had, by a circuitous march through Bohemia, reached the left bank of the Danube opposite Vienna. More prudent than in 1805, the Austrians had destroyed every bridge on the river; and, on the other hand, it became necessary to the French to cross the stream and put an end to the war by victory, ere insurrections could be organized in their rear, or the want of subsistence should compel them to retreat. But how was this to be effected in presence of an active and vigilant enemy?

The river Danube, which now separated the hostile armies, is divided below Vienna into three unequal arms or branches. From

the right bank to the first island, which is about a mile in circumference, the distance is two hundred and forty toises; and from this to the great island, where is the principal current, the canal is in width about eighty toises. The great island, called Inder-Lobau, is about seven miles in circumference, and the canal which separates it from the left bank is nearly eighty toises in breadth. Napoleon having thrown bridges, by means of which his troops were enabled to pass from the right bank into the islands, and thence to the left bank, attacked the Archduke Charles in position behind the villages of Gross-Aspern and Essling, about three leagues north of Vienna. After several murderous attempts in a confined space, where the French maintained an obstinate struggle against superior forces and a formidable artillery, the assailants were repulsed; and about the same moment the bridges were carried away by a sudden rise of the river, thus leaving them without ammunition, or the means of sheltering themselves from the fire of the enemy, which now plunged incessantly into their disordered ranks. But the tenacity of Massena saved the wrecks of the French army, which in the night operated its retreat into the island of Lobau, the bridge between which and the left bank having been temporarily repaired. This terrible battle, which lasted during the greater part of two days, was fought on the 21st and 22d of May. The loss of the French was enormous. Lannes was mortally wounded; three generals fell, a hundred and twenty-eight officers and six thousand soldiers were killed; thirteen generals, seven hundred officers and eighteen thousand soldiers, were wounded; fourteen officers and three thousand soldiers were made prisoners. The loss sustained by the Austrians was by no means so great.

After the battle of Essling the reputation of Napoleon as a general and a man of resolution was much diminished; for he had not taken any adequate precaution against the contingency of retreat, and at the moment when the danger was most imminent he quit-

ted the left bank of the Danube in a miserable bark, accompanied by Berthier, and Czernicheff, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, in order to get under cover on the right bank. The news of his defeat also spread the flames of insurrection, and gave the first impulse to that spirit of resistance by which he was a few years afterwards overthrown. The Tyrolese rose against the Bavarians; associations, under the denomination of the Tugenbund, were formed for working out the independence of Germany; and the adventurous enterprises of the young Duke of Brunswick and of Major Schill afforded abundant evidence of the hostile disposition by which the people of the north and east were animated towards their oppressors; although the climate of Germany and the character of its inhabitants, as well as the force and centralization of government, rendered the Spanish system of resistance impracticable in that country.

The French, forced back to the right bank of the Danube by their defeat at Essling, established themselves in the great island of Lobau; and both armies, separated only by the northern branch of the Danube, sixty yards wide, remained in observation during six weeks, carefully retrenching their respective positions. At length, on the night between the 4th and 5th of July, the French having constructed bridges lower down the stream, crossed to the left bank, where a warm combat ensued with the left wing of the Austrian army, posted near the small town of Enzersdorff, which was reduced to ashes. The archduke had fortified his position and made preparations to oppose the French, on the supposition that they would attempt to cross by the original bridge opposite Essling, which Napoleon had ordered to be repaired. But these repairs had only been made by Napoleon to deceive his antagonist; and by crossing lower down the river he rendered all the preparations and batteries of the archduke unavailing; for instead of fronting the Danube, the latter was now obliged to extend his line perpendicu-

larly to the river, from Aspern to Wagram, a village situated five leagues north-north-east of Vienna, and thence to a small river on his extreme left. The 5th was spent in manœuvring, and in fruitless attempts to dislodge the French from the village of Enzersdorff. Both armies slept on the field, and on the 6th, at daybreak, commenced the famous battle of Wagram. The Austrian centre was posted on the high ground near the village, which the archduke believed to be too strong to be forced; and accordingly he threw the greater part of his force into his wings. This error lost him the battle. The Austrian right attacked and overthrew Massena, who commanded the French left, driving him back with such fury that his four divisions were crowded into one. Davoust opposed a firmer resistance to the Austrian left; but still he had great difficulty in maintaining his ground. In this situation Napoleon resolved to allow his wings to resist as they might, and to bring the whole of his disposable force to bear upon the Austrian centre at Wagram. Lauriston accordingly advanced against it with a hundred pieces of cannon; Macdonald followed Lauriston with the infantry; and Bessières supported the attack with the cavalry of the imperial guard. This combined effort succeeded. The artillery made breaches in the Austrian line; the French, aided by a diversion on the extreme right, rushed into the openings; the centre was forced; and the corps victorious over Massena, being now taken in flank, was also obliged to retire. The different portions of the Austrian army being thus separated from one another, the archduke withdrew from the field; but the French had suffered far too much to follow him. In fact, the battle of Essling had damped the courage of the French; and at Wagram they fought faintly except when urged on by some bold and determined leader. The loss on both sides was enormous; that of the French exceeding 35,000 men killed and wounded. Wagram was therefore a victory, but not such a victory as that of Marengo or Austerlitz. The

hostile army was defeated, but neither destroyed nor intercepted; and the Archduke Charles, still formidable in force, withdrew into Moravia to await the arrival of his brother's army, repair his losses, and prolong the campaign.

Napoleon therefore deemed it prudent to make peace. Accordingly an armistice was concluded about the middle of July, and conferences with a view to peace having soon afterwards commenced at the palace of Schönbrunn, near Vienna, were continued until the 14th of October, when a treaty was signed, by which Austria ceded, in favor of the sovereigns of the confederation of the Rhine, Salzburg, Bergtolsgraden, and part of Upper Austria; to the French, Gorice, Montefalcone, Trieste, the circle of Villach in Carinthia, and all the countries situated on the right of the Saave, as far as the frontier of Turkish Croatia; to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, all western Galicia, with Cracow, as well as the circle of Zamose in eastern Galicia; and to Russia, a small territory in the most eastern part of Galicia, containing a population of four hundred souls. The Emperor of Austria also recognized all the changes which had already been made or might subsequently take place in Spain and Portugal; he adhered to the prohibitive system adopted by France and Russia against England; and he engaged to discontinue all commercial relations with "the enemy of the Continent." The memoir writers of the day are pleased to imagine that Napoleon was terrified into making peace by the discovery of a design upon the part of a fanatical young German to assassinate him. But his views were at once more manly and more profound. Even in his proudest day of power he had acknowledged the necessity of having one great ally attached to his interests; and this was what he now sought to obtain. Prussia had played him false, and forced him to destroy her; Russia was evidently not to be depended upon; Austria yet remained to be tried, and this trial was now made. Napoleon had no heir of his body; an adopted son of his

brother Louis had died ; and his proposal to a Russian princess had been received with a coldness amounting to disdain, which proved to him the insincerity of Russian alliance. At Schönbrunn the same idea was now suggested with respect to Austria ; and the Emperor Francis, appreciating the advantage of such a connection, acceded to the proposal. Accordingly Josephine was divorced to make way for a bride of the house of Hapsburg, and, on the 10th of March, 1810, the Archduchess Maria Louisa became the new Empress of the French.

In what remains of the history of France we must confine ourselves to a mere abridgment of events which are not of very great importance, this branch of the general article having already exceeded its due proportion ; but what is omitted here will be found under the other heads to which reference is made. The occurrences of 1810 and 1811 are chiefly important with reference to an approaching struggle with Russia. On the 6th of January, 1810, a treaty of peace between France and Sweden was signed at Paris. On the 7th of February the convention of marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of Francis I., Emperor of Austria, was concluded. On the 17th the Roman States were, by a decree of the Senate, incorporated with the French empire. On the 19th of April the provinces of Caraccas, Cumana, Barinas, Margarita, Barcelona, Merida, and Truxillo, in Spanish South America, formed a federative government under the name of the American Confederation of Venezuela, but without separating themselves from the mother-country, although this first step necessarily led eventually to such a result. Early in July, Napoleon, having made a declaration against the government of Holland, which he accused of having converted the Dutch ports into entrepôts of English commerce, recalled his brother Louis, and, by an imperial decree, ordained the incorporation of Holland with France. On the 21st of August, Bernadotte, Prince

of Ponte Corvo, was named hereditary Prince Royal of Sweden, by the states-general of the kingdom, convoked in an extraordinary diet for the election of a successor to the throne, to which, upon the abdication, or rather expulsion of Gustavus IV., the Duke of Sudermania had been raised by the title of Charles XIII. Towards the latter end of September, Sicily was threatened with invasion by a force under the orders of Murat, the new King of Naples ; but the threat ended in a mere demonstration, having for its alleged object to draw English troops into the island. On the 13th of December 160,000 men of the conscription of 1811 were placed at the disposal of the government. The relations of France with Russia had, in the opinion of Napoleon, rendered this measure necessary. On the 29th of December the state renounced the successions of the emigrants which had devolved to it during so many years ; and thus the revolutionary laws of the 28th of March, 1793, and the 28th of April, 1795, were abrogated. For the events which occurred in Spain during the years 1809, 1810, 1811, and the following years, the reader is referred to the articles *BRITAIN* and *SPAIN*.

Napoleon, when in St. Helena, asserted that the origin of his quarrel with Alexander, which led to the invasion of Russia in 1812, was his opposition to the czar's views upon Turkey ; views, it may be added, which the autocrat of all the Russias had been led to entertain at Tilsitt ; and Bignon confirms the statement of Napoleon. And hence, it is said, arose the gradual coolness between the two emperors. But there were other sources of grievance. In the campaign of Wagram, Napoleon had perceived the lukewarmness of Russia ; whilst the aggrandizement of the Duchy of Warsaw, which might swell out into an independent kingdom of Poland, made Alexander tremble for Lithuania. The occupation of the Duchy of Oldenburg, belonging to a prince nearly allied to the Emperor of Russia, formed another cause of complaint and recrimination. On

the other hand, Alexander, who had already relaxed in his observance of the continental system, which had destroyed the trade of his subjects, abrogated it in part towards the close of 1810, and thereby snapt asunder the last remaining tie between France and Russia.

The seeds of war being thus freely sown, preparations were made on both sides for the struggle which had now become inevitable. Those of Napoleon were immense. From France he drew every soldier the utmost rigor of the conscription laws would supply; Italy on the one side, and Holland on the other, were required to contribute their legions; the contingents of the confederated states of the Rhine were ordered to be in readiness; Austria consented to furnish 40,000 men; and Prussia, however willing to throw her remaining strength into the scale of Russia, was forced by dire necessity to yield up the remains of her army, her fortresses, and even her very capital, to the French forces. All continental Europe in arms seemed about to pour upon Russia; whilst Poland, expecting her independence, was calling upon Lithuania, the spoil of Catharine, to welcome the host of invaders. On the other hand, by the mismanagement of Napoleon, Sweden, though smarting under the loss of her fairest province, Finland, was thrown into the arms of Russia; and, through his neglect, British influence so far prevailed at Constantinople, that the sultan was induced to abandon the tempting opportunity, of which he might have taken advantage, when Russia was hard pressed by a powerful antagonist, and even to conclude a peace with the ancient and inveterate foe of the Ottoman name. The fact is, that about this time Napoleon began to be very ill served in civil and diplomatic branches of affairs. Talleyrand and Fouché were both in disgrace, and he in vain endeavored to supply their places with statesmen of his own creation. Men of their approved talents and experience, with clear heads, penetrating discernment and cool sagacity, were not every-

day productions. In diplomacy, where the essential requisites are knowledge of man kind and of courts, together with superiority of address, and an almost intuitive insight into affairs, Napoleon felt and lamented this deficiency; and he himself owned, that had he retained Talleyrand in his service, the Russian (he might have also added the Spanish) war would have been avoided. In high views of policy, and conceptions worthy the head of a great state, Napoleon was alike eminent; he also foresaw the perils of an insurrection in the Peninsula, should it become general, and the unseasonableness as well as necessity, circumstanced as he was, of a war with Russia; but want of tact in his subordinate agents hurried on both these calamities. The rashness and precipitation of Murat, whilst at Madrid, embroiled Spain; and negotiations carried on through generals and aides-de-camp marred all hopes of reconciliation with Russia. Sensible of this, Napoleon made choice of the Count de Narbonne, a noble and liberal emigrant, to proceed on a mission to Russia; and with the same feeling, probably, he elected and sent to Warsaw the Abbé de Pradt, Archbishop of Malines. But men qualified for such high and responsible diplomatic situations cannot be produced even by an imperial improvisation; and it would be difficult to say which proved the more unsatisfactory envoy, the archbishop or the aide-de-camp.

After two years of preparation, the rupture became imminent. On the 24th of March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was concluded between Russia and Sweden, by which Norway was promised to the latter, and the prince-royal, Bernadotte, agreed to take the field with a Russian corps under his orders; and to this treaty Great Britain acceded in the beginning of May. On the 24th of April the Emperor of Russia left St. Petersburg to join his army, then in position upon the western frontier of Lithuania; and on the 9th of May Napoleon set out from Paris for Dresden, which had been fixed upon as the rendezvous of his allies. Professions of

peace, as usual, preceded the commencement of hostilities; and at the same time that Napoleon quitted Paris for Germany, the Count de Narbonne was sent to the headquarters of the Emperor Alexander. Meanwhile, the court assembled at Dresden was such as Europe had never before witnessed. The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia were amongst those who, on this occasion, waited upon Napoleon; whilst kings and princes of inferior rank crowded the ante-chambers, and jostled one another in the saloons of the conqueror. Here the representative of the French Revolution found in attendance at his levees those sovereigns who had combined to crush it; and the new Charlemagne, whose title to the imperial purple had been consecrated by victory, seemed in a fair way of realizing his own prediction, that his family would soon be the oldest of Europe. It appears as if fortune, before abandoning him, had indulged her spoiled favorite with this parting pageant. Napoleon awaited at Dresden the return of the Count de Narbonne, who arrived on the 28th of May. The latter had seen the Emperor Alexander, and had found him inflexible, but neither elated nor despondent. The czar considered the cause as that of the independence of his nation, and conceived that in maintaining it defeat would not be inglorious. On receiving these tidings, Napoleon quitted Dresden, proceeded to join the army, and, on the 22d of June, declared war against Russia, from his headquarters at Wilkowsky, near Gumbinnen, in Eastern Prussia. "Soldiers," said he, "the second war of Poland has commenced. The first terminated at Tilsitt. At Tilsitt Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and eternal war against England. She has now violated her oaths. Russia is hurried on by a fatality; her destiny must be accomplished. Does she suppose us degenerated? Let us advance, cross the Niemen, and carry the war into her own territory. The second war of Poland, will be as glorious to the French arms as the first."

The army of Napoleon, at once the finest and most formidable which France had ever sent beyond her own territory, amounted to nearly 500,000 combatants, with about 1200 pieces of artillery. The army was divided into ten corps. The first corps, composed of five fine divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, was under Marshal Davoust; the second was commanded by Marshal Oudinot; the third was under the orders of Marshal Ney; the fourth, known under the name of the army of Italy, was commanded by Eugene Beauharnais; the fifth consisted of the Poles, under Prince Poniatowski; the sixth was composed of the Bavarians, under General Gouvion-Saint-Cyr; the Saxons formed the seventh, under General Reynier; the eighth consisted of the Westphalians, effectively commanded by Junot, who had been placed as the mentor of Jerome Bonaparte, a young man without talents and consideration; the ninth, not yet completed, but with a division 20,000 strong, was allotted to Marshal Victor; and the tenth, composed of the auxiliary contingent Prussians, with a reserve of a division and some companies of artillery, was under the orders of Marshal Macdonald. The old guard was commanded by Marshal Lefebvre, and the young guard by Marshal Mortier. The reserve of cavalry, under the orders of the King of Naples, Murat, formed four corps under Generals Nansouty, Montbrun, Grouchy and Latour-Maubourg. The cavalry of the guard acted apart, and an Austrian corps under Schwarzenberg marched separately. The grand total did not therefore fall short of 450,000 combatants, of whom 20,000 were Italians, 80,000 belonged to the confederation of the Rhine, 30,000 were Poles, 30,000 Austrians, and 20,000 Prussians; so that the French alone formed an effective force of about 270,000 bayonets or sabres. On the other hand, the Russian troops were divided into the first and second armies of the West, under Generals Barclay de Tolly and Bagra-tion, and the army reserve under Tormasof; making altogether, including different de-

tached corps of irregular cavalry, about 360,000 combatants. But two other corps were formed; one in Lithuania, from Mozyr to Bobenisk on the Berezina; and the other at Riga and at Dwinaburg; whilst reserves were established on the Willia, and between Wilna and Swentziany; and a vast intrenched camp was formed before Drissa, in a sinuosity of the Dwina.

On the 24th of June the French army crossed the Niemen, and on the 25th the Emperor of Russia issued a proclamation announcing the commencement of hostilities, invoking the name of God, the protector of the Greek faith, in whom dwells truth, and calling upon his serfs to defend liberty and their country. In crossing the Niemen, the French met with no opposition; a solitary officer of Cossacks being the only enemy who appeared to challenge them. The plan of the Russians was to retreat within their own territory, to avoid a decisive battle, to draw on the French as far as possible from their resources, and at last to fall on them when famine, fatigue, and the rigors of a northern climate, had abated their enthusiasm and exhausted their strength; a plan devised by Barclay de Tolly, the commander-in-chief, and executed with an ability and determination which eventually proved the salvation of the Russian empire. On the 28th of June the French troops made their entry into Wilna, the ancient capital of Lithuania. The Russians fell back at all points. After having exchanged some cannon shots, they repassed the Willia, burned the wooden bridge at Wilna, and set fire to the immense magazines of provision, clothing, arms, and munitions of war, which had been collected at that place. On the same day the diet which had assembled at Warsaw proclaimed the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland. This generous nation ardently desired and invoked the recomposition of its dismembered provinces; it implored the assistance of France; and, for twenty years, its warriors had shed their blood for the interests of that country in

Italy, in Germany, in Spain, wherever, in short, their services were needed or required. Since the peace of Tilsitt, which had consummated the humiliation of Prussia, the policy of France required the reconstitution of the monarchy of Sigismund and Sobieski, and powerful considerations should have determined Napoleon to sanction a measure which, independently altogether of its political justice, would have raised up a formidable barrier between Russia and Germany, attached to his interest a brave and generous nation, strengthened his hands in the actual contest with Russia, and, in the event of reverses, rallied a whole people to cover his retreat. But, either from an apprehension of exciting the jealousy of Austria, who would no doubt have readily accepted an indemnity for Galicia on the side of Italy or, which is more probable, from a desire to keep the door open for an accommodation with Russia, Napoleon evaded the recognition which was so earnestly solicited of him by a deputation from the diet, and thus lost an opportunity of strengthening his power which could never be recalled.

When Napoleon advanced upon Wilna with the main body of the army, Macdonald with a strong corps moved along the Baltic, and formed the left; whilst the Austrians, under Schwartzberg, entered Volhynia, and protected the right flank of the French. Immediately before Napoleon, the Russians, as already stated, composed two armies; the principal of which, under General Barclay de Tolly, had retired from Wilna, to Drissa on the Dwina, where an intrenched camp defended the road leading to St. Petersburg; whilst the other, under Prince Bagration, remained at Grodno, and was consequently separated, by the advance of the French, from the main army under Barclay. This was a great, and might have proved a fatal blunder. But, happily for the Russians, Napoleon, who saw the full extent of the error, and did everything in his power to take advantage of it, was, on the present occasion, ill served by his lieu

tenants. Some were tardy, others inapt; Junot was incapacitated for command by the effects of former wounds; Davoust was paralyzed by the obstinacy and stupidity of King Jerome; jealousies and misunderstandings prevailed among others. Precious time was thus lost; Bagration made good his retreat; and Barclay, warned by the peril which he had just escaped, took good care to afford the enemy no second opportunity of beating him in detail. From Wilna Napoleon advanced to Witepsk, which he entered on the 28th of July, being still in hopes of preventing the junction of the two Russian armies, which, by a masterly movement, he had disunited. Lithuania was now conquered, and the end of the war seemed already attained; but in the estimation of Napoleon, whom ordinary advantages did not satisfy, it had scarcely commenced. His eye was fixed upon Moscow, and, calculating on the faults of the Russians, he was eager to strike a blow commensurate in magnitude with the enterprise in which he had embarked. In vain, therefore, did Berthier, Lobau, Caulaincourt, Duroc, and Daru, demonstrate the necessity of stopping at Witepsk, more especially as henceforward the favorable dispositions of the inhabitants could not be reckoned on. Murat and Davoust gave opposite counsel, and Napoleon resolved to advance.

Whilst Napoleon remained at Witepsk, where he spent the first two weeks of August, the Russian armies had united at Smolensk, a large town situated on the Dnieper, surrounded with ancient and massive constructions, to which had recently been added works fortified with extreme care, and forming the bulwark of Russia upon the frontier of Poland. In this strong position Barclay resolved to make a stand. It had formed part of the plan of Napoleon to get to Smolensk before the enemy, intercept their retreat, and thus force them to accept battle at a disadvantage; but, owing to innumerable faults of execution and the unaccountable though perhaps necessary de-

lay at Witepsk, this project had failed. It now only remained, therefore, to carry the place by main force; and for this purpose the French, with Napoleon himself at their head, advanced to the attack, which was made at all points and with unimaginable fury. The Russians, protected by the ramparts, held out during the day; but on the approach of night they abandoned all their positions, after having set fire to the town, which contained immense magazines. They retired in solid squares, with such admirable steadiness and order, that the utmost efforts of Murat, at the head of his fine cavalry, proved unavailing against the stability of their formation; in fact, each square seemed a blazing ball of fire. The Russians lost about twelve thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the French somewhat less than half that number. But the system of defence adopted by the Russians had deprived the French of nearly all the advantages which they might otherwise have derived from their victory; and where they expected to meet with good quarters and the sight of human habitations, they found only a heap of smoking ruins. Still, even amidst these ruins Napoleon might have halted, brought up provisions and reinforcements, reorganized his army, and waited to complete the subjugation of Russia in another campaign. This was what almost all his generals counselled, including even Murat; and the results of the campaign completely vindicated the prudence of this advice. But to stop short in the month of August within eighty leagues of Moscow, the term of his enterprise, and without having achieved anything calculated to maintain the illusion in favor of his invincible and overwhelming power, was too much for Napoleon. The principles of his strategy were fully developed in this campaign. He was not insensible to the difficulties and even dangers attending an advance, or of the advantages which would result from placing his army in cantonments at Smolensk, and there preparing for another and decisive campaign; with him every

thing, even audacity itself, was matter of calculation; but, having estimated all the chances, he concluded that as the Russians would certainly risk a battle to save the ancient capital of their empire, he would gain the battle, penetrate to Moscow, and thus conclude the war in Russia as he had twice before done in Germany. For these, and other reasons which appeared to him equally cogent, Napoleon determined to advance.

Nor was he wrong in two main points of his calculation. Although the Fabian tactics of Barclay had unquestionably saved the Russian army, and with it the empire, all voices, amongst which that of Prince Bagration was loudest, clamored for battle; and, in obedience to this cry, the able tactician was superseded by the old Muscovite general Kutusof, the same who lost the battle of Austerlitz. Before quitting the command, however, Barclay signalized himself by a brilliant feat of arms. Resolving to leave no trophies to the enemy, he made a stand at Valoutina, to preserve some baggage and cannon; and as Junot, who should have taken the Russians in flank, hesitated at the critical moment, he succeeded in repulsing Ney with considerable loss. It was not thus that Napoleon had been served in Italy and Germany; but, mindful of former times, and unwilling to disgrace his earliest protegee in the face of the army, he still continued Junot in the command of his division. The vanguard, commanded by Murat and Davoust, was continually in contact with the enemy; but as the overboiling and impetuous valor of the former assorted ill with the stern methodical genius of Davoust, who blamed his colleague severely for sacrificing the cavalry in encounters which led to no result, these officers were at open variance, and their quarrel contributed in no slight degree to increase the difficulties and embarrassments of Napoleon. The accession of Kutusof to the command of the Russian army, in the room of Barclay, was equivalent to an announcement of a determination to

fight. This was known to the French, who, accordingly, on the 6th of September, came in sight of the Russian army posted upon a series of eminences extending southward from the village of Borodino, on the Moskwa, the position selected by Kutusof whereon to fight a battle in defence of the capital, which he had solemnly promised to cover, and at the same time to annihilate the French army. This position was covered by redoubts and intrenchments, announced in the official reports as inexpugnable; and the Russians were animated by the predictions of their priests, and by the sight of a miraculous image of the Virgin, which was carried through their ranks. Kutusof also prophesied victory. "God," said he, "is about to combat the enemy with the sword of St. Michael, and before the sun of to-morrow shall have descended below the horizon, you will have written your faith and your fidelity, in the fields of your country, with the blood of the aggressor and his legions." On reaching the ground, Napoleon drove the Russians from an advanced redoubt, established his line opposite to theirs, and made the necessary preparations for the conflict of the morrow. But he refused to manœuvre on the enemy's flank, or make any movement to intercept them, lest such an operation should induce them to withdraw, and thus put off the long-wished-for battle.

The sun of the 7th September rose in peaceful splendor on the mighty hosts arrayed for conflict, and was hailed by the French as the sun of Austerlitz, an omen of victory. Before daybreak Napoleon was on horseback, and with the first light of day the following address was read at the head of each regiment in the French army. "Soldiers, here is the battle you have so much desired. Victory must now depend upon you. It will secure you abundance, good quarters, and a speedy return to your native country. Conduct yourselves as at Austerlitz, at Friedland, and at Smolensk. Let people say of each of you with pride, 'He was at the great battle fought on the

plains of Moscow.'” The corps present were, besides the old and new guard, those of Marshals Davoust and Ney, of the Viceroy of Italy, Eugene Beauharnais, and of Prince Poniatowski; and the four large corps of cavalry, commanded respectively by Generals Nansouty, Montbrun, Gronchy, and Latour-Maubourg, were all under the superior direction of the King of Naples. In the Russian army, Barclay de Tolly, dispossessed of his functions as general-in-chief, commanded the right, Beningsen held the centre, and Bagration commanded the left. Redoubts strongly armed, and numerous batteries, covered the front and the wings. The respective numerical force of the hostile armies has not been satisfactorily ascertained. It appears, however, that the French army exceeded one hundred and thirty thousand combatants of all arms, and that the Russians were even more numerous. The latter had also the advantage of position, and were animated both by religious and patriotic feelings; but they were about to contend with soldiers equally intelligent and brave, led on by consummate generals, and all under the direction of the greatest master in the art of war whom modern times had produced. At six in the morning the fire of a French battery gave the signal of battle; and General Compans, belonging to the corps of Marshal Davoust, commenced the attack. The intention of Napoleon was to carry the first batteries on the Russian left, and then to take in flank and reverse a great redoubt in the centre. Hence, although the action commenced along the whole line, the weight of the attack was directed against the batteries just mentioned. But, as might have been anticipated, the assailants were met by a gallant and determined resistance. Compans, who commanded the leading division, was wounded; Rapp, who succeeded him, was also wounded; and Davoust himself received a hurt from the fall of his horse, which was killed under him. For a moment the attack faltered; but victory came from a quarter

where it was least expected. Instead of holding back, according to his orders, the Viceroy of Italy, perceiving the relaxation in the attack, pushed forward to the village of Borodino, which he carried in the most gallant manner; and improving his advantage, he dashed across the river to attack the great redoubt. The corps of Davoust now redoubled its efforts, drove Bagration from his batteries, and before midday, after more than four hours' close combat maintained with extraordinary tenacity, three redoubts had been carried by Prince Eugene and Marshals Davoust and Ney, whose corps formed the right wing, and were prolonged towards the centre. The road to victory being thus opened, it was necessary to follow it up; but Murat, Ney, and Davoust, exhausted by their exertions, stopped, rallied their troops, and sent to Napoleon to demand reinforcements. To those who pressed him to accede to the instances of Murat, he replied, that he wished to see better ~~new~~ matters stood; that his battle had not yet commenced; that it was necessary to wait; that time entered into everything; that it was the element of which all things were composed; that nothing had as yet been sufficiently cleared up. Then he asked the hour, and being told it, added, “That of the battle has not yet come. In two hours hence it will commence.” The event proved that Napoleon judged more wisely than his impetuous lieutenant. To have ordered up his guard and brought forward his reserves whilst the state of the battle remained uncertain, would have been to risk all upon one throw of the die. Accordingly, in the afternoon, a second, or, as Baron Fain calls it, a third battle commenced; all the Russian batteries were successively attacked and taken; the most formidable of their redoubts, that in the centre, was carried by a charge of cuirassiers; and the Russians, defeated at all points, were forced to abandon the field. The result of this day was such as might have been expected from an army like that commanded by Napoleon. Not

withstanding the boasting of the Russian generals, their army, with all its advantages of position, had been totally defeated; and the shades of night, which descended too late for the vanquished, but too soon for the victors, in this bloody field, concealed the retrograde movements of Kutusof, who now took the direction of Moscow.

At the same time this battle was, without contradiction, one of the most obstinate and bloody recorded in military annals. The loss of the Russians exceeded thirty thousand men killed, wounded, or prisoners; that of the French was considerably above twenty thousand. On the side of the Russians, Prince Bagration fell in the battle, and fifty general officers were either killed or wounded; on that of the French, two generals of division and six generals of brigade were killed, whilst Compans, Nansouty, Grouchy, Latour-Maubourg, Rapp, Morand, Friand, and La Houssaye, were more or less severely wounded. But although the victory remained with Napoleon, his prospects were still sufficiently gloomy; and in the bivouacs of the army discouragement prevailed. Seven or eight hundred prisoners, and about a score of broken cannon, were all the trophies he had won. Subsistence also began to fail, and to the torments of hunger were joined the rigors of a cold and rainy night. But with the return of day the natural vivacity of the French revived; preparations were made for pursuing the enemy, who had been suffered to retire unmolested from the field of battle; and on the 14th the inhabitants of Moscow, whom Kutusof had taught to believe that he had just gained a great victory, beheld the Russian columns in full retreat, and the French advancing to occupy their city. But the governor, Rostopschin, had taken measures for rendering the possession of Moscow useless to the French. When the latter entered, on the 14th of September, the ancient capital of Russia remained in all its original splendor; and Napoleon took up his abode in the Kremlin, anciently the residence of the czars. But a new and unlooked-

for enemy suddenly appeared. On the very day of occupation fires appeared in different quarters of the city; but, in the bustle and confusion incident to the arrival of a great army, they were neglected. On the 15th and 16th vigorous measures were taken to arrest the progress of the flames, which, however, were incessantly renewed; on the 17th the conflagration, fanned by a high wind, spread rapidly; on the 18th the city presented the sublime and appalling spectacle of a vast ocean of flame; and by the evening of the 20th, nine-tenths of Moscow had been reduced to ashes. The Russians, with their habitual duplicity, endeavored to cast on the French the odium of an act unexampled in history, and one, too, which the latter had every imaginable interest, if possible, to prevent; but there no longer remains a vestige of doubt that the burning of Moscow was the result of a premeditated plan, and that it was effected by incendiaries, employed for the purpose by the Russian authorities, acting, no doubt, under the sanction of the Emperor Alexander himself.

The grand object of the mighty expedition against Russia had been attained; the country had been overrun; a great battle had been fought and gained; and Moscow, or rather its ashes, had been occupied by the French. But yet no messenger of peace came to the head-quarters of Napoleon; no sign of submission appeared; no sinking of confidence showed itself. The Russians were evidently prepared to sacrifice all that is most esteemed or valued by a nation; and when the campaign was considered as terminated, peace had yet to be conquered. By the destruction of Moscow, Napoleon had been deprived of the fruits of the victory which he had so dearly purchased, namely, winter-quarters for his army, and a position where he might at once collect means for further aggression, and assume the language of a conqueror. His situation had become eminently critical. What course ought he to have followed? His instant conception was

to march to St. Petersburg, cut off Wittgenstein, and then effect a junction with Maedonald. The project was a magnificent one; and though it would have required gigantic efforts to carry it into execution, success would, in all probability, have crowned the daring enterprise. There was, in reality, no time for hesitation. Prudence counselled immediate retreat, which, however, had many disadvantages, particularly from the influence it would exert upon public opinion. Genius suggested a bolder scheme, which, if successful, would have ensured, not only safety, but victory; and, in extreme peril, the excess of audacity often becomes a dictate of wisdom. But without the concurrence of the chiefs such an enterprise was impossible; what Napoleon might plan, they alone could execute. These men, however, were no longer the devoted and enthusiastic soldiers of the Republic. War had enriched them; and from the enjoyment of riches they had become tired of campaigns. Throughout the whole of the expedition they had been churlish, discontented, and quarrelsome; and hence, instead of seconding the bold proposition of the emperor, they counselled retreat by a new and circuitous route to the south. Napoleon could not persist in a project which his officers refused to execute; their plan was equally obnoxious to him; and between these conflicting opinions precious time was irrecoverably lost. This was the fatality which ruined all. Instead of deciding either on immediate retreat, or of following out the emperor's splendid project, they loitered in a state of indecision at Moscow, as if waiting to be devoured by a Russian winter. In these circumstances, Napoleon had recourse to the only expedient left him; he sent Lauriston with proposals of peace, and vainly waited in the Kremlin, which the conflagration had spared, an answer never to return. The course of events had so far changed as to justify Alexander in declining to negotiate with an enemy in the heart of his dominions. The destruction of Moscow, and

the inactivity of the French, had rendered their retreat matter of absolute certainty; whilst the re-establishment of peace with the Ottoman Porte having enabled the army of the Danube to quit Moldavia, and effect a junction at Lutsck in Volhynia with the army of reserve under General Tormasof, a powerful force was thus accumulated upon their only line of retreat. In consequence of the treaty with Sweden, the troops employed in Finland had also been withdrawn, and disembarked at Riga to join the force destined to act against Maedonald. In a word, every day was improving the situation of the Russians; every hour was adding to the embarrassments which beset the invaders. At length the affair of Winkowo decided Napoleon. On the 18th of October, Kutusof, desirous to prevent the junction of Marshal Victor, who had set out from Smolensk, attacked the King of Naples, who covered Moscow with the advanced guard of the army, and completely defeated him.

On the 19th of October, after an occupation of forty days, Napoleon evacuated Moscow with the main body of his army, leaving Marshal Mortier, with the rear-guard, to blow up the arsenal, the magazines, and the Kremlin. In ordinary seasons the frost did not set in until after the middle of November, and hence a month of open weather might still be reckoned on. Sufficient time, therefore, remained to enable the French army to arrive at Smolensk, and there establish itself in winter-quarters; further retreat was not contemplated. But instead of choosing the direct road, Napoleon now adopted the plan originally proposed by his officers, and retired by the southern or old Kalouga road. His reasons were, that a retrograde movement along this route had not the appearance of retreat; that it led through provinces which had been wasted neither by the Russian system of defence nor by the actual presence of war; and that this circuit would afford time to the rear-guard to evacuate Moscow. He therefore manœuvred, in the hope of concealing his

design from Kutusof, and then suddenly advanced in order to anticipate the enemy, and occupy the important town of Kalouga. But the Russians somehow received information of his intention, and reached Malojaroslawitz, thirty leagues south of Moscow and fourteen north of Kalouga, in time to oppose the march of the French. A sanguinary engagement now ensued (20th October) between the advanced guard, seventeen thousand strong, under Prince Eugene Beauharnais, and the Russians, about four times that number, under Kutusof; but the success of the French was decided and confirmed by the arrival of Generals Gérard and Compans, belonging to the corps of Marshal Davoust. The Russian general, in his official report of the battle, admits that he was repulsed, but states that the town was taken and retaken eight times. The action, which lasted from five o'clock in the morning until ten at night, cost the Russians from eight to ten thousand, and the French more than five thousand men *hors de combat*. This unexpected rencontre, and the violent efforts made by the enemy, convinced Napoleon that his enemies were far from being enfeebled or discouraged; he therefore abandoned his project of retiring on Smolensk by the old Kalouga road, and fell back on the direct route leading through a ravaged and deserted country. It is not a little singular that Kutusof, afraid of a renewed attack, had also at nearly the same moment issued orders for a retreat. At Wiasma, fifty-six leagues west of Moscow, the French rearguard, on the 3d of November, repulsed the enemy after an obstinate and bloody action, supported by Prince Eugene, Marshals Davoust and Ney, and General Compans. The French ranks were thinned to the extent of four thousand killed and wounded, and, in continuing their retreat, they were obliged to abandon several broken cannon, and nearly all their baggage. On the 7th of November the French army, which had been fifteen days in full retreat, and continually harassed by parties of Russians, reached Smolensk

The cold had already set in with excessive severity. The fluid in the thermometer of Reaumur, which during the first days of November had stood at eight or ten degrees below zero, now descended to eighteen; sombre vapors obscured the sun; and violent tempests of wind drifted the snow which, covering the soil, filled up all the inequalities of its surface, and thus added new dangers to the horrors of this dreadful winter. The horses, perishing by thousands in the bivouacs, were no longer sufficient to drag the artillery. Nor was the condition of the troops in any respect less disastrous. After the affair of Malojaroslawitz, the strength of the men utterly failed. Their privations, painful at Moscow, became every day more cruel. Destitute of biscuit, and provisions of every kind, the army had traversed about a hundred leagues of country entirely ruined, in which it had never fought except by the light of conflagrations; the horrors of devastation extended six leagues on either side; and it was incessantly assailed by clouds of Cossacks. Its disasters augmented at each step, and in frightful progression. The magazines nearest Moscow were at Smolensk; but these afforded only a momentary relief, and all transport had become impossible. Nor was this all. Wittgenstein, reinforced by new levies, had defeated Saint-Cyr on the Dwina, and taken Witepsk, thus cutting off the retreat to Wilna; whilst Tschitchagof, commanding the army of the Danube, had orders to advance from the south, seize upon Minsk, and thus bar the only other practicable road to the westward. To remain at Smolensk was therefore out of the question. The least retardation of the retreat would inevitably have led to a general battle, which the army was not in a condition to risk, owing to the impossibility of connecting the centre with the wings. The excessive cold which set in on the 6th had disabled and destroyed a great number of men and horses. The army could neither procure information nor defend itself; its only resource, therefore, consisted

in marching without intermission in order to reach Minsk (the great depot of munitions and provisions), or at least the Berezina, before the enemy, who, being master of the country, was now advancing in the opposite direction, and extending his corps on the flanks. Yet in these frightful circumstances, when the French were simultaneously assailed by famine, disease, winter, and hostile armies, Napoleon tarried seven days at Smolensk, which was evacuated only on the 14th November. Nevertheless he took one good measure, in rallying under a single officer the wrecks of the cavalry. Of thirty-seven thousand horsemen present at the passage of the Niemen, there remained little more than eight hundred mounted, the command of whom was given to Latour-Maubourg. The old and young guard had no more than ten thousand bayonets, with two thousand horses mounted; Davoust had under his orders nine thousand men, Ney five thousand, Prince Eugene five hundred, Poniatowski from eight to nine hundred, Junot seven hundred, Latour-Maubourg (including the remains of the cavalry) fifteen hundred, with about a thousand light horse, and five hundred dismounted dragoons; in all thirty-six thousand men, the miserable remnant of about four hundred thousand combatants, French, Poles, Italians, and Germans, who had crossed the Niemen at Kowno.

With the retreat from Smolensk commenced a new series of disasters. On the 16th November, Minsk, with all its magazines, having been uncovered by Schwartzberg, who suddenly retired behind the Bug, fell into the hands of General Lambert, commanding the advanced guard of the army from Moldavia; and the only refuge of the French was thus cut off. Upon the same day Kutusof attempted at Krasnoj, ten leagues west of Smolensk, to intersect the French columns on the great road leading from Smolensk to the Berezina. He advanced with seventy thousand infantry and thirty thousand cavalry; the French mustered only twenty-five thousand effective combatants,

who had lost many of their cannon, and three-fourths of their horses. But Prince Eugene and Marshal Davoust stood their ground with admirable firmness; whilst General Roguet, commanding a division of the young guard, charged the Russians with such fury that he drove them back at the point of the bayonet into their camp, which he entered pell-mell along with them, scarcely allowing them time to throw their arms into a neighbouring lake, and set fire to their huts. This shock suspended the movement of the Russian army for twenty-four hours. On the 19th, Marshal Ney, left in command of the extreme rear-guard, with six thousand combatants, found himself attacked by enormous masses of the enemy, which intercepted his march. Finding himself unable to break through, he retired before them, surprised the passage of the Dnieper, forced his way amidst clouds of Cossacks, and rejoined the main body of the army, from which he had been two days separated. On the 21st the Russian generals Lambert and Langeron took possession of Borisow on the Berezina, and by the occupation of this point cut off the body of the French army, which was still five or six marches to the eastward. But on the 23d Marshal Oudinot, who, since the abandonment of the positions upon the Dwina, immediately preceded the army in retreat, retook this important post, and maintained it in spite of every effort that could be made to dislodge him.

At Borisow, which had thus been regained by Oudinot, the passage of the Berezina, the principal difficulty in the march of the French towards the Niemen, could alone be effected. But their situation was perilous, not to say desperate. The line of the Dwina had been forced; Schwartzberg, whose defection was no longer disguised, had retired behind the Bug; no difficulty of position arrested the enemy in his decisive operations; the whole country was in his hands, whilst the French had only the narrow line upon which they retreated. The former lived in abundance, the latter suffered almost

every privation. The teams of the Russian artillery were in good condition; the horses of the French were dying of cold and hunger. In a word, the remains of the French army seemed about to find a grave in the marshes of the Berezina, the ice of which had suddenly thawed, as if to swallow them up. Kutusof pursued them with a fury augmented by each humiliation inflicted on his unskillful pursuit. Pressed on their right flank by Wittgenstein, and on their left by Tschitchagof, who also took them in reverse; with an artillery and a cavalry greatly reduced; extenuated by hunger and fatigue, as well as benumbed by cold; they held out only in the hope of at length reaching the term of so much evil and suffering. A last effort of their courage was therefore their last resource. The different corps of the French army which assembled at Borisow from the 26th to the 28th of November still presented a mass of about eighty thousand men, with a tolerably numerous artillery. They were not yet disorganized. The soldiery, at least that part which came from Moscow, though exhausted by the fatigues of forty days' march over a devastated country, assailed by swarms of Cossacks, overwhelmed with privations, and suffering half-naked the excessive rigors of the climate, recovered their ardor at the sight of the enemy, who now awaited them in the presumption of victory. The corps coming from Moscow also saw themselves supported by those of Marshals Victor and Oudinot, and by the Polish division, which had suffered but little from want of provisions and the rigor of the cold. But it was necessary, first of all, to overthrow sixteen thousand Russians advantageously posted in the debouché of Borisow, on the right bank, and belonging to the army of Tschitchagof, before the junction of Wittgenstein, who closely followed the rear-guard of Victor upon the left bank above Borisow; and also before Kutusof, who marched with the main body of the Russians upon the left flank of the French head-quarters, had time to recover three marches which had been gained

on him. Two bridges were accordingly thrown at Weselowo, a village four leagues and a half above Borisow, whilst dispositions were made which seemed to indicate that the passage was to be effected by the bridge of Borisow. The rapid construction of these two bridges, in such terrible circumstances, presents a marvellous instance of what may be effected by the union of bravery and science. At Weselowo, the Berezina, at this time covered with ice, is two hundred and fifty toises broad, and the opposite side extends into marshes, which are traversed by a long and narrow jetty; but, on the other hand, the Weselowo bank is elevated; and hence the difficulty of throwing bridges across such a river would, under any circumstances, have been very great.

On the 28th the intrepid Oudinot, who commanded the rear-guard, having been wounded in repulsing Tschitchagof, whose forces were grouped on the right bank, Marshal Ney assumed the command in the midst of the action, and, at the head of the second, third, and fifth corps, compelled Tschitchagof to renounce the combat. On this occasion, so important for the general safety, Ney, already surnamed the bravest of the brave, displayed a courage which astonished even the most valiant soldiers; and all acknowledged that their safety was due to his invincible tenacity, as well as to the extreme promptitude of his dispositions. Upon the same day, Marshal Victor, who had been left with the rear-guard on the left bank, supported with great firmness the attack of the army of Wittgenstein, and maintained a prolonged resistance, notwithstanding the extreme disproportion of numbers; for, after the capture of the division of Partouneaux, which on the preceding day had been surrounded and taken, the French had only twelve thousand men, whilst the Russians had upwards of forty thousand. The ninth corps was then obliged to repass the bridges, which were immediately blown up; the artillery, the baggage, and a great number of unfortunates, almost all non-combatants, who

had not been able to pass, being abandoned on the other bank. The plain before Wesełowo, which is one of considerable extent, presented in the evening a spectacle the horrors of which exceed all description. It was covered with carriages, the greater part overturned and broken, and thickly strewed with the dead bodies of non-military individuals, amongst which were those of many women and children, who having followed the army to Moscow, had also accompanied it in its retreat, and now met with death in different ways. The fate of these unfortunate creatures, in the midst of the mêlée of the two armies, was either to be crushed under the wheels of the carriages or the feet of the horses; struck by the balls and bullets of both parties; drowned in attempting to pass the bridges with the troops; or stripped by the Russian soldiers, and thrown naked on the snow, where the cold soon terminated their sufferings. Besides, the Russians made nearly twenty thousand prisoners, took a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, being all the artillery that remained except a few pieces, and captured the baggage, amongst which were found the riches and the trophies carried away from Moscow.

From the Berezina the country is a wooded plateau, converted by the waters into a vast marsh, which the army now traversed on three consecutive bridges three hundred toises in length, astonished that the enemy had not destroyed them, constructed as they were of resinous pines. By accelerated marches the troops reached Malodetchno on the 3d of December, and on the 5th arrived at Smorgoni, twelve leagues west of Willika, where Napoleon conferred on the King of Naples, the command of the remains of the army, and set out for Paris, accompanied by Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza. His apparition at Warsaw is related in lively terms by the Abbe de Pradt. In this capital his conversation was a sort of lengthened discourse, in which he represented his reverses as still capable of being repaired; but by often repeating the maxim, "From the sublime to

the ridiculous there is only a step," he showed how deeply sensible he was of the magnitude of his fall. On the 18th of December Napoleon arrived in Paris, where, for many reasons, his presence had become indispensably necessary.

Immediately after his departure from the army the disorder became general; the flight of the chief proved the signal for dispersion; and the greater part of the corps, which had hitherto maintained an appearance of organization, now altogether disbanded themselves. Meanwhile, as the cold continued about twenty-five degrees below the zero of Reaumur's thermometer, a great number of soldiers had their hands and feet frost-bitten; and the horses of the artillery having perished in their harness, the pieces were abandoned. Sixty thousand men had crossed the Berezina, and twenty thousand recruits had since joined; but of these eighty thousand men, nearly the half perished in the four days between Malodetchno and Wilna. The immense magazines collected at Wilna were abandoned for want of means for transport, and the deplorable situation to which the cold had reduced the army prevented it from there taking up a position. The retreat was therefore continued on the 16th, Marshal Ney as usual being the last to retire; indeed, his conduct throughout, in the command of the rear-guard, where he continually exposed himself to protect the life and cover the retreat of the last soldier in a condition to march, displayed an heroic fortitude and generous self-devotion, which, considering all the circumstances, has no parallel either in ancient or modern times. We shall not, however, prolong these painful details, but content ourselves with simply observing, what indeed must be sufficiently obvious, that the disasters sustained by the French in this retreat were mainly caused by the climate, not by the Russians, who have nevertheless taken credit for results in producing which their talents and bravery had no share. The elements did almost everything; and, as is vulgarly said, even in:

Russia, "It was not General Kutusof who killed or dispersed the French; it was General Morosow (Frost)."

The aspect which affairs presented to Napoleon on his return to Paris was not altogether discouraging. Wellington, victorious at Salamanca had failed before Burgos, and Madrid remained in the hands of the French. The army, which he had left at Smorgoni, might rally on the Niemen, and, supplied from the unexhausted resources of East Prussia, check the advance of its pursuers. At home a daring conspiracy, which had nearly succeeded when the emperor was believed to have perished in Russia, fell to the ground of itself as soon as the falsehood of the report was discovered. The senate, the court, and the capital, though dismayed by the reverses sustained in the Russian campaign, still appeared loyal and obsequious. The conscription of 1813 had been called out; the powerful artillery of the marine was placed at his disposal; and he calculated on speedily taking the field at the head of a formidable army, sufficient at least to check the advance of the Russians. But this was only a momentary and delusive brightening; a faint gleam of sunshine in winter, which was quickly absorbed in the dark clouds that suddenly collected in all parts of the political horizon. Tidings of evil came crowding in thick and fast. MacDonald having been deserted in presence of the enemy by the Prussian auxiliary corps under York, which constituted his principal force, had with great difficulty, and after a most painful retreat, reached Dantzick, where his troops were left with the governor General Rapp. To think of maintaining the line of the Niemen was therefore out of the question; and even the position upon the Vistula, occupied by the corps composing the grand army, or rather the wrecks of these, confusedly distributed, was menaced by the defection of the Prussians, and also by the conduct, so perfidiously equivocal, of the Austrians under Schwartzberg, who, having retreated as soon as he received intelligence that

the French army had reached the Berezina, had re-entered Galicia, where his doubtful attitude excited the distrust and apprehensions of the French. Murat, commanding in chief, was little capable of remedying so great disasters, or of warding off so imminent dangers; his military merit consisted in a chivalrous bravery worthy the ages of romance; in the talents and moral tenacity of purpose requisite in situations of extreme difficulty he was entirely deficient. Poland was evacuated, and Germany destined to become the theater of war. Abandoning the line of the Vistula, as they had previously done that of the Niemen, the French now fell back as far as the Warta and the Oder. Instantly the tocsin of insurrection was sounded from the Oder to the Rhine, and from the Baltic to the Julian Alps; and the whole tribe of secondary sovereigns, awakened from their lethargy by the patriotism of their subjects, and dispossessed of the royal delirium generated by their own cupidity and the gifts of Napoleon, now crowded to join its standards, and to have each a bite at the sick lion. By a proclamation dated from Warsaw, 10th February, 1813, the Emperor Alexander invited the Germans, particularly the members of the confederation of the Rhine, to throw off the yoke of France; and, by another dated the 22d February, he called upon the people of Germany to rise *en masse* against Napoleon. In the uncalculating enthusiasm of the hour, when despotism had the art or good fortune to rally on its side the feelings of nationality and patriotism, the call was obeyed, and the defection became universal. Austria, indeed, still preserved an equivocal and suspicious neutrality, waiting merely until events had more fully declared themselves. But Prussia, taking a more decided part, signalized her defection by the flight of Frederick-William from Potsdam to meet the Emperor Alexander at Breslau, and still more by concluding at Kalisch (on the 1st of March) a treaty of alliance with Russia, the initial act of a

sixth continental coalition against France. The line of the Oder having thus become indefensible, was abandoned by the French for that of the Elbe, where, by great exertions, they still hoped to maintain themselves against all their enemies. Amongst these must now be included Bernadotte, who, by a treaty concluded with England at Stockholm, on the 3d of March, engaged to raise his banner against the country of his birth, and to take the field against his former chief with a corps of national troops at least thirty thousand strong.

The efforts of Napoleon were commensurate to the crisis which had arrived. A decree of the senate, dated the 3d of April, placed at the disposal of the government a hundred and eighty thousand combatants, viz., ten thousand horse-guards of honor, equipped and mounted at their own expense; eighty thousand men, called from the first ban of the national guards of the years 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812, and destined to reinforce the hundred cohorts levied in execution of the decree of the senate of 13th March, 1812; and eighty thousand conscripts of 1814, exclusive of the hundred and fifty thousand granted to government by the decree of the 11th of January, and destined for the defence of the frontiers and the coasts. An imperial decree of the 5th of April also instituted thirty-seven urban cohorts for the particular defence of maritime places. Decrees, however, though they called forth men, could not create soldiers, who are only formed by discipline and experience.

On the 15th of April Napoleon left the capital to join the army in Germany, and on the 28th removed his head-quarters from Erfurth to Ekharthberg. His army, more formidable from the mass than the quality of troops composing it, exhibited an incomplete organization. On the 29th the two French armies formed a junction between Naumburg and Merseburg; that under Napoleon amounting to a hundred and twenty thousand men, including the imperial guard; whilst Prince Eugene Beauharnais had under his

orders about forty thousand combatants. It was on the banks of the Saale, where the French eagles had triumphed in 1806, that the veterans of Moscow gave their hands to the young conscripts who had been sent to defend their country in Germany; and on the very day when the junction was effected Napoleon assumed the offensive. At Weissenfels, five leagues south-west of Leipsic, some Prussian corps were attacked by the divisions of Souham, Gérard, and Marehand, under the orders of Marshal Ney, supported by the emperor in person. Twelve pieces of the guard were placed in line, and, under the orders of General Drouot, opened a close fire of grape, which soon thinned the ranks of the enemy, and forced them to retire; thus rendering unnecessary the reinforcements detached from the army of Prince Eugene as soon as the noise of the cannonade was heard. To prevent Napoleon following up this advantage, and occupying Leipsic, the allies advanced, on the 1st of May, with the intention of giving him battle, and on the 2d the hostile armies met at Gross-Goerschen, near Lutzen, the scene of the last victory and of the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

Napoleon did not wait to be attacked in the position which he occupied, but advanced from Lutzen to Gross-Goerschen, where the conflict actually took place. The general dispositions made at the commencement of the action were bad; but their defects were speedily repaired by the promptitude, intrepidity, and experience of Prince Eugene, Marshals Ney, Mortier, Macdonald, Marmont, and Generals Compans, Ricard, Souham, Drouot, and Latour-Maubourg. In checking the impetuosity of the Prussians, and, as it were, compelling fortune to declare in his favor, Napoleon performed prodigies. His unexpected appearance on the field of battle produced an effect equally rapid and extraordinary upon the troops. In an instant the enthusiasm of glory animated the features of the young conscripts, who had been somewhat astonished by their first in-

terview with the enemy; the action recommenced with the greatest fury; and for more than four hours the troops on both sides fought under the eyes of their respective sovereigns. Marshal Macdonald and General Bertrand now arrived with their corps, which, having formed a junction, entered into line. Perceiving that the crisis of the battle had arrived, Napoleon advanced sixteen battalions of the young guard, ranged in a second line six battalions of the old guard, and established a battery of eighty pieces of cannon. The infantry immediately attacked; the artillery thundered on the formidable position of Kaya, on which depended the fortune of the day; and victory, which had long hovered with doubtful pinions over this field of carnage, at length settled on the standards of her ancient favorite. The battle of Lutzen was gained principally by artillery, in which arm the French had a great superiority; but success was dearly purchased, the victors having, by their own account, lost in killed and wounded about ten thousand men. Nor was the victory productive of any brilliant or important results. The want of cavalry prevented Napoleon from pursuing the enemy while in disorder, and the fruits of success were therefore confined to the possession of that part of Saxony which is situated on the left of the Elbe. Still the battle of Lutzen deserves to be considered as one of the greatest achievements of Napoleon. With a mass of raw and scarcely half-disciplined conscripts, the greater part of them mere boys, aided by a few thousand experienced troops, he had defeated the whole Prussian army, assisted by a corps of Russians, and protected by a numerous and greatly superior cavalry.

Instead of confining his views to Leipsic, Napoleon now occupied Dresden and prepared to pursue the allies across the Elbe. Having thrown a bridge across that river, he accordingly marched to attack the Austrians and Prussians at Bautzen, where they were drawn up in a position of great strength, upon the range of hills forming the natural

boundary of Silesia. Napoleon forced the passage of the Spree in their front, and occupied Bautzen. The whole of the 20th May was spent in manœuvres and partial combats, the object of which was to enable him to get within reach of the enemy. On the 21st the battle was fought. It commenced by simultaneous attacks directed against both flanks of the enemy; but, owing to the great development of their line, which extended along many leagues, and was intersected by hills, Napoleon found it alike impossible to watch these movements, or, until assured of their success, to order the troops under his own immediate command to advance. He therefore held back the centre, in the midst of which he remained during the cannonade, and being overcome by fatigue, fell fast asleep. At length, upon hearing fresh sounds of artillery in the distance, his attendants awoke him. By the direction of the sound he knew that his wings were victorious, and instantly ordered forward his centre, supported by the imperial guard. This attack proved decisive of the fate of the battle. The allies were beaten, and obliged to abandon their line of defence, which covered Silesia, and to retire into Bohemia. But, as at Lutzen, they retreated without precipitation or disorder, leaving neither cannon nor prisoners in the hands of the conquerors. This negative advantage they owed partly to their superiority in cavalry, and partly also to their position. At Bautzen the Prussians fought well, the Russians indifferently. With the former the quarrel had long become national; the latter were far from their homes, and careless whether they advanced or retreated. The victory of Bautzen uncovered Silesia, and opened to the French a passage to the Oder. Glogau was relieved, Breslau occupied, and Berlin itself menaced. The Russian and Prussian armies were obviously unable to cope with the young soldiers of France; and hence, in retiring into Bohemia, the allies renewed their instances with Austria, to induce her to join the coalition. Accordingly, on the

day after the battle of Bautzen, a message reached the French head-quarters, proposing an armistice. We shall immediately see how Napoleon was first deceived, and then insulted, by a power on whose neutrality he had too hastily calculated.

At Goerlitz, in Lusatia, the French were severely handled, and lost several cannon. This affair took place on the 22d of May. The enemy, however, continued their retreat towards the Oder, followed by Napoleon, who had astonished Europe by the spontaneous creation of a new army, and whose late success had re-established his renown. On the 30th Hamburg was retaken by Marshal Davoust and General Vandamme, who thus recovered the territory situated on the right bank of the Lower Elbe, which had been annexed to the French empire by a decree of the senate, dated the 13th December, 1810. On the 4th of June an armistice was concluded at Plesswitz, in Silesia, between Napoleon and his enemies. The French were only to occupy a small part, and that the least fertile, of Silesia; their line was not to extend to the Oder, except in a space extremely confined; and Breslau was to remain free between the two armies; so that the French were, in some sort, pressed into a country devastated, burned, exhausted and menaced with famine. In subscribing conditions so extremely disadvantageous, Napoleon was no doubt influenced by the hope of seducing his enemies, or disuniting their formidable coalition, and also by the desire to gain time in order to repair his losses by means of very considerable reinforcements, which he expected from France, and by means of which he would be enabled to act with larger masses. Victory had again returned to his standards, and he confided in the power of his genius for repairing every disaster, and obtaining new triumphs. The enemy were also guided by the same desire of augmenting their forces, without wishing, however, that the armistice should be followed by a peace. They reckoned on a general rising in Germany; on the defection of

the confederation of the Rhine; on popular movements in Holland, Switzerland, the Tyrol, Italy, Dalmatia; on the progress of Wellington in the south of France, since the departure for Germany of part of the troops who had been opposed to him. They also calculated upon disturbances in France; and, above all, they hoped to see Austria, already under arms, take an active part in this war, which, even from the geographical position of the theater of operations, could scarcely fail, if she took part in the contest, to become fatal to the French.

Napoleon, therefore, could not disguise from himself that the politics of all the continental powers seemed on the eve of experiencing great alterations; but still he endeavored to persuade himself of the contrary. On the 14th of June a treaty was concluded at Reichenbach, twelve leagues from Breslau, by which England agreed to grant Prussia a subsidy of £666,666 sterling, to enable her to continue the war; and, by the same treaty, a subsidy of £1,333,334 sterling was also granted to Russia for the same purpose. Austria now offered her mediation, which, by a convention signed at Dresden upon the 30th June, was accepted by Napoleon. The professed object of this mediation was the accomplishment of a general peace, or, if that could not be effected, a continental pacification. With this view a congress was to be opened at Prague on the 5th of July; and, in the mean time, the armistice of Plesswitz was prolonged until the 10th of August. In signing this preliminary act, Metternich commenced that course of duplicity for which he has since become so deservedly famous in Europe, and Austria remained faithful to her oblique system of policy, even more so indeed than to that of temporizing, which she had at all times followed. At this moment her only aim was to profit by all the chances; in transporting, or rather hawking, her alliance from camp to camp, she had but one view, namely, to be always on the side which should obtain the division of the spoil. As Russia desired Poland, and

Prussia Saxony, so Austria had her eye continually fixed on Italy. Her mediation, therefore, was neither more nor less than a manoeuvre to gain time and enable her to watch events. The peace was altogether a pretext of the allied cabinets, to mask their real views. The opening of the congress of Prague, on the 12th of July, to which day it had been postponed, clearly indicated the objects which were aimed at. In the absence of one of the two French envoys, the ministers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia commenced the conferences, and promptly decided that Germany should remain independent; they, however, consented to leave Napoleon in possession of the French empire, with the boundaries of the Rhine and the Alps. This was not negotiation, but dictation; not an attempt to conciliate or adjust interests, but to give the law. Italy was disposed of by an implication, in the absence of the principal French negotiator; the confederation of the Rhine was annihilated; and Napoleon, though victorious, was called upon to accept of terms which would have been sufficiently harsh and humiliating after defeat. But this was merely insulting. Perfidy followed. The armistice expired upon the 10th of August; and it was not until the 7th of that month that the Austrian minister at Prague brought forward the conditions definitely fixed by his court as necessary to the pacification of the Continent. He demanded, first, the dissolution of the duchy of Warsaw, and its partition between Russia, Austria and Prussia; secondly, the re-establishment of the towns of Hamburg, Lubeck, &c., in their independence; thirdly, the re-construction of Prussia, with a frontier on the Elbe; fourthly, the cession to Austria of all the Illyrian provinces, including Trieste; fifthly, a guarantee that the state of the powers, great and small, such as it might be fixed by the peace, should not be altered except by common consent. The question of the independence of Holland and Spain was at the same time brought forward; but the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers seemed

inclined to consent that it should be adjourned until a general peace. The answer of Napoleon, containing certain proposed modifications, was promptly returned, and, by incredible expedition, it reached Prague in the night between the 10th and 11th; but the confederate powers, impatient to appeal to arms, broke up the congress on the very hour when the armistice expired on the 10th, and absolutely refused to receive or consider the answer which had been returned. On the 12th of August, Austria declared war against France, and notified officially her adhesion to the alliance of Russia and Prussia.

The allies had derived great advantages from the armistice. By maintaining themselves in Silesia, they had secured time for the arrival of the Swedish army under Bernadotte, and the Russian corps under Sacken, as well as for the organization of the Prussian troops, and the formation of the army of Beningsen in Poland. The armistice had covered Berlin; it had also been of great use to Austria, in enabling her to complete her armaments, as well as to render more active her negotiations with the states of the confederation; whilst Napoleon derived from it no real advantage except that of fortifying his line of operations on the Elbe, which it was his object to maintain. Placed *à cheval* on that river, with the head of his army at Dresden, and the rear at Hamburg, he supported himself on all the fortified points which secure the possession of that large and beautiful valley, namely, Konigstein, Dresden, Torgau, Wittenberg, Magdeburg, and Hamburg, with its dependencies on the Elbe, and Merseburg, Erfurth, and Wurtzburg, which connect the Rhine with the Elbe. But he lost upon the Oder the garrisons of Kustrin, Stettin, and Glogau, and upon the Vistula those of Modlin, Thorn, and Dautziek; garrisons which absorbed more than sixty thousand men. The grand French army, divided into fourteen corps, in which the Italian, German and Polish auxiliaries were incorporated, was inferior to that of the

allies with which it was now about to contend, in the proportion of two to five. These corps were generally weaker than during the preceding campaigns, and, united, they did not exceed two hundred and eighty thousand effective combatants, of whom the half were recruits who had never been in fire. The allies, on the other hand, had under arms five hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom about four hundred and fifty thousand were on the principal theatre of operations, viz., Austria a hundred and twenty thousand men, including the forces sent to Italy, and the reserves; Russia, a hundred and thirty thousand; Prussia, a hundred and eighty thousand, exclusive of the *landsturm* or levy *en masse*; and Sweden, thirty thousand, including the Mecklenburg and Hanseatic troops; making the total as above mentioned. The French army was therefore inferior to that of the allies by two hundred and twenty thousand men; yet, notwithstanding this inferiority of force, Napoleon resolved to maintain his position at Dresden, and to try the fortune of arms upon the Elbe. On the 11th the Austrians effected a junction with the Prussians, in the hope of anticipating Napoleon; but, as we shall immediately see, they were themselves anticipated.

Having divined the plan of the allies, which was to direct their forces from three points upon Dresden (namely, from Berlin on the north, Silesia on the east, and Prague on the south), and there concentrate them to make a combined attack on that position, Napoleon calculated that before their grand army, debouching from Bohemia, could arrive under the fire of the redoubts constructed around Dresden, he would have time to execute a combined operation by simultaneously attacking Berlin on the north, and projecting his army of Silesia towards Breslau on the east. With this design, he first executed a military march in Lusatia on the 16th of August; on the 18th he advanced as far as Görlitz, near the frontier of Silesia, threatening to throw himself upon Blücher,

who commanded a powerful army; then, abruptly changing his direction, he turned towards Bohemia, in order to ascertain if it might still be possible to prevent the junction of the forces in Silesia with the Austrians. But, although Napoleon was still ignorant of the fact, neither of them had waited till the 16th to commence the development of their hostile manœuvres. He, however, marched with the second and eighth corps under Victor and Poniatowski, supported by the first and fourth corps of cavalry under Lefebvre-Desnouettes and Kellerman. Debouching from the environs of Zittan, these troops passed the frontier, advanced by the defiles, and occupied Reichenberg on the Neisse, and Friedland on the Willich. But having received information that the enemy, apprised of his departure from Dresden, were pouring their masses in that direction, Napoleon, calculating that they would require eight days to assemble under the walls of that place, countermarched, and, like an arrow shot from a bow, flew to attack Blücher, and drive him beyond the Bober. On the 21st of August he crossed the Bober, on the 22d he repulsed the enemy on the bank opposite to Katzbach, and again defeated them on the 24th. Three days had sufficed to inflict two defeats on the enemy, and to re-establish his eagles in advance in Silesia. But as it was now time to return to Saxony, into which the great mass of the allied army had, on the 20th, descended from the mountains of Bohemia, he faced about, and leaving 75,000 men under Macdonald to keep Blücher in check, he arrived at Dresden on the 26th. But the effect produced by this bold and brilliant operation was in a great measure lost by the failure of Oudinot, who was charged with the execution of one of the three great parts of the campaign—namely, the attack upon Berlin. Brave in the advanced guard, Oudinot was deficient in the strategic ability necessary for conducting great operations. Instead of advancing promptly, he hesitated, lost precious time, and allowed the enemy to

penetrate his design, and also deprive him of the lead. He was beaten at Gross-Bee-ren; Berlin was saved; and the combined armies had now the facility of advancing into the heart of Germany, and operating their junction in the plains of Leipsic.

Whenever Napoleon appeared personally, his ascendancy was instantly manifest. But his lieutenants had neither his genius nor his foresight, and were as inferior to him in activity and energy as in talent and capacity. Near the Bober, a tributary of the Oder, and the Queiss, a tributary of the Bober, Marshal Macdonald, in full retreat from Silesia after his defeat on the Katzbach (26th of August), was again, from the 27th to the 29th, discomfited in a series of actions at the passage of these two rivers, which the rains had swollen and converted into rapid torrents. By the results of this isolated and accessory campaign of a few days, the French army lost 15,000 men, and 100 pieces of cannon. The defeat and surrender of Vandamme followed. Wishing to drive the allied army which had fled from Dresden into the defiles of Bohemia, Napoleon sent eastward, by circuitous roads, the first, sixth and fourteenth corps, with a numerous cavalry, to threaten their flank, and force them back into the mountains. Vandamme commanded the column on the left, Saint-Cyr and Marmont that of the centre, whilst the King of Naples, with the cavalry, formed the right. On the evening of the 28th, the imperial headquarters had scarcely been established at Pirna, when Napoleon was suddenly seized with violent shivering, followed by vomiting. The persons around him were seriously alarmed, but he himself felt more disquieted by the consequences which might result from an accident so unexpected, than even by his illness, which was the effect of exposure to cold and rain during the late battle. Profuse perspiration, induced during the night, afforded him immediate relief, and in the morning he found himself almost entirely recovered; but, unable from weakness to continue with the troops, he returned to

Dresden. This accident detained the guard at Pirna; whilst the two corps forming the columns of the centre, having experienced great difficulties in ascending the mountains and penetrating the defiles, made little progress during three days. But Vandamme having on the 28th dislodged an enemy's corps from the position of Peterswalde, descended next day as far as Kulm, and advanced into that deep valley, in the hope of seizing Töplitz, the rendezvous of all the enemy's columns scattered in the mountains. His advanced guard had approached within half a league of Toplitz, and he only waited for his reserves to force the last obstacles, when all of a sudden the enemy, ceasing to give way before him, stood firm, and made the most determined resistance. The enterprise being thus checked, Vandamme, instead of persisting, ought to have renounced it, and, profiting by the night, regained the position of Peterswalde. He did the contrary; and the enemy being powerfully reinforced, he was soon attacked both in front and flank, by at least 60,000 Austrians and Russians. For several hours, however, he resisted all their efforts, retrograded without being broken, evacuated Kulm, and prepared to ascend to Peterswalde; but Kleist and his Prussians having escaped from Saint-Cyr, and found the position evacuated, had just occupied it. In vain did the French, by the most gallant efforts, endeavor to break through the enemy, which now cut off their retreat; in vain did the cavalry, clearing their way with their swords to the very crest of the escarpement, seize the whole artillery of Kleist; the cannon were promptly abandoned, and, overwhelmed by hosts of enemies before and behind, the greater part were either taken or dispersed in the mountains. Vandamme, severely wounded, was made prisoner, dragged in triumph to Prague, and subjected to every species of insult, in retaliation of certain acts alleged to have been committed by him in the countries conquered by the French. Nor did the misfortunes of Napoleon's lieutenants stop here.

On the 6th of September, Ney, who had been sent against Berlin, with his own corps and those of Oudinot, Reynier and Bertrand, was defeated at Dennewitz by Bernadotte, and lost two-thirds of his artillery, his ammunition, his baggage, and more than 12,000 men. This disaster was occasioned by the misconduct of two Saxon divisions, whose fidelity had already been shaken.

Although the victory of Dresden had disconcerted the first plan of offensive operations adopted by the allies, it no longer exercised any influence on the campaign. The anterior defeat of Oudinot at Gross-Beeren on the 23d of August, that of Vandamme at Kulm on the 30th, and the grave checks received by Macdonald on the Katzbach and the Bober from the 26th to the 29th, enabled the allies to pour 300,000 men into Saxony. The route of Ney rendered the position of the French army still more critical, inasmuch as the right wing of the enemy, arriving on the Elbe, was in a situation to intersect its communications with Leipsic and Franconia. Immediately after the battle of the 27th, Napoleon had marched with the old and young guard, and other reinforcements, to succor Macdonald; but the news of this disaster recalled him to Dresden. From this central position, which certainly had many advantages, he hoped to direct his operations in such a manner as to repair all the faults committed by his lieutenants; he confided in the power of his own genius, and never perhaps was its ascendancy more conspicuously displayed. Everything, in fact, gave way before him. Blücher, who had defeated Macdonald, durst not commit himself against Napoleon; Wittgenstein, who had made an irruption into Saxony, was driven back into Bohemia; and similar attempts repeated by each of those generals met with the same fate. The plan of Napoleon was magnificent, and, though bold even to temerity, he had fully estimated all the chances. So far from entertaining any apprehension of being cut off from France, he waited at Dresden until the allies had so far committed themselves

as to be no longer able to avoid a general and decisive battle. His delight was to be surrounded by enemies, with his army, which he knew so well how to direct, compact and in hand. But his generals shrunk from such daring warfare. Brave and skillful as lieutenants, they had none of that boldness and grasp of mind which distinguished their illustrious chief. But the expected crisis was now approaching. On the 7th of October Napoleon quitted Dresden, leaving in that place Saint-Cyr with about 30,000 men under his orders. After having manœuvred on the banks of the Mulde, so as to intercept the communications of the armies of the north and of Silesia, he attacked them on the 11th, 12th and 13th, and forced them to retreat. It is even said that he proposed allowing the allies to place themselves in the interval between the Elbe and the Saale, and, covering himself by the fortified places on the Elbe, of which he was master from Dresden to Hamburg, to establish the war between that river and the Oder. On the 14th the imperial headquarters were still at Düben on the Mulde, when Napoleon received intelligence of the defection of Bavaria, and of the treaty of Ried concluded on the 8th; but on the 15th they were removed to Leipsic, where Napoleon arrived early in the day, hoping that he would only have to do with Schwartzberg. In this, however, he miscalculated.

On the 16th of October the allies approached; Bernadotte and Blücher from the north, and Schwartzberg from the south. Napoleon opposed himself to Schwartzberg, and during the entire day kept him in check upon the verge of the hills which border the plain of Leipsic. Ney was less fortunate on the north, where the Prussians, under Blücher, fought desperately, and at length obliged him to retire with loss behind the Partha. But on the western side of Leipsic Bertrand drove back General Gölz, and thus cleared the road towards France. During the 17th the allies, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, hung back, awaiting the arrival

of Beningsen's army ; the day was accordingly spent in partial combats, and in preparations on both sides for the inevitable conflict of the morrow. On the 18th the battle commenced to the north, east and south of Leipsie, in the vast plain extending beyond Lutzen and Weissenfels, villages celebrated as the scenes of mighty deeds in arms. Leipsie is surrounded with suburbs, excepting in the part towards the west, contiguous to hollows, and facing a plain watered by the Pleiss and the Elster, which are divided into canals, and several times intermingle before their definitive junction. Half a million of men, crowded together on a surface of three square leagues, now engaged with extreme fury in the work of mutual destruction. The disproportion of numbers, however, was enormous. Those of the confederate armies were as follows : Army of Bohemia, Schwartzenberg, 140,000 men ; army of the north, Bernadotte, 65,000 ; army of Silesia, Blucher, 85,000 ; army of Poland, Beningsen, 40,000 ; total, 330,000 men. The French army was composed of the second corps, Victor ; the third, Ney ; the fourth, Bertrand ; the fifth, Lauriston ; the sixth, Marmont ; the seventh, Reynier ; the eighth, Poniatowski ; and the eleventh, Macdonald ; together with the imperial guard and the cavalry. Its numbers were as follows : Infantry of the line, 130,000 ; imperial guard, 30,000 ; cavalry, 15,000 ; total, 175,000. In numbers, therefore, the allied army exceeded that under Napoleon by no less than 155,000 men ; and this unprecedented advantage was still further increased by the bad condition of the French squadrons, which precluded the possibility of committing them against even equal numbers of the enemy's cavalry. Napoleon was therefore obliged to rely principally on his artillery ; but, pressed on all sides by overwhelming masses, he in vain exhausted his ammunition ; the artillery of the enemy was as formidable as his, and latterly better served. Still the French soldiers fought with astonishing courage, and, notwithstanding every effort, maintained their ground. Po-

niatowski and his gallant Poles kept Schwartzenberg in check. Macdonald was opposed to the Prussians, and, when hard pressed, Napoleon at the head of the guard marched to his assistance, and drove back the enemy. To the north of this attack, Bernadotte, with the army of the north, advanced against Reynier, whose corps consisted chiefly of Saxon and Wurtemberg troops. Eager to encounter the Prussians and Swedes, Reynier ordered these troops to move forward. They obeyed, but it was only to desert and join the enemy. Seven battalions of Saxon infantry, two regiments of Saxon cavalry, and several Wurtemberg regiments, making in all twenty-six battalions and ten squadrons, together with three Saxon batteries of twenty-six guns, passed over to the enemy, and ranging themselves under the colors of Bernadotte, instantly attacked their brothers in arms ; in fact, before arriving at any distance, the three batteries were turned against the division of Durutte, forming part of the seventh corps, and swept away entire files by a raking fire. Nevertheless, the emperor, undismayed by this disaster, caused his reserves instantly to advance, and succeeded in checking the enemy, who were now pouring down upon Leipsie. But the army could not long maintain its positions without exposing itself to total ruin. It had neither been broken nor defeated ; yet, after its enormous losses, it was evident that want of time alone had prevented the enemy from obtaining complete success. Napoleon was sensible of this ; and, on the approach of night, he issued orders for retreat.

Next day, the 19th, Leipsie was taken. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia and Bernadotte, entered by three different gates, and the King of Saxony was made prisoner. Encumbered with the dead and the dying, with fugitives and equipages, this city presented a horrible scene of route and carnage ; but the spectacle exhibited by the approaches to the suburb of Lutzen was most appalling ; it was a sort of gulf into which the French precipitated themselves, as into

a haven of safety. Nevertheless, the combat and the fusillade continued for two hours, during which sixty pieces of cannon horsed, and 12,000 brave men, were saved: the enemy, master of Leipsic, feared to push to extremity warriors who might set it on fire, and still more to oppose column to column in a confined space. The retreat of the French could only be operated in braving the greatest difficulties. Their route lay through a defile of more than two thousand toises, between marshes, and along five or six bridges; nevertheless, the retreat was being executed without very great disorder, when some Russian tirailleurs, gliding along the Elster, arrived near the principal bridge on that river, which had been mined in the night. No sooner were they perceived than the bridge was blown up by the chief of the post of sappers stationed there, who, disregarding the safety of the emperor and of all those on the western bank, fired the train. This accident, occasioned by the absence of the colonel of engineers, to whom the charge of the post had been committed, having cut off the retreat of all those who were still in the boulevards and suburbs, the bravest, those old soldiers who had escaped the casualties of twenty campaigns, only thought of selling their lives as dearly as possible, and perished under the ruins of the houses, which they defended to the last extremity; whilst the greater number believing resistance to be hopeless, fled towards the Pleiss and the Elster. The first of these rivers presented few obstacles; but the other, whose bed is deep and muddy, and whose banks are marshy, swallowed up all those who could not swim. In this number was Prince Poniatowski, who had been created a marshal of France on the 16th, and who on this same day had been wounded whilst performing prodigies of valor on the field of Liebertwolkwitz. Having failed to clear his way through the ranks of the enemies who surrounded and pressed on him, and believing at this extreme moment, when the hands of the Russians were extended to seize his person, that he might

find a way to safety through the waters of the Elster, he dashed into the river, and was drowned. Marshal Macdonald, more fortunate, succeeded in clearing the muddy stream. The carnage finally ceased about two in the afternoon. Two hundred pieces of cannon and nine hundred caissons or wagons remained in the hands of the allies. The loss of the French in these two days was immense, being estimated at upwards of 60,000 men killed, taken, or lost by desertion, exclusively of the wounded. The number killed or mortally wounded on the field of battle did not fall much short of 37,000. But the allies paid dear for their success, having lost in killed or wounded nearly eighty thousand men. This is explained by the circumstance that, although their artillery was more numerous than that of the French, the latter played on columns of greater depth and density, and was thus proportionally more destructive. Napoleon arrived in the evening at Marc-Renstaedt, and there rallied the remains of his army.

On the 23d of October the wrecks of the army defeated at Leipsic on the 18th reached Erfurth, where were supplies of ammunition, provisions and clothing. All that remained of the German troops had deserted since the battle of Leipsic. On the 26th, Wrede, commanding the Austro-Bavarian army, took possession of Wurtzburg, and followed the course of the Mayn. The same day, the troops of Wurtemberg marched to join those of Bavaria, against the French. On the 30th the Austro-Bavarian army, amounting to about 60,000 men, was found posted at Hannau, on the line which the French had followed from Erfurth, no doubt in the hope of arresting their progress, and thus affording time to Blucher to attack them in the rear, whilst the grand army of Bohemia turned their left flank, and that under the orders of the Prince Royal of Sweden (Bernadotte) extended itself beyond their right. Placed under the necessity of breaking through this mass of fresh troops, the French fell upon them with incredible fury, and

cleared a way by crushing all that opposed them. General Curial at the head of two battalions of the old guard, General Nansouty with the cavalry of the old guard, and General Drouot with fifty pieces of artillery, carried all before them, and not only saved the remains of a brave army, but illustrated its retreat by a brilliant victory. Wrede, who imagined that he had learned the art of war by serving under the French colors, was wounded; whilst the loss of 12,000 men in killed, wounded and prisoners, punished the temerity of the general and the ingratitude of his country. Napoleon repassed the Rhine on the 1st of November with the remains of the guard and six corps de'armée, the numerical force of which had been reduced nearly two-thirds; and on the 9th he arrived at the palace of Saint-Cloud.

The second overthrow of the French was necessarily productive of more decisive results than the first; Leipsic completed what the disastrous fate of the Russian expedition had only commenced. Germany regained its independence, by which we mean that it disengaged itself from all connection with France. The confederation of the Rhine was dissolved. Hanover resumed its allegiance to England. Ferdinand VII. was released from Valençay, and acknowledged as King of Spain. Holland, evacuated by the French troops, recalled the stadtholder. Denmark concluded an armistice with Russia, by which Napoleon lost his only ally in the north; and Davoust was isolated in Hamburg, without the possibility of disengaging himself. Naples and Sweden alone remained under men of the Revolution, who both retained their legal stations by betraying at once the chief whom they served, and the country which gave them birth. The exterior frame-work of Napoleon's power had been shattered to pieces by the rude shocks of adverse fortune; and all the changes produced on the Continent, whether directly by the Revolution, or through the instrumentality of the extraordinary person who had been constituted its representative, were ob-

literated. Nor were his enemies confined to the provinces beyond the Rhine. The royalists stirred in the provinces, the republicans in the capital; and, feeling the compression of despotism removed, the constitutionalists of the first National Assembly began to raise their heads, and to build hopes of re-establishing a representative government. In the legislative body itself, purified as it had been of all those who had been conceived to be friendly to free institutions, there were men who still retained their attachment to the principles which they had originally professed; and five of its members, intrusted with drawing up an address, to be presented on the 1st of January, 1814, ventured to allude to the liberty of the subject, the necessity of reforming abuses, and the urgent expediency of accepting peace, and being contented with the frontiers of the Rhine and the Alps. This manifestation of independent opinion excited the astonishment and indignation of Napoleon, who, after replying in a style worthy of a disciple of Cagliostro, adjourned the meeting of the legislative body, and shut up its hall.

The situation of Napoleon had now become worse than critical. All Europe in arms was arrayed against France, whose active means of defence had been nearly annihilated in two campaigns terminating in unparalleled disasters. When Napoleon recrossed the Rhine on the 1st of November, 1813, he had not more than 35,000 men in a condition to face the enemy; and even towards the close of the year, when 300,000 conscripts had been placed at the disposal of the government, his total numerical force did not exceed 360,000 men, whilst 1,100,000 enemies were advancing from various points to pour their invading torrents upon France. On the 11th of November, Dresden capitulated on honorable terms, which, however, Schwartzemberg refused to ratify, and the French troops were marched as prisoners into Austria; on the 1st of January, 1814, Dantzick surrendered in virtue of a convention, which the Russians in like manner re-

fused to execute; and the other fortresses occupied by the French in Germany speedily shared the same fate. It has been said that the allies offered Napoleon France, imperial France, with the Rhine for its boundary, and that this fair, this generous offer, was madly refused by him. But this charge is without foundation. On the 2d of December, 1813, the Duke of Vicenza, in a note addressed to the minister of Austria, declared that the Emperor Napoleon adhered to the general and summary bases proposed in the name of the allied powers at Frankfurt, and also agreed that negotiations should immediately ensue in a congress to be assembled at Mannheim. The bases proposed were, France confined within her natural limits between the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; Spain replaced under its ancient dynasty; and Italy, Germany and Holland, re-established as states independent of France, and of every preponderating power. To these preliminaries Napoleon now declared his unqualified adherence. The allied powers, however, were bent upon conquest, not conciliation; their armies were preparing to pass the Rhine for the purpose of invading France; and their insincerity was proved by the evasions which they practiced when the bases proposed by themselves had been unreservedly acceded to. Meanwhile the tide of war continued to roll on towards France. On the 21st of December, six divisions of the enemy, under Schwartzberg, amounting to more than 100,000 men, crossed the Rhine between Basle and Schaffhausen, and ten days thereafter occupied Geneva. On the 31st, the army of Silesia under Blucher crossed the Rhine between Mannheim and Coblenz; Bulow, advancing from Holland, passed still more to the north; and, Wellington, descending from the Pyrenees, was preparing to invade the south of France. On the 25th of January, 1814, Napoleon left Paris to join the army, and give new proofs of transcendent military genius in maintaining to the last a hopeless contest.

Schwartzberg, having advanced through

Upper Burgundy, had come upon the Seine, the course of which he intended to pursue towards Paris. Blucher, having passed the Vosges Mountains, had established himself on the Marne, at Saint-Dizier and at Joinville. Between these two rivers was the principal mass of the enemy, amounting at least to 150,000 men. Napoleon could not muster half that number, and the greater part of his army consisted of raw levies who had never been in fire. Advancing from Châlons-sur-Marne, and throwing himself between Schwartzberg and Blucher, he directed his first blow at the latter. The Prussian commander now (29th of January) occupied Brienne, with the Russian corps of Sacken and Alsniew, belonging to the army of Silesia, and was at dinner in the castle when the French, under Ney, drove in his outposts. The château, the town, and its approaches, now became the scene of fierce combats, in all of which the French were victorious. The castle was taken; and Blucher, who had barely time to effect his escape, was compelled to fall back, take up a position, and wait for reinforcements. The audacity of Napoleon increased in proportion to the immobility of his enemies, who, in fact, durst not execute any movement in his presence except in overwhelming masses. But as the battle of Brienne had failed in its object of preventing the junction of Blucher and Schwartzberg, he should have returned in all haste to the town of Troyes, where Marshal Mortier would have given him a considerable augmentation of force, instead of waiting to measure himself a second time with an enemy so greatly superior. On the 1st of February, Blucher, reinforced by the corps under Giulay, Wrede, the Prince of Wurtemberg and the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, which carried the force under his command to about 110,000 combatants, became the assailant in his turn, and attacked the French at La Rothière, a village situated in the plain bounded by the Aube and its tributary the Voire, and distant about two leagues and a-half north of Brienne. Na-

napoleon, though he had scarcely 40,000 men present under arms, did not hesitate to accept battle. The engagement commenced at one o'clock in the afternoon, and did not terminate until midnight. Attacked along their whole line, the French stood their ground with great firmness, and towards evening the Russians in the centre began to waver; but a vigorous charge executed by Blücher secured him the advantage. In the battle of La Rothière the French lost about 6,000 men, of whom 2,500 were prisoners, and more than fifty pieces of cannon. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded was nearly as great, but it little affected their mass. In the night the French retreated to Troyes, without being pursued in any direction; a proof of the incapacity or timidity of the Prussian commander.

Elated with his advantage, and eager to push on to Paris, Blücher, being joined by two fresh divisions, now separated himself from Schwartzberg and the Austrians, tardy in their operations, both from character and from policy, and persisted in advancing along the Marne. Meanwhile a congress was opened at Châtillon between the four great allied powers and France. It was composed of Count Stadion, Baron Humboldt and Count Rasumowski, plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia and Russia; England was represented by Lords Aberdeen, Cathcart and Castlereagh; and Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, appeared as the envoy of France. The result of the battle of La Rothière had decided Napoleon to treat conformably to the bases proposed at Frankfurt; and the congress accordingly met on the 4th of February. But whilst occupied with the congress of Châtillon, Napoleon had his eye upon Blücher, whose rash advance along the Marne now inspired him with the idea of surprising and defeating the Prussians. Full of this idea, and finding that the allies rose daily in their demands, and refused to leave even Belgium to France, Napoleon recalled the *carte-blanc*, which a few days previously he had given to Caulaincourt, and, on

the 9th of February, refused to ratify the conditions transmitted to him by his minister from Châtillon. An opportunity of striking a blow had now presented itself, and he resolved once more to commit all to the fortune of a battle.

Having abandoned Troyes, Napoleon transferred his army, by cross roads and forced marches, from the Seine to the Marne, along which Blücher was confidently advancing towards Paris, under the impression that the battle of La Rothière was the last serious effort of the French. Of this notion he was speedily and severely disabused. On the 10th of February Napoleon threw himself on the Russian corps of Alsfleth, which formed the left flank of the Prussian army, and occupied a position near Sezanne in order to connect the two allied armies. The attack was made with such rapidity and impetuosity, that, of six thousand Russians, scarcely fifteen hundred escaped. Alsfleth, two other generals, forty-five officers, eighteen hundred soldiers, and twenty-one pieces of cannon, were the trophies of the day of Champaubert. On the 11th, at Montmerais, Napoleon came up with the corps under General Sacken, at the moment when he was endeavoring to operate his junction with the Prussian general York, and defeated both with the loss of three thousand men killed and wounded, a number of prisoners, twenty-one pieces of cannon, and nearly all their baggage. In two days, three of Blücher's lieutenants had been defeated, and the wrecks of their corps driven beyond the Marne. On the 14th the emperor, after gaining some advantages at Château-Thierry, on the 12th and 13th attacked Blücher himself at Vaucamp, a league and a half west of Montmirail, and defeated him with the loss of seven thousand killed and wounded, three thousand prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon. Leaving Blücher thus humiliated to await the arrival of the Russians under Winzingerode, who were advancing from Belgium to support him, Napoleon now turned toward the Seine, where the grand army of the allies was manœuvring

separately, with its advanced posts beyond Moret and Provins, whilst parties extended to the south of Fontainebleau, and spread alarm even to the gates of Orleans. Supported by Marshals Victor, Oudinot, and Macdonald, commanding the remains of the corps, conducting himself the old and young guard, and reinforced by troops which had arrived from Spain, Napoleon advanced on the 15th against the flank of the enemy disseminated upon the right bank of the Seine. The French army presented a mass of about fifty thousand men. On the 17th several strong Austro-Russian divisions, in full march on Paris, were completely defeated near Nangis, by the emperor, who on the 15th had left Montmirail with his guard and the corps of Marshal Ney, and marched twenty-eight leagues in two days. In this action the enemy lost five thousand men, as many prisoners, and a dozen cannon. But its result would have been more considerable if Victor had acted with greater decision. The combat of Montereau on the 18th was merely a continuation of that of the preceding day. The Prince of Wurtemberg being impetuously attacked, lost seven thousand men. Generals Gérard and Pajol had the greatest share in the success of the day. It was during this affair that Napoleon said gaily to his soldiers, who murmured at seeing him expose himself, "Ne craignez rien, mes amis; le boulet qui me tuera n'est pas encore fondu."

These successes revived the confidence of Napoleon in his genius and fortune, and blinded him to the dangers by which he was menaced. After crushing Alsufew at Champubert, he wrote to his plenipotentiaries at Châtillon to assume a prouder attitude. The victory of Montmirail confirmed him in the belief that every thing might yet be repaired; and this conviction was strengthened by the subsequent successes at Nangis and Montereau. To an Austrian officer, who came to propose an armistice, and urge his acceptance of the conditions of Châtillon, he returned for answer that he would accede to those of Frankfort, but would on no account

consent to yield up Belgium. "Recollect," said he, "that I am nearer to Munich than my enemies are to Paris." The conditions now offered were no doubt severe and humiliating. Departing from the bases founded on the natural limits of France, which they had themselves proposed at Frankfort, the allies now proposed that the emperor of the French should renounce all the acquisitions made by France since the beginning of 1792, and all constitutional influence beyond her ancient limits; that he should recognise in the allied powers the right of determining, conformably to the treaties they had entered into among themselves, the limits and relations of the countries ceded by France, as well as of their own states, without interfering therein in any manner or way; that all the colonies of France should be restored to her, excepting Tobago, and the isles of Bourbon and France; that all the fortresses of the ceded countries, and all those still occupied by French troops in Holland, Belgium, Germany, and Italy, should be given up without exception, and with the least possible delay; and that, under the denomination of dépôts, the strong places of Besançon, Belfort, and Huningen, should be occupied by the allied armies until the ratification of a definitive peace. Such were the humiliating conditions agreed to at Châtillon, and which Austria now strenuously urged Napoleon to accept. "The peace," observed some one, "will be good enough, if it is time enough." "It will come too soon," replied Napoleon, "if it bring disgrace."

On the 24th February, the French, after several affairs with the rear-guard of the allied army, now in retreat, re-occupied Troyes. Some manifestations of royalism were exhibited at this place, and one unfortunate individual lost his life. At Troyes a flag of truce arrived from the Austrian headquarters proposing an armistice, which, however, Napoleon refused except on the condition of its extending to the whole line. The urgent remonstrances of the King of Prussia having roused Schwartzemberg from the state of

inaction in which he had for some time remained, an attempt was resolved upon, and, on the 27th, forty thousand Austro-Russians advanced against fifteen thousand French under the orders of Oudinot and Gérard. Oudinot allowed himself to be surprised, and was only saved by the admirable dispositions of Gérard, and by a rapid and vigorous charge of cavalry executed by Kellerman. The assailants gained nothing but the field of battle. On the 2d of March, Soissons was occupied by Bulow, the commandant of the city having opened the gates without making an attempt to defend it, although he had a sufficient garrison under his orders, and the sound of the cannon already announced the approach of the French. On the 4th Marshal Macdonald assumed the command of all the troops in presence of the grand allied army, amounting to about thirty thousand; and having evacuated Troyes and abandoned the basin of the Yonne, he retired to establish his line of defence from Nogent to Monttereau. On the 7th Napoleon attacked Blücher at Craonne, about three leagues south-east of Laon. The French had only thirty thousand men, the Prussians upwards of a hundred thousand; but the force of the attack was principally directed against twenty-two thousand Russians under Generals Woronsow and Sacken. The action was long and obstinate; during the day the Russians maintained their ground against the furious and reiterated onsets of the French, and retreated in the night towards Laon, where they formed a junction with the Prussians. In the critical situation of Napoleon this victory was equivalent to a defeat. Laon, a place which served as an entrepôt to the allied army, was next attacked, but without success. In the night of the 9th, Marmont, advancing to support Napoleon in the approaching attack, suffered himself to be surprised by Blücher, and lost two thousand five hundred prisoners, with forty pieces of cannon. The consequences of this check were fatal to Napoleon. On the following day he persisted in his design of en-

deavoring to carry Laon by main force, but all his efforts failed, chiefly from the want of artillery.

At Laon had vanished Napoleon's last hope of retrieving his fortunes in the field. He therefore dispatched orders to Caulaincourt to treat with the allies upon any terms, but the time fixed for receiving his answer to the conditions proposed had elapsed, and taking advantage of the change of circumstances, the allied plenipotentiaries refused to enlarge it. Caulaincourt now gave in a counter project, by which the emperor consented to restrict his domination within the boundaries of ancient France, with Savoy, Nice, and the island of Elba, on condition that the crown of the kingdom of Italy, with the frontier of the Adige on the side of Austria, should be given to Eugene Beauharnais; but this the allied plenipotentiaries rejected, and the congress broke up. Disasters now thickened around Napoleon. Encouraged by the presence of the English army under Wellington, Bordeaux declared in favor of the Bourbons; and intriguing statesmen of the revolution, at the head of whom was Talleyrand, were preparing a similar re-action in the capital, in the hope of establishing a constitutional government under the auspices of a restoration. Hitherto the allies had carefully abstained from openly espousing the cause of the exiled princes; but the manifestations of royalism in the provinces, and intimation of the intrigues carried on in the capital, emboldened them not only to advance upon Paris, but to declare in favor of a restoration.

Meanwhile Napoleon, having left Mortier and Marmont with nearly twenty thousand men, and given orders to the commandants of places on the Moselle, the Meurthe, and the Meuse, to push strong parties in the rear of the enemy, marched on the 17th from Reims, at the head of about eighteen thousand men, with the intention of effecting a junction with Macdonald, who was advancing with thirty thousand; and, on the 20th, he moved on the Aube against Schwartzon

berg, who had under his command a hundred thousand effective combatants. During this day and the following one, Napoleon displayed the talents of a great captain with the *sang-froid* of a brave soldier, manœuvring with transcendent skill, and fighting with the most determined bravery. With the loss of about four thousand men the proposed junction was effected, and Napoleon retired on Saint-Dizier and Joinville without being pursued. In thus operating on the right bank of the Upper Marne, the emperor no doubt hoped to draw the enemy out of their positions on the Aube, and cause them to renounce their direction on Paris, as well as to rally some reinforcements which had been sent to Metz. It has been commonly supposed that his intention was, at the risk of uncovering Paris, to manœuvre in their rear, and intercept their communications with the Rhine; but his troops were too feeble, particularly in cavalry, to enable him to flatter himself with attaining such a result. Napoleon made every possible effort to retard their advance, and, on the 26th, defeated with great loss ten thousand Russian cavalry belonging to the army of Winzingerode, who had been sent in pursuit of him.

On the 27th he marched to succor the capital, and reached Montiérender, five leagues south of Saint-Dizier. On the 29th Mortier and Marmont occupied Saint-Mandé, Vincennes, and Charonne, and established themselves before the barriers of Paris adjoining to these villages. On the 30th the allied troops commenced the attack of the several heights, occupied by about twenty-five thousand soldiers of all arms. The French assumed the offensive on the principal points, and the villages of Pantin and Romainville were taken and retaken several times. The battle commenced at sunrise, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon the Austrians and Russians were still in complete check. But at that moment the Prussians appeared, entered into line, and proceeded to arrange their attacks. Seized with terror, Joseph Bonaparte, who acted as generalissimo, now

only thought of providing for his own personal safety; and having intimated to Mortier and Marmont that he authorized them to capitulate, he fled with all the precipitation of a Thersites. A capitulation was accordingly concluded, and on the last day of March the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia entered the French capital at the head of their troops. When Napoleon, who had reached Fontainebleau on the 30th, encountered, in the evening of that day, while advancing towards the capital, some of the troops of Marmont retiring by virtue of the capitulation, he refused to give credit to the tidings; and it was only by persuasion, amounting to force, that he was induced to return to Fontainebleau. No wonder his astonishment was great. If the minister Clarke had delivered twenty thousand new muskets to the national guard, to those robust workmen who loudly demanded arms, the heights would not in all probability have been carried on the 30th; and the sudden apparition of Napoleon in the centre of such immense resources as Paris presented, might have suddenly changed the fortune of the war, and led to a very different result; whilst a check sustained by the allies before Paris would have inevitably led to their destruction, by rousing all France to crush the invaders. But treason deprived Napoleon of the last great resource on which he had all along calculated, and completed the subjugation of France. A provisional government was appointed, with Talleyrand at its head; and a proclamation was issued by the allied sovereigns, refusing to treat with Napoleon as sovereign of France. In these circumstances, finding himself deserted by his marshals, officers and dependents from Berthier, Prince Neufchatel, down to the Mamluke Rustan, this wonderful man, who had never appeared greater than during the late struggle, signed an unconditional abdication, on the 11th of April, 1814.

A provisional government was formed, and M. Lambrecht drew up an article in which it was said that the French people

freely called to the throne Louis Stanislas Xavier, the brother of the late king, but the Abbé Montesquieu maintained that the king had never lost his rights, and that he succeeded as uncle of Louis XVII. "Do you take no account," asked M. de Tracy, "of what passed since 1789?" "Facts," rejoined the Abbé, "are impotent against right." An inconvenient discussion might have arisen between the senate and the Abbé, if M. de Nesselrode had not appeared announcing the arrival of the plenipotentiaries charged to treat in the name of the regency. A compromise was the consequence, when it was agreed that Louis should be called by the French people to the throne as Louis Stanislas Xavier of France, brother of the late king. But though this was voted by sixty-six senators in the name of the French people, we know from the notes and despatches of the Abbé Montesquieu, found in the Tuileries after the 20th March, 1815, that this agent and adviser of the monarch counselled his sovereign to publish an edict in which he would style himself King of France and Navarre, and announce the privileges he would accord of his own mere motion to the French nation.

On the 11th April, the provisional government addressed the army, stating that the new constitution would assure to them their honors, their grades and their pensions. Summoned to Paris by Talleyrand and the Abbé de Montesquieu, the Count d'Artois reached Livry on the 11th April, preparatory to his entry into the capital on the following day. He had assumed the title of Lieutenant-General, but the senate and Talleyrand declined to recognize this title, more especially as the prince refused to acknowledge the constitution agreed on. But the difficulty was got over by Talleyrand, who welcomed the Prince, not as Lieutenant-General, but as Monsieur. The count made his public entry accordingly, and was met by the marshals, Ney at their head, in full uniform. On the following day the provisional government substituted the white flag for the tri-color,

and the senate conferred the provisional government of the kingdom on the Count d'Artois. In his address to the senate the provisional governor declared that he was not authorized by his brother to accept the constitution, but that he knew the king's opinions sufficiently well to declare that its fundamental principles would be acknowledged by him. Meanwhile Louis had set out to occupy the throne of his ancestors. He was received enthusiastically in London by the Prince Regent, and accompanied to Dover by His Royal Highness. His Most Christian Majesty was conveyed to France by a squadron commanded by H.R.H., the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV. Louis XVIII., in company with the Duchess d'Angoulême, entered Paris on the 3d May, amidst a concourse of cosmopolitan spectators composed of all the nations of the earth. He was well but not enthusiastically received. While the sovereign of France was making preparations to leave Hartwell, the ex-empress Maria Louisa was at Blois. Her courtiers and the brothers of the ex-emperor deserted her, so that it was not difficult for her father to induce her to proceed with her son to Vienna. Nine days after his abdication, namely, on the 20th April, the very day of Louis XVIII.'s triumphant entry into London, the ex-emperor, her husband, proceeded to take his departure for Elba. With much emotion he bade farewell to his old guard, saying, "Adieu, my children. I would press you all to my heart if possible, but I will at least press your eagles." On the 23d April the convention signed at Paris between the Count d'Artois and the allied powers was agreed to, and on the 27th the treaty of Paris, by which the Emperors of Austria and of Russia, and the King of Prussia acknowledged the sovereignty of the isle of Elba in the person of Bonaparte. On the 2d of May, Louis issued the declaration of St. Ouen. By this instrument representative government was to be maintained by a senate and a chamber of deputies—taxes were to be freely consented to, public and individual

liberty to be secured, property to be inviolable and sacred, and the sale of national property to be irrevocable. Ministers were, moreover, to be responsible and impeachable; judges to be irremovable and independent; the public debt to be secured; Frenchmen to be admissible to all employments; the legion of honor to be maintained; and no individual to be molested for his votes or opinions. This declaration gave general satisfaction, and the day after it was issued the monarch entered Paris. The Duchess d'Angoulême was by the king's side, dressed in the English fashion, and on the opposite seat of the royal coach sat the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Bourbon, dressed in a full court suit of 1789. This clinging to obsolete custom in dress, abolished for a quarter of a century, was unfortunate, to say the least. On the 13th of May the king named his first ministry. D'Ambray was chancellor and minister of justice; Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs; The Abbé Montesquieu, of the interior; General Dupont, of war; Baron Malouet, of marine; Blacas, of the household; whilst the ministry of the police was confided to Beugnot. Two of these men were undoubtedly eminently capable, M. Talleyrand and Baron Louis. M. d'Ambray, too, had been distinguished in the olden time in the parliament of Paris, and M. Montesquieu was not without a certain species of ability; but none of them, except the two first named, were generally known except Dupont, unpopular with the army, and disgraced by Napoleon for his surrender of Baylen. The ministry of police, at a time of most unexampled difficulty, was placed in inexperienced, if not in incapable hands, and the ministry of the king's household was handed over to a favorite, Blacas, who sought to render the monarch inaccessible. On the day the ministry was appointed, the Count d'Artois was created Colonel-General of all the national guards of the kingdom; and immediately afterwards an ordonnance of the king authorized the conscripts of 1815 to return to their families.

A few days after the publication of this ordonnance, the articles of the treaty of Paris between France and the allied powers became known. The limits of France, as they existed on the 1st January, 1792, were restored to her, with the addition of some cantons in the departments of the Ardennes, the Moselle, the Ain, and the Lower Rhine. A part of Savoy, as well as of Avignon and the *Cantal de Venaissin*, was annexed to the French territory.

The legislative chambers were soon constituted. The Chamber of Peers consisted of 152 members named for life, among whom there were eighty-six senators, several marshals and generals, three prelates, the dukes and peers acknowledged under Louis XVI., and some nobles of the *ancien regime* who enjoyed the favor of the restored princes.

After the treaty of May 30th, the allied sovereigns withdrew their troops from Paris. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia proceeded to England, and the Emperor of Austria to his own capital.

The Chamber of Peers was summoned for the 14th June to hear the new charter read. Fifty-four of the senators were omitted to be summoned, some of them, as Fouché, Gregoire, Cambacérès, Chaptal, and Garat, because they had been regicides. The full complement of peers was eked out by a selection from the ancient nobility. A popular measure to the great body of the nation was the making ten of the marshals peers; among these were Ney, Berthier, Suchet, Massena, Oudinot, Mortier and Soult. The peers and deputies assembled on the 4th June in the Palais Bourbon, to which the king, attended by all the princes of his family, proceeded.

In his address, his Majesty observed that the glory of the French army had received no stain, and that the peace concluded was general. In conclusion, his Majesty stated that, penetrated with the sentiments that dictated the immortal testament of Louis XVI., he had caused to be drawn out the constitutional charter which they were about

to hear read. The speech of the king was received with considerable applause; but when the chancellor referred to his Majesty as in full possession of his hereditary rights, and when it was perceived that the charter was dated in the nineteenth year of our reign, the general feeling of satisfaction became greatly abated.

Nothing more provoked the ire of republican or imperial Frenchmen during a quarter of a century than ceremonies in which priests and clergy paraded. The pomp of a daily military mass at the Tuileries, during the course of 1814, and the celebration of a funeral service in memory of Louis XVI., gave some color to the cry that the pristine power of the clergy was to be restored.

The law relative to the liberty of the press, brought forward on the 21st October, increased the general excitement. Every writing of more than twenty sheets might be published freely, whilst MSS. of twenty sheets and under were to be subject to a previous censorship. Newspapers and periodical writings could only appear with the permission of the king, and none could be a printer or publisher unless a person who had taken the oaths and received a royal license.

When ultramontanism first began to show itself in 1814, when acts of expiation were called for, and the public ways and cross roads became encumbered with *calvaires* and *prie Dieus*, the people seemed more amazed than indignant. At the funeral of Made-moiselle Rancourt, the actress, in January, 1815, they exhibited more vehement feelings. When the body of this lady was brought to the church of St. Roch, the priests refused to receive it or to recite prayers over the body of an actress. While the friends and funeral cortege were expostulating a crowd collected. The mob becoming violent soon broke down the grating, entered the body of the church, and required the priest to perform the funeral ceremony. The king, who had heard of the tumult, sent a priest of his household to read the prayers, and the dis-

content was then quelled. Circumstances of this kind, when taken in conjunction with the ordonnance of M. Beugnot, prefect of police, forbidding the passing of carriages from eight to three during the procession of the *Saint Sacrement*, were sure to excite an ill feeling. A procession which soon afterwards took place in honor of the Virgin, excited the contemptuous sneers of the population, and more especially of the army. The officers of the line were still further alienated by finding the ancient system of education for military orphans overturned. Proofs of nobility were now, as before 1789, demanded for admission into the school St. Denis. This proceeding had excited so much discontent in military circles, that Dupont had been removed from the war-office at the end of 1814, to give place to the more vigorous Soult. Soult had rendered himself zealous as commandant of the thirteenth military division at Rennes, and had also signalized himself by subscribing to the monument proposed to be raised on the beach of Quiberon.

After having passed a law relative to the debts contracted in foreign countries by the king and the princes of the royal family, and agreed to provide for the debts of the monarch as state obligations, to the amount of thirty millions, the legislative chambers adjourned on the 30th December, 1814, to the 1st May, 1815.

The exhumation of what were supposed to be remains of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, on the 18th and 19th January, still further disquieted the Parisians. Only calcined fragments of bones had been extracted from the lime in which they were enveloped, so that it was doubtful whether what was dug out were really the remains of the distinguished victims. None of the ordinary municipal or judicial functionaries had been present at the exhumation, and the signature of De Blacas appended to the official documents induced men to look on the whole proceedings with suspicion and dislike, as it was well known that M. De Blacas wished

to return to all the habitudes and traditions of the old monarchy.

Napoleon had been carefully informed at Elba of the silly and unpopular conduct of the Bourbons and their partisans. A constant communication was kept up between him and certain members of his family and friends, among whom Hortense, the mother of the present Emperor of the French, was conspicuous, as well as the Dukes of Bassano and Rovigo, and Count Lavalette. In the month of February, Maret, Duke of Bassano, had despatched a trusty emissary to Elba in the person of M. Fleury de Chaboulon; and in consequence of information conveyed by this gentleman, Napoleon resolved to set out for France, more especially as it was the opinion of his old secretary, Marat, that he should attempt to do so. On the evening of the 26th February he embarked with 900 men in a few small vessels, and landed in the Gulf of Juan, which lies between Cannes and Antibes, on the afternoon of the 1st March. In a MS. address, distributed to the soldiers on his landing, and which was printed at Digne, he stated he heard their voice in his exile, and hastened to it through every peril. He called on the men whose votes had raised him to the throne, and who had borne him aloft on their shields, to come and join his standard, to tear down the white cockade and mount the tricolor, to resume the eagles of Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, La Moskowa and Montmirail. Then, said he, victory will march *au pas de charge*, and the eagle will fly from steeple to steeple to the towers of Notre Dame. In conclusion, he called on all Frenchmen to wash out from Paris the stain incurred by treason and the presence of the enemy. This address did wonders. Napoleon traversed Grasse and Digne without molestation, and was enabled to pass the Durance under the fortress of Sisteron. It was not till he had been a week in France, and had made a march of seventy-two leagues or 150 miles in a mountainous and difficult country, that he found himself opposed by the troops of the king's govern-

ment. It was at Vizille, a few leagues from Grenoble, that an officer sent out by the emperor met a hostile demonstration. The emperor, informed of the fact, dismounted, and taking off his hat, said in a calm, distinct voice, "Soldiers of the 5th, if there be one amongst you who desires to kill his old general, his emperor, he may do so. Behold me, I am here." Loud shouts of *Vive l'Empereur* were the answer to this artful appeal.

On the 8th the emperor entered Grenoble amidst cries of *A bas les Bourbons!* His march to Burgoin was a triumph. It was from Lyons, on the 5th of March, that the first news of Napoleon's disembarkation was sent by the telegraph to Paris. On the 6th an *ordonnance* of the king convoked immediately the Chambers, and another *ordonnance* declared Bonaparte a traitor and a rebel. Napoleon entered Lyons on the 10th at the head of 8000 troops, and with thirty pieces of cannon. The majority of the people received him with enthusiasm in a city from which the Count d'Artois and the Duke of Orleans, sent to combat the "traitor" from Paris, had been obliged to make a precipitate retreat a few hours previously. Napoleon remained during the 11th and 12th at Lyons, and there resumed the exercise of sovereign power. Master of the second city of the empire, and of eight or ten regiments, saluted everywhere on his passage as emperor, the reign of the Bourbons appeared to Napoleon finished, and his own about to recommence. He signalized his resumption of power by the issuing of nine decrees, among which was one for the resumption of the tricolor, one for the re-establishment of the Imperial Guard, one for the abolition of the Swiss regiments and *mousquetaires*, one for the sequestration of the property of the Bourbons, and one for the abolition of the noblesse and feudal titles. This looked like an appeal to the extreme party, which Napoleon always detested. Through Burgundy, though not received with enthusiasm by the people, the passage of the emperor was a triumph—an ovation, at least with the army.

At Auxerre he was joined by Ney, whom he embraced, calling him *le brave des braves*. Marshal Soult had been enthusiastic in his professions to the king well as as his brother marshal. In an order of the day, as Minister of War, just before he had been removed to make way for the Duke of Feltre, he called Napoleon an adventurer, yet within a very short time afterwards he was again in the service of this adventurer as his trusted lieutenant.

On the 12th of March the king called on the troops to defend liberty, and promised that the officers of the army should be taken from the ranks, and on the 15th it was intimated that the half-pay officers were to be raised to whole pay, and that the arrears of the Legion of Honor were to be liquidated. On the 16th the king and his brother Monsieur, with other princes of the family, sought to excite popular enthusiasm by swearing to the charter before the united legislative chambers; but all these attempts having failed, and the prestige and success of Bonaparte having increased daily the king left the Tuileries after midnight on the 19th, or rather in the early morning of the 20th of March. The intention of the monarch was kept secret till the moment of his departure. Napoleon, at nine o'clock of the evening of the 20th, was borne into the Tuileries on the shoulders of an immense and enthusiastic population. He had left Fontainebleau in the day after receiving a courier from Lavalette (who had taken possession of the post-office), but he could only advance slowly to the capital in consequence of the immense crowd of villagers and peasantry who flocked from the surrounding country for several leagues round to greet him with their acclamations. His carriage was preceded by a numerous group of generals, and about a hundred cavaliers of all branches of the service; and when the vehicle at length reached the court-yard of the palace, each man of the immense mass disputed the honor of giving an arm to the emperor. In this wise it was that he was borne up the stairs without touching the ground.

Meanwhile the courageous and determined efforts of the Duchess of Angoulême to rouse the loyalty of the troops at Bordeaux were unsuccessful. General Clausel had arrived on the banks of the Garonne with a handful of soldiers, bearing the tricolored flag. The troops sent against Clausel joined him, and when the duchess called on General Decaen to march against Clausel, the commander of the town intimated he could not rely on the garrison. After the entry of Napoleon into Paris, the Duke of Angoulême hastened to take the command of the troops in the department of the Gard. He exhibited some capacity—more, indeed, than was expected of him—and proved himself not deficient in courage, defeating General Debelle and the National Guards; but Grouchy advanced against him in great force, and having fallen back on St. Esprit, he was obliged to surrender.

Before the additional act to the constitution of the empire was presented to the acceptance of the nation, the Duke of Bourbon, having failed to excite an insurrection in *La Vendée*, embarked on the 1st of April at Paimbœuf on board an English vessel; on the following day the Duchess of Angoulême, embarked at Bordeaux; and the Duke of Angoulême, who had given himself up a prisoner, was allowed to embark at Cette. On the 22d, the supplementary or additional act was presented to the acceptance of the nation. Napoleon ordered that the new constitution should be submitted to universal suffrage, and the result made known in the Assembly of the *Champ de Mai*, which took place on the 1st of June. At this assembly there were present the Archbishop of Tours (Barral), assisted by Cardinal Bayane, Marshals Soult, Jourdan and Oudinot, and Cambacérès the chancellor, who proclaimed that the constitution was accepted by 1,300,000 voters, and rejected by only 4,206. The emperor appeared on this occasion in great pomp. He said that as emperor, consul and soldier, he owed everything to the people, and after calling on them to support him,

he took the oath to the new constitution. The dignitaries present followed his example. The eagles were then delivered to the regiments amidst vociferous cheering. On the day after this ceremony Bonaparte named one hundred and eighteen peers, among whom were Carnot, Fouché, Quinette, Roger Ducos, Sieyès, Boissy D'Anglas, etc.

The opening of the legislative assemblies by the emperor in person took place on the 7th of June. The Congress of Vienna had meanwhile declared Napoleon the enemy and disturber of the world, and placed him under the ban of Europe, which might be said almost to be in battalion against him. On the 25th of March a treaty was concluded, by which the four powers bound themselves to furnish 180,000 men each, making a total of 600,000 men. Napoleon exhibited his usual activity and vigor; but the man who used to devote twelve millions sterling annually to the providing of materials of war, exclusive of his war budget, had now scarcely two millions to refit his army. The contractor, Ouvrard, advanced the emperor two millions; but these, even with the bills of the receiver-general, were but feeble resources; yet at the commencement of June Bonaparte had nearly 300,000 soldiers, exclusive of 200 battalions of National Guards. Three battalions were added to each regiment of infantry, and two squadrons to those of cavalry. Arms and all munitions of war were manufactured with the greatest rapidity, and the prodigious efforts of the Committee of Public Safety in 1797, were rivalled, if not surpassed. The administration of the artillery took effective measures to double the supplies formerly produced. From the commencement of June 3000 muskets per day were manufactured, and 4000 were to be delivered from the 1st of July. On the 15th of June Napoleon entered Belgium, his army advancing in three columns from Maubeuge, Beaumont, Philippeville, to débouche by Marchiennes, Charleroi and Châtelet. It is not our purpose, however, to go over at any length the history of events com-

prised between the 15th and 18th of June commencing with an affair of outposts, and ending with the battle of Waterloo.

Ney was ordered to seize the position of Quatre Bras, which he omitted to do. Napoleon on the 16th found that Blücher had concentrated three divisions of the Prussian army at Ligny, numbering between 80,000 and 90,000 men before him. These the emperor attacked, driving back Blücher with great loss. Ney he sent against a portion of the English army at Quatre Bras. The result of this engagement was indecisive.

After the engagement at Quatre Bras, and in consequence of the battle of Ligny, Wellington had retired to the forest of Soignies, and on June 17th occupied an advantageous position on the heights, extending from the little town of Braine Lalleud to Ohain. Blücher having promised to support him with all his army, he here resolved to risk a battle. The British army was divided into two lines. The right of the first line consisted of the second and fourth English divisions; the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first corps of Belgians, under Lord Hill. The centre was composed of the corps of the Prince of Orange, with the Brunswickers and troops of Nassau, having the guards, under General Cooke, and the division of General Alsen, on the left. The left wing consisted of the divisions of Generals Picton, Lambert and Kempt. The second line was, in most instances, formed of the troops deemed least worthy of confidence, or which had suffered too severely in the action of the 17th, to be again exposed until necessary. It was placed behind the declivity of the heights to the rear, in order to be sheltered from the cannonade, but sustained much loss from shells during the action. The cavalry were stationed in the rear, and distributed all along the line, but chiefly posted on the left of the centre to the east of the Charleroi causeway. The farm-house of La Haie Sainte, in the front of the centre, was garrisoned; but there was not time to prepare it effectually for defence. The villa-

gardens and farm-yard of Hougomont formed a strong advanced post towards the centre of the right. The whole British position formed a sort of curve, the centre of which was nearest to the enemy, and the extremes, particularly the right, drawn considerably backwards. Napoleon had bivouacked a cannon-shot from the British camp, on the eminence of La Belle Alliance. His army consisted of three corps of infantry, two of cavalry, and all the guards. It might contain about 90,000 soldiers. On the other hand, the combined English and Dutch forces (Prince Frederiek of the Netherlands having remained at Hall with 19,000 men) amounted to about 60,000 men. According to Gour-gand's account, Napoleon's design was to break the centre of the English and to cut off their retreat, but in all events to separate them from the Prussians. The battle began about noon, Sunday, June 18th, by an attack of the second French battalion on the advanced post of Hougomont. The wood, defended by the troops of Nassau, was taken by the French, but the house, garden and farm-buildings were held by the English guards. About two o'clock four columns of French infantry advanced from La Belle Alliance against the British centre. The cavalry supported them, but were repulsed by the British cavalry, while the infantry, who had forced their way to the centre of the British position, were attacked by a brigade brought up from the second line by General Picton, while at the same time, a brigade of heavy English cavalry charged them in flank. The French columns were broken with great slaughter, and more than 2000 men made prisoners. About this period, the French made themselves masters of the farm of La Haie Sainte, and retained it for some time, but were at last driven out by shells. Shortly after a general attack of the French cavalry was made on the squares, chiefly towards the centre of the British right. In spite of the combined fire of thirty pieces of artillery, they compelled the artillerymen to retire within the squares. The cuirassiers

continued their onset, and rode up to the squares in the confidence of sweeping them away before their charge, but they were driven back by the dreadful fire of the British infantry. Napoleon now threw his cuirassiers on the British line between two *chaussées*. They broke through between the squares, but were attacked and defeated by the English and Dutch cavalry. During the battle several French batteries were stationed only a few paces in front of the English, and did great execution. At five o'clock the repeated attacks of the French had already weakened the English, and the battle seemed to be going against them. At this juncture, the van of the first Prussian battalion (which the French thought, at first, to be the corps of Grouchy), under the command of General Bulow, showed itself in front of the forest of Friche-mont, on the right flank and rear of the enemy. The sixth French corps, hitherto stationed as the reserve of the right wing, was immediately opposed to the Prussians, and a bloody fight ensued. It was six o'clock when this took place. Napoleon, meanwhile, when he perceived the attack of the Prussians, instead of diminishing his attacks on the British line, resolved to assail it with all his forces. The second French corps, all the cavalry and all the guards then put themselves in motion. Wellington quietly awaited their approach, and as soon as the dense columns had arrived within a short distance, he opened on them so murderous a fire that they stopped, and were compelled to fire in return. The right wing of the French had also advanced with the centre and driven the Nassau soldiers from Pape-lotte, and attacked the Prussians in Friche-mont. This movement destroyed for a moment the connection of the Prussians with the English left wing, and made the situation of affairs, at this juncture, critical. The sudden appearance of the first brigade of the first Prussian battalion, under General Zieten, decided the battle. The French army was unable to withstand the assault of these fresh troops, their ranks were broken, and

they turned and fled. The flight soon became a rout; all order was lost, the different battalions were mixed together in a hurrying crowd, and thronging every road leading from the battle-field in their haste to escape the pursuit of the Prussian cavalry.

Up to nearly the last moment, Napoleon preserved his calm imperturbability, but when he perceived that the day was irretrievably lost, he fled as fast as his horse could carry him from the field, and reached Charleroi at six o'clock in the morning of the 19th. His carriage and private papers were taken near Genappe. The loss of the French had been more than 40,000, and it is doubtful whether more than that number crossed the Sambre. On the 21st, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the defeated emperor reached Paris, bringing the first intelligence of his own disaster.

In the Chamber of Deputies all were agitated with conflicting emotions. The home minister, Carnot, and Lucien recommended a dictatorship in the person of Napoleon, but the constitutionalists and independent members had joined with Fouché (who had for some time opened communications with Talleyrand and Metternich at Vienna), and the Chamber, on the motion of Lafayette, declared that the independence of the nation was menaced, that the members would sit in permanence, and that every attempt to dissolve them would be a crime of high treason. The Chamber also passed a resolution to the effect that the army of the line which had fought and were still fighting to defend the liberty and independence of the French territory, had deserved well of the country.

But while this feeling for the army and the country pervaded every breast, cries were generally uttered calling for an abdication. Lucien counselled his brother to assume a dictatorship, and to dismiss the Chambers; while Bonaparte's own secretary, Maret, Duke of Bassano, and his faithful friend Caulaincourt, suggested an abdication. To Lucien, who again and again insisted on a dictatorship, the emperor said, "Nous ne

sommes plus au 18 Brumaire." It now came to the ears of the emperor that deposition and dethronement were openly spoken of by Lafayette, a measure certain to be proposed by him in case Bonaparte did not immediately decide to abdicate; he accordingly signed his abdication in favor of his son.

But the deputies would not hear of an imperial prince of the Bonaparte dynasty. Abdication, says Villemain, is civil death, and the monarch who abdicates has no right to name his successor. Labedoyere, however, and other partisans of the imperial regime, made strenuous efforts in favor of Napoleon II., but the proposition was opposed by Dupin, Boissy d'Anglas, and, indeed, by the general sense of the Chamber, which named a provisional executive legislative commission, composed of Fouché, Carnot, Caulaincourt, Quenet and Grenier, to carry on the government.

The government of Napoleon lasted exactly a hundred days, during which period he expended six hundred millions of francs and the lives of 60,000 soldiers.

On the 23d of June foreign troops entered the department of the Moselle by Forbach. Napoleon remained at Malmaison for six days after his abdication, during which period he tendered his services to the government as generalissimo of the forces. But this offer was declined. On the 29th of June he set out for Rochefort, with the design of embarking for America. He reached Rochefort on the 3d of July. But the coast was so strictly blockaded by British cruisers that he found it impossible to accomplish his design; and fearing at length to fall into the hands of the royalists, he caused himself to be conducted aboard the *Bellerophon*, having first announced to Captain Maitland that he threw himself on the generosity of the Prince Regent. In a letter addressed to his royal highness, written in an antique fashion, he stated that he claimed the protection of the British laws from the most powerful, the most constant and the most generous of his enemies. On the 24th of June he *Bel*

lerophon entered Torbay, and it was communicated to the captive (for such in defiance of all the principles of justice and honor he was considered by the English) by Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury, Under Secretary of State, that St. Helena was to be his future residence. On the 7th of August, Bonaparte, notwithstanding his earnest remonstrances, was transferred aboard the *Northumberland*, Sir George Cockburn's flag ship, which was appointed to carry him to St. Helena.

Louis XVIII., who, on the 20th of March had retired in the first instance to Lille, and subsequently to Ghent, now addressed a moderate proclamation, dated from Cambrai, to the French nation. Much more important and significant than this proclamation was the advance of Wellington and Blücher. Cambrai was stormed by the British on the 24th, and Peronne on the 26th. On the 28th the rear-guard of Grouchy was defeated by Blücher at Villers-Cotteret, with the loss of six guns and more than 1000 men. On the 29th the British crossed the Oise, and established themselves in the forest of Bondy, close to Paris. In order to approach Paris on the south, on which side the fortifications had been erected, Blücher crossed the Seine at St. Germain's, fixed his right at Plessis, and his left at St. Cloud. The home minister, Carnot, a distinguished engineer, and the organizer of victory under the Republic, wished to defend the capital; but Massena, Soult, Davoust, Oudinot and other marshals, declared a defence difficult if not impossible. On the 3d of July, therefore, a military convention was signed at St. Cloud, between Marshal Davoust, commanding the French army, on one part, and Wellington and Blücher commanders of the English and Prussian armies, on the other part. By this instrument it was agreed that the French army should retire behind the Loire, carrying its material, its field artillery, etc. This armistice preserved Paris from the horrors of a siege, and the French army from the certainty of a struggle with victorious troops

ten times more numerous. On the 6th of July the allied troops entered Paris, and on the following day the commission of the provisional government ceased its functions. On the 8th, during the night, and in the absence of the members, the halls of the Legislative Assembly were closed by armed Prussians. Before the convention had been signed, Fouché, the minister of police, had opened negotiations through Vitrolles, whom he released from prison, with Louis XVIII., and it is also certain that he kept up a regular correspondence with the allied powers and with the Duke of Wellington. On the following day, the 8th, the new king entered Paris, and on the 9th the names of a new ministry, which had been for some days agreed on, were published. Talleyrand was president of the council, with the portfolio of foreign affairs, the Duke of Otranto had the police, Pasquier was made keeper of the seals, Gouvion St. Cyr minister of war, Count de Jaucourt of marine, the Baron Louis of finance, and the Duke de Richelieu was named minister of the king's household. Davoust, who was commander-in-chief beyond the Loire, in nine days after the entry of the king called on his soldiers to resume the white flag and cockade. Although Paris was soon after the entry of the king crowded by strangers, yet the inhabitants, and indeed the great body of the nation, felt themselves profoundly humiliated. The capital of France was garrisoned by strong bodies of Prussians, and the bearing of Blücher and his soldiers was harsh, exacting and brutal to a degree. The oppressions and exactions of the Prussians are recorded in burning words by M. Vaulabelle and other historians of the Restoration. Indeed had not the ferocity of the Prussian general been tempered by the calmness, equity and sense of justice of the Duke of Wellington, the bridges of Jena and Austerlitz would have been blown up. The Prussian general required his men to be maintained, not as soldiers, but as persons accustomed to luxuries and indulgence. He ordered the municipality of Paris to pay

him a contribution of 100,000,000 of francs, which was afterwards diminished to 100,000. The king was aware of these exactions, and of the attempt to blow up the bridges, and behaved like a prince of courage, feeling and spirit. He intimated to the Duke of Wellington that he would take his station on the bridge of Jena if Blücher persisted in his attempts. The people of Paris and of France also deeply felt the humiliation of being obliged to restore to the various states the works of art that had been taken in the victorious career of Napoleon. But it is one of the conditions of hostilities and of war, that what is gained in one campaign may be lost in another.

Louis XVIII. had been recommended by more than one counsellor to govern with clemency and moderation, and to throw a veil over the past. Before the month of July had passed, however, an ordonnance of the king directed that nineteen generals and officers who were named should be arrested, and brought before a council of war. Thirty-eight persons also were commanded to reside under *surveillance* in places fixed by the police, till the Chambers should determine which should leave the kingdom, or be prosecuted by the tribunals. It is true that those who would be compelled to leave the kingdom were to have the power of selling and disposing of their property, but a measure may be unwise and inexpedient, without being violent or tyrannical. On the 1st of August, Marshal Macdonald, who had been instructed by the king to disband the old army, succeeded Davoust, who had kept up a rigorous discipline since the convention of the 3d of July. Thus, within the space of four months, an army of more than 100,000 men was dispersed amongst the body of the people. During the month of August a deplorable and reactionary spirit was exhibited by the populace of the south. Bands of ultramontane and ultra-royalist fanatics paraded the towns, maltreating all opposed to them in political and religious opinions. Of these sanguinary monsters Generals Brune and

Ramel became the victims, both being murdered in cold blood in broad day—the one at Avignon, the other at Toulouse, in the presence of thousands of citizens, passive spectators, if not actors in these cowardly assassinations. These excesses in the south were followed, not by the trial and judgment of the offenders, but by an ordonnance concerning the formation of the royal guard, the force of which in peace was to be 25,000 men, irrespective of a force of 1,800 men attached to the personal service of the king, of whom 1,400 were to be *gardes du corps*.

The ministry which the king had appointed, or which was arranged *by* and *for* him, was by no means a strong one. The Ministry of the Interior had been originally intended for the Corsican Pozzo di Borgo, and the Ministry of the King's Household for the Duke of Richelieu, both of whom had been in the service of Russia. But the Emperor Alexander, who had been consulted, advised Pozzo to decline the appointment, and the Duke of Richelieu refused the Ministry of the Household on the ground that private affairs rendered his presence at Odessa necessary.

Talleyrand was unpopular with, and Fouché odious to the ultra-royalists, who ranged themselves around the Count d'Artois. Some, and among others Talleyrand, supposed that Fouché would rally to the government sections of the national independent liberal and ultra-liberal party, but it appeared that no portion of the community had confidence in a man called *le fourbe des fourbes*. The first act of the ancient Jacobin was to forbid the publication of journals without the permission of the police; his second to appoint a commission of censorship. While these measures were put in force at Paris, it is not wonderful that the spirit of religious and political re-action revived at Nismes and in the south. One of the laws most strictly enforced by Napoleon was to prevent the Roman Catholic clergy from forming processions in the open air, or celebrating their ceremonies in the streets, more especially in

districts in which there were Protestants. At Nismes, where there were many Huguenots, the ultramontane rabble of fanatics formed processions to demonstrate their gratitude to Heaven for the fall of Bonaparte. As those professing the Reformed faith did not join in these processions, they were insulted, and their churches broken open. The furious and fanatical rabble was led by a man of the name of Trestaillon, a miscreant of the most ferocious nature. Huguenot women were ill-treated, stripped, and even flogged; and at Uzès, not far from Nismes, were brought into the market-place and shot.

Fouché was induced to place his resignation in the hands of the prime minister the 19th September, in exchange for the embassy to the small court of Dresden. Five days later he left Paris in disgrace, dreading to find the arm either of a victim or an avenger raised against him.

The Duke of Richelieu was named head of the new cabinet. Descended of a distinguished historic family a stranger to all domestic parties and factions in France, M. de Richelieu had yet another title to the favor of the king. As governor of Odessa, he had gained the confidence and esteem of the Emperor Alexander, and it was considered that he would exhibit equal administrative ability in France. But M. de Richelieu mistrusted his own powers, and at first declined the honor intended for him. Overcome, however, by royal persuasions and the importunities of friends, he accepted the Presidency of the Council, with the portfolio of foreign affairs. M. Barbé Marbois became keeper of the seals, M. Vaublanc minister of the interior, Clarke, Duke of Feltre, minister of war, M. Dubouchage of marine, and M. Corvetto of finance. Decazes, prefect of police, was promoted to the ministry of police. It is a remarkable coincidence, that on the same day on which the Richelieu ministry was constituted, the treaty of the Holy Alliance between the Emperors of Austria, Russia and Prussia was signed at Paris.

The Legislative Chambers opened their

ordinary session on the 7th October. The king, in his speech, stated that in the frank and loyal union of the Chambers with the monarch, and in respect for the constitutional charter to which the sovereign was by reflection more and more attached, was to be found the fundamental basis of the happiness of the state.

The violent and fanatical spirit prevailing in the south of France still continued. On the 12th November, General Lagarde, commanding at Nismes, was assassinated while attending, in the exercise of his functions, the opening of the Reformed place of worship. The king gave directions that the authors and accomplices of this crime should be punished, but they eluded the authorities.

M. de Talleyrand, in the last note which he transmitted to the conference of the Allied Powers, before the fall of his ministry had consented to a territorial cession, limiting the frontiers of France to what they were in 1790, and to an occupation of the French territories by an army of 150,000 men for a term of seven years, and had also agreed to the payment of an indemnity fixed by the allies at 800 millions. M. de Richelieu, soon after his accession to power, obtained an alleviation of these conditions. The allies consented to leave to France the strong towns of Condé, Givet, Charlemont, the forts of Joux, and l'Ecluse. They further reduced the figure of the war contribution to seven hundred millions. The arrangement was also come to, to fix the maximum period of the occupation at five years, making three years the limit, if the French territory could be so speedily evacuated.

The Duke of Richelieu was under the impression that these would be the only sacrifices required. In this he was, however, mistaken. The different powers sought to be re-imbursed the damages occasioned by the French armies since 1792, which were 735,500,000 francs, or nearly £30,000,000. The Duke was about to resign in despair, when Louis XVIII. made a last effort with Alexander, who induced Austria and Prussia to moderate their pretensions.

On the 20th November, the treaty of peace of Paris between France on the one part, and Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia on the other, was concluded. France, by this treaty, was deprived of the fortresses of Philipeville, Marienbourg, Sarre Louis and Landau. A part of the Pays de Gex was ceded to Switzerland; and the part of the department of Mont Blanc which remained to France in virtue of the treaty of May, 1814, was given to the King of Sardinia, as well as the principality of Monaco. The fortifications of Huningen were to be demolished, and the French government was not to reconstruct them hereafter, nor to replace them by any other fortifications at a distance less than three leagues from the city of Bâle. The pecuniary indemnity, as we have stated, was to be 700 millions, to be paid in equal portions at the end of five years; 150,000 allied troops were to occupy the military positions along the frontiers of France in the departments of the Pas de Calais, le Nord, les Ardennes, la Meuse, la Moselle, and the Upper and Lower Rhine. The Duke of Richelieu did all that was possible for a statesman to do in contending for better terms, but the allies were inexorable. The friend of Richelieu, the Emperor Alexander, gave him a map on which were marked provinces which Austria, Prussia and the Netherlands had wished to obtain from France, telling him to keep it as a proof of his own influence, and as a testimony of Alexander's friendship, both for himself and his country. A little more than a month after the entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris, Labeloyere had paid with his life the penalty of having joined Napoleon at Vizille; a more illustrious victim was to suffer in the month of December. An accusation of high treason had been preferred against Ney for joining Napoleon, and bringing over with him the troops under his command. He was tried by the Chamber of Peers for this crime, and, in a house of 161 who were present, was condemned by 136, who voted, to capital punishment. This is not the place

to discuss the culpability of Ney, but it must be recorded that he died as he had lived, a brave soldier—refusing to have his eyes covered, and exclaiming, that for five-and-twenty years he had faced death without finding it on the field of battle. The sacrifice of such a victim at such a time, though he was not covered by the capitulation of Paris, was not indispensable. Ney had always been looked on as the bravest of the brave by the army; and it was not a wise or expedient thing, as a political act, even though justified by strict military law, to shoot a soldier who had excited the admiration of his countrymen in every battle-field of Europe. The remonstrance of the Duke of Wellington might have saved his life, but this cold disciplinarian refused to exert his influence.

The law of amnesty, passed early in January, 1816, contained some curious provisions. The ascendants and descendants of Napoleon Bonaparte, his uncles, his aunts, his nephews, his nieces, his brothers, their wives, and their descendants, his sisters, and their husbands, are, by this instrument, excluded for ever from the kingdom, and are directed to leave France within a month, under pain of death. They can enjoy no civil rights, possess no property, titles, pensions, and it is made obligatory on them to sell within six months all property they possess of whatsoever kind.

Early in May an insurrection occurred at Grenoble. A person of the name of Paul Didier, who had been an emigrant, and who was appointed a *maitre des requêtes* after the first restoration, was the chief actor and promoter of this movement. Didier's watchword was National Independence; but he induced his followers, who were not satisfied with this vague watchword, to rally to the cry of Napoleon II. The truth, however, was that Didier really had at heart the interests of the Duke of Orleans (afterwards Louis Philippe), and purposed to substitute him for the elder Bourbons. The plot failed, but all those concerned in it were punished with prompt severity. Twenty-one persons,

all, with the exception of Didier, obscure, were sent to the scaffold, and about a hundred were killed by the hands of the troops sent into the insurgent villages in the neighborhood of Grenoble. Didier, after wandering for some time in the frontiers of Savoy, was taken in consequence of information afforded by one Balmain, an innkeeper, in whose house he had taken refuge. He was tried and executed, and met his fate courageously. Decazes, the minister of police led him to hope for a commutation of his sentence, if he would make disclosures; but all Didier would say was, that the only proof of gratitude he could offer to Louis XVIII. for the benefits he had received of him was, that he would advise his Majesty, as soon as possible, to send out of France the Duke of Orleans and the ex-minister Talleyrand.

On the 17th June, a few days after the last execution at Grenoble, the Duke de Berry, second son of the Count D'Artois, married at Notre Dame Mary Caroline, a princess of the Two Sicilies. These nuptials were inaugurated by numerous fêtes and festivities; but not one single pardon was granted to the numerous body of political prisoners in course of trial by the prévotal courts throughout the country.

Whilst the accounts of the abortive insurrection at Grenoble were still ringing in men's ears, Plaignier, Carbonneau and Toleron were tried for distributing three-cornered cards with the words Honor and Liberty upon them, and issuing a proclamation telling the people that they were about to save the country. It was sought to be proved on this trial that attempts were made to introduce barrels of gunpowder into a sewer that communicated between the river and the palace, but the accused asserted that no one made this proposal but a person named Scholtein, who was connected with the police. The three men whose names we have mentioned were condemned to the penalty of *parriedes*, to walk to the scaffold in their shirts, and to have their hands cut off

before they were executed. Nor were these the only political trials calculated to excite disgust. The courts martial and prévotal courts in several provincial towns shocked by their severity when they did not excite indignation by their injustice. The conduct of the government after the events of Grenoble indeed appeared marked by a spirit of vengeance and exacerbation.

The summer and autumn of 1816, cold, rainy, and ungenial in every part of Europe, was peculiarly so in France. Constant rains fell during the months of July, August and September. The low grounds became flooded, the crops were destroyed, and even on the higher lands the harvest was seriously injured. But for an abundant potato crop, famine with all its horrors would have been the lot of France. Prices suddenly rose in all the markets; and the holders of grain, anticipating greater gains, hoarded their stock, and sent insufficient supplies to market. The minister of the interior established granaries generally throughout the kingdom, where corn was sold to the destitute at a reduced price. But, notwithstanding these efforts, prices rose to more than double, and hundreds perished of actual want.

On the 4th of April, Marshal Massena died in his fifty-ninth year. Among Napoleon's marshals none was distinguished by a greater military capacity, or by rarer energy on decisive or unforeseen occasions. The sound of guns, said Napoleon at St. Helena, cleared his ideas, and gave him understanding and penetration. His talents seemed to increase wherever danger was most imminent. He was superior to every marshal of France in comprehensiveness of view, and in the formation of those varied combinations on which the fate of battles depends. But his character was sullied by insatiable avarice and rapacity.

During the spring of this year the price of bread in the provinces had greatly increased, whilst employment was slack and scanty. Bread riots were frequent, and several persons were executed; among others a

woman for disorders produced by hunger. This scarcity of food also produced discontent and *émeutes* in the neighborhood of Lyons. These popular movements, represented to the government as part of a vast conspiracy, were speedily repressed. The ministry certainly exhibited no clemency towards the offenders. There were 140 condemnations, and twenty-eight sentences of death, one being a boy of sixteen.

On the 22d, a concordat on ecclesiastical affairs was laid before the Chamber, by which it was provided that all acts emanating from the court of Rome (excepting penitential indulgences) could only be received, published and executed with the authority of the king. It was also provided that papal bulls could only be received and published in cases in which they did not conflict with the public rights guaranteed by the charter, and by the franchises, maxims and liberties of the Gallican Church.

Gouvion St. Cyr had now succeeded the incompetent Clarke, Duke of Feltre, as minister of war, and he it was who drew up and introduced the plan of military recruitment promised in the king's speech. He performed this task with ability, and carried it with success through the Chamber. Notwithstanding the objections of Villèle and Chateaubriand, the project of law passed both Chambers, and the result is, as a recent historian of the Restoration judiciously remarks, that the army is rendered more an imperial than a royalist institution.

At the close of the month of April a convention was signed at Paris between France on the one side, and Austria, England, Prussia and Russia on the other, by which the former agreed to inscribe a *rente* of 12,040,000 francs, representing a capital of 240,800,000, with a view to the total extinction of debts contracted by France out of its territory, payment of which was obligatory by the treaties of the 30th May, 1814, and the 20th November, 1815.

A convention was also signed between France and England for the entire liquida-

tion of the debts due to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, payment of which was required in virtue of the treaties of 1814, and the 20th November, 1815. To this end there was to be inscribed, on the great book of the public debt of France, a rent of three millions, representing a capital of sixty millions of francs. After passing the law on the finances on the 15th May, fixing the budget for 1818, the session closed on the following day. The credit of the government at this epoch stood high.

On the last day of September the conferences at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle were opened. At the third meeting of the representatives of the five great powers the evacuation of the French territory by the army of occupation was unanimously decided on almost without discussion, the event to take place on the 30th November. It was agreed that France, according to the stipulations of the treaty of the 20th November, 1815, should pay to the allied powers a sum of 265 millions. On the 10th December the legislative session of 1818-19 was opened by the king in person. The speech delivered on this occasion was vague and general in its terms.

On the 29th December the ministry was almost wholly changed. The Duke of Richelieu was succeeded in the ministry of foreign affairs by General Dessolles, the Baron Pasquier in the seals by De Serre, Lainé in the interior by Decazes, Molé in the marine by Portal, and Roy in the finance by Baron Louis. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr remained at the war office, and was the only minister who retained his place. The ultra-royalist party were deeply annoyed that the credit of putting an end to the military occupation of France should fall to the lot of Richelieu and Decazes; for on the 30th November, 1818, the fortresses occupied by the allies were everywhere evacuated by their troops, and transferred to the French corps under the Duc d'Angoulême; and they even went the length of getting up a conspiracy in favor of their views. A scheme hatched at

the *Café Valois* and the *Terrasse a Bords l'Eau*, haunts frequented by the ultras, was set on foot to seize the ministers by the troops of the guard, to carry them to Vincennes, and to compel Louis XVIII. to resign in favor of his brother the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X. The minister of the interior, Lainé, issued his warrant to arrest Generals Canuel and Donnadien, the former of whom fled to avoid the consequences. Such was the foolish conspiracy called *Bords de l'Eau*, from the terrace by the river side where the parties met.

Decazes, who was installed in the ministry of the interior, applied himself to the task of conciliating the liberal party. He determined on two concessions, one a law of ministerial responsibility, the other a law admitting the liberty of the press.

A party in the Chamber of Peers was determined to avenge the fall of M. de Richelieu. The election laws were found too favorable to the liberal party, and the ministry therefore proposed a new election law, for the purpose of giving the richest landholders the preponderance in the elections of the deputies; and, at the same time some laws of exception, relative to personal liberty and the liberty of the press, for the purpose of checking public opinion. Under these circumstances much acrimonious discussion took place in the French chambers; and the sessions of 1819 and 1820 were agitated by the most violent conflicts.

During the month of January and the first part of February of this year nothing very important occurred in the Chambers. On Sunday night, the 13th of February, however, Paris was startled by a sad event. On that evening, just preceding the close of the carnival, there was, as is usual, a representation at the opera. The Duke and Duchess of Berri were among the audience. About eleven o'clock the duke conducted the duchess, who wished to retire, to her carriage, intending to return for the ballet. As he stood at the door of the carriage, a man of the name of Louvel, a journeyman saddler,

whose boyhood had been passed amidst the worst scenes of the Revolution, rudely thrust aside the aide-de-camp, struck a dagger into the right breast of his victim, and, leaving the weapon in the wound, escaped round the corner of the Place Louvois into the Rue Richelieu. The duchess hearing her husband exclaim that he was assassinated, rushed from the carriage, and followed him as he was borne bleeding to the little room behind his box. The duke felt that the blow was mortal, and called for his wife that he might die in her arms. The best medical skill was had recourse to, but in vain. The blood escaping from the wound into the chest threatened suffocation, when the prince requested to be turned on his left side; no sooner was this demand complied with than he expired.

The assassin was taken near the royal library in the Rue Richelieu. When pressed as to what could have instigated him to commit such an act, he replied, that the Bourbons were the tyrants and enemies of France, and that he had singled out the Duke of Berri as the youngest of his race. Before the duke breathed his last sigh the king arrived. When the monarch approached, the first words of the duke were, "My uncle, give me your hand that I may kiss it for the last time;" and he then earnestly added, "I entreat the life of that man. I beseech that I may die in peace, and that my dying moments may be softened." These words paint the generous, noble and placable prince whose days had been so untimely shortened.

The death of the prince excited general regret amongst all parties; and amongst the royalists it excited consternation. It was determined by the government that the opera house should be removed from the spot where the crime had been committed, and that a monument should be erected on the site.

The minister Decazes now resigned, and the Duke de Richelieu succeeded him. A new law of election was carried, amid the most violent opposition on the part of the doctrinaires (members who defended a con-

sistent maintenance of the principles of the *charte*) and the liberals. Many officers of government, by their writings, and in their places as deputies, opposed the new system; so that with every new ministry there were numerous dismissals, and many names were even erased from the army-rolls for political opinions. It was evident, indeed, that many conspirators were secretly employed in attempts to excite the troops to a revolt, and some were tried, found guilty, and suffered the penalty due to treason.

Though the king was at this period advanced in life, and addicted to the pleasures of the table, yet he was not insensible to beauty, and was above all delighted with the conversation of the refined and sensible of the fair sex. The royalists, aware of this disposition, fixed on a young and beautiful woman possessing a graceful exterior and winning address, great powers of conversation and exquisite tact; and it was contrived that this lady should solicit the favor and protection of the monarch in reference to her family affairs, thus win his confidence, and insensibly draw the king more and more from M. Decazes, and, of course, nearer to the ultra-royalists and clique of the Pavilion Marsan. Such was the origin of the secret influence of Madame du Cayla. The management of the delicate negotiation was entrusted to the Viscount de la Rochefoucauld, and he, aided by the Jesuits, impressed on the fair lady the service she would render to religion, to royalty, to the family of the Bourbons and to France, if she would lead back the sovereign into the right way. The history of the plot is graphically, minutely and apparently from most accurate sources, told in the recent volumes of Lamartine's "History of the Restoration," to which we must refer the reader curious for more copious details than can be here given.

Dazzled and captivated by her beauty, her grace, her tact and her charm of manner, the king invited Madame du Cayla to a second interview. Her ascendancy grew apace, and

so necessary did her presence become to the monarch, that he passed several days in her society, and no longer thought of the male favorite whom for years previously he had called by the endearing term of "*mon enfant*."

The king opened the session of 1823 with a speech announcing the march of 100,000 French troops to Spain. He was alarmed for the safety of France by the revolutionary movements of his neighbors; and this army, which was commanded by the Duke of Angoulême, was sent expressly to restore the royal authority. The invaders encountered no effective opposition; the cortes fled before them to Cadiz; and when King Ferdinand approached that city, they permitted him to resume his despotic sway.

The health of the king, for some time infirm, now completely gave way. Suffering from a complication of disorders, the monarch became daily more lethargic, and took little part in business or in the council. The small effort of reading or writing one of those notes which he daily forwarded to Madame du Cayla produced somnolency, and Lamartine tells us, in the minute account he gives of the monarch's illness, that the continual dropping of the royal head on the bronze table had produced an abrasion of the skin. The only pleasure or excitement the king had at this period was in excursions in the royal carriage drawn by eight horses, proceeding at the top of their speed. Louis XVIII. felt the same gratification in these exercises, says Lamartine, that a captive does in the glare of the sun. The royal patient knew he was sinking, but he bore his doom with philosophical indifference, if not with stoicism. The direction of affairs was now transferred to the Count d'Artois, so soon to be Charles X. The high hand of the count might be traced in an edict suspending the liberty of the press, and re-establishing the censure, and in an ordonnance creating a new ministry, the ministry of ecclesiastical affairs, an office which was bestowed on M. Frayssinous, Bishop of Herino.

polis and Grand Master of the University. No doubt M. Frayssinous was an able, eloquent and moderate man, but he was a churchman, and although not going the lengths of the *parti prêtre*, yet he dared not publicly discourage their pretensions.

As the end of the monarch approached he expressed no wish to receive the ceremonious consolations of the Romish Church. This circumstance gave great uneasiness to the Count d'Artois and to the Duchess d'Angoulême, and the priest party generally throughout the kingdom. It was remembered that the monarch had in his youth associated with the wits and philosophers of the epoch—that in his middle and mature age he had never yielded to superstitious practices, and that he had ridiculed even within a few years the devout observances of his brother, who had become a mere instrument in the hands of the clergy. Unlike Louis XIV. he did not surrender his conscience to a Le Tellier; for though there was a confessor gazetted as of the household, yet this individual never appeared at court, and the king was in no wise under the dominion of an humble and obscure priest, chosen by Louis XVIII. for the piety of his life and for his exemplary character. All these circumstances disquieted the royal family and the high clerical camarilla by which they were surrounded. Cardinal Latil, M. Frayssinous, and others, held a council on the subject of the king's abstaining from confession, and it was resolved that M. Frayssinous should seek an interview with his sovereign, and delicately warn him of the danger of delaying the succors of the church. The king, who esteemed the bishop, liked his moderation, and heard the prelate patiently, but persisted in refusing to receive the last sacraments, fearing, he said, to alarm the public. In this difficulty of the *parti prêtre*, the young Viscount de la Rochefoucauld, who originally introduced Madame du Cayla into the private cabinet of the king, appeared on the scene, and proposed to the royal family and to the clerical camarilla of cardinals and

bishops to convey to Louis XVIII. their united hopes and wishes. The functions of the viscount gave him a ready access to royalty, and as he was one of the congregation, and attached by conscience and connection to the priest party, he proposed to his sovereign to see once more Madame du Cayla, who had retired to Saint Ouen, and who it was believed would induce the monarch to receive the sacraments. The king, seriously regarding him, said to M. de Rochefoucauld, "Vous le voulez, eh bien, allez dire à Madame du Cayla que je la recevrai." Madame du Cayla, after some hesitation, consented to render this service to the *parti prêtre* and the congregation, and after opening the subject to the monarch with that delicacy and tact of which she was so capable, Louis replied, "You only, madame, could venture thus to address me. I hear your words, and shall do what I ought to do." Then holding out his hand, which the lady tearfully kissed, the king, with a suppressed sigh, said, "Adieu, et à revoir dans l'autre vie." No sooner had Madame du Cayla departed, than the king sent for the humble priest who filled the office of confessor. Soon after the visit of the latter, the grand almoner, the cardinals and the bishops assembled, and the funeral pomps and ceremonies of what is called *l'agonie des Rois* were gone through.

The last hour of the monarch was now approaching. The extremities of the king were cold, and symptoms of mortification began to appear. The family of the sovereign and the foreign diplomatists were introduced. "Love each other," said the expiring monarch, addressing his family, "and by your affection console yourselves for the misfortunes of our house. The charter," said he, "is my best inheritance. Preserve it, my brother, for me, for your subjects, for yourself"—then raising his hand to bless the Duke de Bordeaux (whom his mother placed in the foreground), he added—"and for this child to whom you should transmit the throne after my daughter and my son" (he thus affectionately called the Duke and Duchess

d'Angoulême). Looking at the child, he said, "May you be wiser and happier than your parents."

The king received extreme unction, thanked his attendants, and bade an eternal farewell to his former minister, M. Decazes, whom he was wont to call his child, and whose sobs reached his ear. On the 16th of September, 1824, the day he had fixed on as his last, all that was mortal of Louis XVIII. had passed away. At early dawn on that morning M. Portal drew the curtains of the bed to feel the king's pulse. The pulse had ceased to beat, though the hand was not yet cold. "Gentlemen," said M. Portal, turning to the attendants, "the king is dead;" and then respectfully inclining towards Charles X., he exclaimed, "Vive le Roi."

The last words the deceased sovereign addressed to his brother were remarkable. "I have tacked," said he, "between parties, like Henri IV., and unlike him I die in my bed, and in the Tuileries. Do as I have done, and your reign will end in peace."

The eyes of Louis XVIII. were scarcely closed in death ere the brother of the king (now reigning Charles X.) and the party which used Madame du Cayla for what they called the edification of the kingdom and the honor of religion, sought to efface all traces of her influence. Letters, papers, and everything relating to the intercourse of the late monarch with Madame du Cayla, had disappeared from the cabinet of the king before her friends could take any step in the business. Charles X., however, paid Madame du Cayla during his life an annuity of 25,000 francs. She at once retired from the court, to what M. de Lamartine calls a "splendid obscurity."

The Count d'Artois, who succeeded his brother under the title of Charles X., made no change in the ministry. M. de Villèle had long been acting on the Count d'Artois' views as the minister of his elder brother, and he possessed the entire confidence of Charles X. Everything seemed to smile on

the new sovereign. The Spanish peninsula and Italy were tranquil—there was a majority in the Chamber of Deputies in harmony with the Peers, and there was great internal prosperity, every branch of domestic industry being flourishing. The external influence of France was also great, and her power respected abroad.

The king made his entry into Paris on the 27th of September. There were not wanting those who suggested precautions; to which the monarch replied: "People who don't know me cannot hate me, and I am confident that those who know me do not hate me." The Archbishop of Paris, who awaited the king at the head of his clergy, addressed a *maladroit* speech to his majesty, to which the monarch listened with apparent disrelish. The king was perfectly well received by the people, and bore himself inimitably on this occasion. To the Duke de Angoulême his father had confided the supreme direction of the army. The king proposed to his ministers to abolish the censorship of the journals, an odious and unpopular measure impatiently submitted to during the last months of the previous reign. The editors of newspapers responded to this measure of the king in transports of gratitude. But notwithstanding this temporary effervescence, it was soon perceived that there was a back-stairs influence exercised by a sacerdotal *camarilla*. Lamartine states, that in a confidential communication with himself, Charles X. disavowed being governed by priests and Jesuits, whose God he adored without loving the sect; but the poet-historian admits that the king might have deceived himself without deceiving others, and we every day see in every rank of life men denying the existence of an influence to which they unconsciously and almost unawares are slavishly subject. Among this secret council, whose power the monarch concealed from himself, were Cardinals Latil, Lafare, Clermont Tonnere, Kambruschini, the pope's legate, and M. de Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, a man of piety and worth,

but profoundly devoted to the interests of mother-church. Latil, according to Lacreteille, was born a courtier, and ever had been a zealous partizan of the Jesuits. The ultra-royalist chiefs joined their councils with these churchmen. Among these were the Duke de Rivière, M. de Polignac, and M. de Vaublanc, who, once an imperial prefect, had now become one of the shining lights of Carlism. The soul of the camarilla, however, was the restless, ambitious, intriguing, and ever active Vitrolles, who played so important a part in 1814. The king had not been long seated on the throne ere the disciples of Loyola began to rear their heads haughtily. Everywhere throughout France they set about establishing new colleges and seminaries. Montrouge, their chief college, became the centre around which the most favored and distinguished young men about court revolved. Appointments in the public offices were made through the influence of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola. Neither M. de Villèle nor M. Corbière, it is true, belonged to the congregation, but these ministers were overborne by *chefs-de-division*, who opposed their veto to the appointment of candidates suspected of lukewarm zeal. The proof of this is afforded by the case of an old man of seventy-two, and author of mathematical treatises which are classical throughout Europe. M. Legendre, of the Academy of Sciences, enjoyed a pension of 3000 francs, and there being a vacant place in the academy, was asked by M. Lourdoueix, a *chef-de-division*, to vote for M. Binet, a congregationalist candidate. On his refusing to do so, his pension was withdrawn by royal ordinance. A fortnight after this the power and intolerance of the clergy was proved by their refusing to receive within the precincts of the parish church the mortal remains of an actor named Philippe, who had suddenly died in an apoplectic fit. A deputation waited on M. de Damas, first gentleman of the chamber to Charles X. M. de Damas appealed to M. Corbière, the minister, who replied that he could not force the ministers

of any religion to receive within the church the body of an actor. It was said that the king personally interfered, as his brother Louis XVIII. had done in the case of Mlle. Raucourt, but apparently without success for an armed force prevented the people from carrying the coffin to the parish church. Mass, vespers, complines, matins, fastings, pilgrimages, were now the order of the day. It was even necessary, says Lacreteille, to be armed with a confession ticket. It was counted a noble work to baptize a Jew or to convert a young Protestant, male or female. In the army, as well as in civil life, confession was made a test. The minister of war, M. Clermont Tonnerre, the nephew of the Archbishop of Toulouse, the most turbulent and arrogant of prelates, caused all the regiments to be regularly catechised. Thus mere outward observances were made to pass for religion, the profoundest and deepest sentiment of the human soul. Processions and expositions of the *saint sacrament* and of relics multiplied; and "at one of these," says Lacreteille, "I remember to have seen Don Miguel, after the crime attempted against his father and the actual assassination of Count Loulé." Yet notwithstanding this hot-house forcing of a sentiment which ought to take its rise spontaneously in the heart of man—notwithstanding the pastorals of bishops and the preaching of Jesuits, Congregationalists and Redemptorists, more copies of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the atheistical work called "*Le Systeme de la Nature*," were sold than in any antecedent period. It was at this period that Lamennais, then a furious ultramontane, and who died out of the pale of the Romish Church, fulminated his anathemas against Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, whom he accused of semi-Gallicanism. On the other hand, the Count de Montlosier, a conscientious man, of intrepid courage, abandoned the culture of his estate, and came up to the capital to point out, in a series of pamphlets, to the king the evils which Jesuitism would inflict on the country. M. de Montlosier opened the way for

other writers, such as the Abbé de Pradt, former Archbishop of Mechlin, Paul Louis Courier, and the ablest critic of the "Journal des Débats," Hoffmann. The ultramontane and absolutist tendencies of the monarch were resisted in the Chamber of Peers by Lainé de Talleyrand, Decazes, Pasquier, Molé, Siméon, Portal, Roy, Mollien and Mounier. Among the mass of the people different opinions predominated as to these observances. A few regarded them with reverence, many with indifference, but the majority with scoffing sneers. The priest party was, however, strong in the Chamber of Deputies. So great a change had been operated by the electoral law of 1821, that one hundred and thirty members were devoted to the *parti prêtre* in the lower house, though that party could not boast of more than thirty adherents in the Chamber of Peers.

The clergy, to their own manifest discontent, received no grant of indemnity, but induced the ministry, as a kind of compensation, to bring forward a law of sacrilege. By this it was proposed to punish the profanation of the consecrated elements with the pains of parricide; the profanation of the sacred vases not yet filled with the consecrated elements with the pain of death; theft in sacred places with death or the galleys for life. The severity of these enactments, more suited, to use the words of Châteaubriand, to the twelfth rather than to the nineteenth century, excited amazement and opposition within and without the chambers. Châteaubriand spoke and voted for the amendment proposed by the liberal party; but such was the strength of the priest party and the camarilla, that the law passed the Chamber of Deputies with scarcely any alteration by a majority of 115, and the peers by a majority of thirty-six.

Preparations had been making for a considerable time, and on a more extensive and expensive scale, for the coronation of the king. The event took place at Rheims, on the 29th of May. It was conducted with

extraordinary pomp, and at a cost of four millions of francs. On the journey to that city an accident occurred to the royal carriage which was nearly attended with fatal effects. The king was only saved by the dexterity and presence of mind of his coachman, but General Curial and some officers of his household were severely injured. In lieu of the old coronation oath to destroy heretics and wield absolute power, the successor of Clovis took an oath to maintain the constitution, the charter, and the Roman Catholic religion. The oath was the subject of much negotiation between the ultras and the government. Though the prime minister, Villèle, did all that in him lay to harmonize the whole ceremony of the coronation with the constitution and with modern usages, yet the clergy were unyielding, and insisted that the *Saint Ampoule*, or holy oil, which, according to the legend, had been brought down by a dove to St. Remy, to anoint Clovis, should again be had recourse to.

It was no legend that the emissary of the Convention had broken the phial and cast out the so-called sacred oil. Yet, as is usual on such occasions, another phial was discovered and produced, containing the miraculous liquor. With this unguent the king was anointed in seven different places of his body, through holes slit in his coronation robes. What with the prayers, the ceremonies, the girding on the sword of Charlemagne, and assuming his crown, the ceremony occupied six hours. The monarch was wiry and slight in figure, and hale in body, but even *his* strength and agility were exhausted by these tedious ceremonies, while the dauphin and Talleyrand were fairly overcome. It was the duty of Talleyrand to put on the velvet boots of the king, and of the dauphin to put on his father's spurs. Vaulabelle gives a ludicrous description of these doings, of the dressings and undressings of the monarch, and of his receiving the sword from a minister of the church. A certain number of carrier pigeons and other birds

were placed in the cathedral to bear the glad tidings, but they were so overcome with clouds of frankincense and the stifling atmosphere, that many of them died, and the remaining birds were unable to wing their flight with the glad tidings.

On Lafayette's return from America in 1825, the citizens of Havre having received him with some demonstrations of joy, the government manifested their resentment by ordering out the gendarmes, who charged the multitude with drawn sabres. The influence of the Jesuits was seen in the progress of the "Constitutionnel" and "Courrier Français." Villèle, who had discernment enough to see to what this fanaticism would lead, and who was at the same time obnoxious to the liberals, on account of his anti-constitutional principles, and his operations in the funds, became less secure. The parties assumed a more hostile attitude towards each other. The royalists and the supporters of the Jesuits became more open in the expression of their real sentiments; the liberals became stronger and bolder; and the government assumed a tone ill calculated to conciliate its avowed opponents.

On the opening of the session, Dec. 12th, 1826, Damas, minister of foreign affairs, informed the chamber that all the continental powers had endeavored to prevent the interference of Spain in the affairs of Portugal; that France had co-operated with them, and withdrawn her ambassador from Madrid, and had entered into arrangements with England to leave Portugal and Spain to settle their affairs in their own way. Several unpopular measures brought forward by the ministers were, after violent discussions, rejected, among which was a proposed law concerning the liberty of the press. The withdrawal of this by an ordinance was regarded as a popular triumph. This event was followed by the disbanding of the national guards of Paris, a body of 45,000 men, who at a review in the Champ de Mars, had joined the cries of hatred against the ministry. This was a highly unpopular meas-

ure; and Lafitte, Benjamin Constant, and some other members talked of impeaching the ministers; but Villèle took credit to himself for having ventured on a step which he knew to be unpopular, but considered necessary. Every proceeding, however, served to show that the ministerial party was gradually losing ground, and that no trifling concessions to their opponents would avail.

While Charles was much more resolutely opposed to the prevalence of democratic principles than his brother, and yielded to the counsels of priests who were intent on the restoration of the church to the power it possessed some centuries before, the people were taught to believe, and actually dreaded, that a plot was forming to deprive them of the constitutional privileges which they had gained after so long a struggle. Thus the nation became gradually alienated from the court, and the court from the nation; while every opportunity was seized by the turbulent spirits of the time to widen the breach, and, if possible, to overturn the monarchy. A new ministry was forced upon the king by the popular party; they professed moderate principles, it is true; but they had neither the abilities nor the influence necessary for steering a safe course between the extremities of royal prerogative on the one side, and popular encroachments on the other; the consequence of which was, that while the ultra-royalists were deeply offended by their liberal measures, the revolutionary party treated them as drivellers and *incapables*. In this state of opposite feeling, Charles suddenly dismissed them, and intrusted the formation of a new cabinet to Prince Polignac.

On August 9th, 1829, the following appointments were announced: Prince Polignac, minister of foreign affairs; M. Courvoisier, keeper of the seals and minister of justice; Count Bourmont, minister of war; Count de Bourdonaye, minister of the interior; Baron de Montbel, minister of ecclesiastical affairs, and public instruction; and Count Chabrol de Crousol, minister of fi

nance. To these was afterwards added M. d'Haussey, minister of marine and the colonies, in lieu of Admiral Count Rigny, who declined the offered portfolio. The ministry was decidedly ultra-royalist; and never, perhaps, had an administration in any country to encounter such a storm of virulence and invective as that which assailed the cabinet of Polignac. On looking dispassionately at their first measures, they appear dignified, moderate, and even conciliatory; but nothing could convince the democrats of the rectitude of the intentions of either Charles or his favorite ministers. And when it was seen that the king not only favored the Jesuits and monastic orders, but that he showed a marked dislike to those who had acquired eminence in the revolution or under Napoleon, and that the rigid court etiquette of former days was revived, they were ready to believe the most absurd rumors of his intended designs, not merely to crush the rising spirit of liberty, but to rule over France with the most absolute despotism. But, though Charles and his ministers had endeavored to uphold the aristocratic power of the state, many of their measures had a contrary effect. The nobles had ceased in France to form an aristocracy. Their great numbers and little wealth; the mixture of political elements they presented; their total want of any political privileges, &c., had left the noblesse entirely without consequence; and it was apparent from the first that neither the king nor Polignac fully comprehended the wishes or wants of the people, but trusted that something might arise to turn the popular current in their favor.

The rupture with Algiers offered the opportunity. A sum of 2,000,000 francs was due by the Dey to French merchants, and when reminded of this debt by the French consul, his highness gave the consul a slight blow with his fan in the presence of the other European functionaries. An expedition on a large scale was determined on. The land forces consisted of 37,500 men, with 180 pieces of artillery; the naval of

11 sail of the line, 23 frigates, 70 smaller vessels, 377 transports, and 230 boats for landing the troops. The command of this expedition was solicited by Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, but M. de Polignac gave it to the minister at war, Bourmont. The embarkation was completed on the 11th May, and the Duke d'Angoulême, who superintended the armament and sailing in person, declared on his return to Paris that all was triumphant, the army being animated with the best spirit.

The disembarkation was effected on June 14th, at Sidi-Feruch, within five leagues of Algiers, and on the 19th the Mussulmans advanced towards the invaders' lines. The French had placed stakes in the ground to break the violence of the enemy, but such was the vigor and fury of the Bedouins that they broke through stakes and lines. The conflict was doubtful, when Bourmont brought forward his reserve and charged the assailants in flank, while the French infantry reforming in the rear advanced against the Turks engaged with their assailants in flank. This was decisive. The enemy were driven back in confusion, and the French succeeded in entering the Osmanli camp, making themselves masters of cannon, ammunition and baggage. The loss of the Turks was above 3000, while that of the French did not exceed 500.

For four or five days after the victory of Sidi-Feruch, Bourmont continued to strengthen his position, disembarking his heavy artillery. On the 24th, however, 20,000 Mussulmans advanced with loud shouts to attack the French. But the French divisions of Loverdo and Berthezene moved out of the trenches to attack them, and with a terrible fire of grape threw the enemy into disorder, pursuing them two leagues with great loss. In this affair Amédée Bourmont, the son of the commander, fell gloriously. The advance of the French to Algiers was still impeded by the light troops of the Arabs, but on the 30th June ground was opened before the town. The attack against the emperor's fort

was opened on the 4th of July. The French ships kept up an incessant fire on the sea defences, while the land batteries, armed with 100 guns, directed their fire on the emperor's fort. The superior fire of the besiegers soon made itself felt, the walls fell with a terrific explosion, and the French grenadiers, rushing to the assault, were soon in possession.

The Dey attempted to obtain concessions, preserving his independence, but Bourmont would not listen to mediation, and on the 5th of July the gates were surrendered. In the treasury were found gold and silver to the amount of 48,500,000 francs, and 1,542 pieces of artillery. The value of the entire booty was 55,684,000 francs. The total loss of the victors was 2,300, of whom 600 were killed.

Five days after the expedition, whose success we have chronicled, sailed from Toulon, and immediately after the arrival of the Duke d'Angoulême, who brought tidings of the favorable disposition of the army, a dissolution of the Chamber was resolved upon.

The determination to dissolve produced the resignation of two ministers, Courvoisier and Chabrol. Courvoisier was succeeded as keeper of the seals by Chantelauze, and Chabrol as minister of finance by M. de Montbel. The violent Peyronnet succeeded Montbel as minister of the interior. The new elections were all in favor of the opposition; 202 members who had voted with M. Agier in favor of an address were returned. The opposition, it was calculated, numbered 270 votes, while the ministry had but 145, some of which were uncertain. It was thus evident that a majority was out of the question. A memorial was addressed to the king by the cabinet on the state of affairs, and his majesty, after anxious deliberation, consulted M. Royer Collard, who answered, "that possibly the Chamber might not reject the budget, but that the discussions on the finances would shake the monarchy to its very foundation." The king now expressed an opinion that a *coup d'état* had become inevitable. "My resolution," said he to his ministers,

"is to maintain the charter; I will not depart from that charter on any point, nor will I permit others to do so."

It was on the 29th June that the question of a *coup d'état* was discussed in the cabinet, and on the 7th of July it was finally agreed under the seal of the most solemn secrecy that the blow should be struck. M. de Chantelauze, the orator of the cabinet, and the man who possessed the confidence of the Duke d'Angoulême, proposed to suspend the constitution—to govern in an arbitrary manner, or to declare void the elections of those deputies, with various other measures, one of which was the placing of Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux and Rouen in a state of siege. At length it was agreed to invoke the fourteenth article of the charter, which conferred plenary powers on the king in extreme cases, and to suspend the liberty of the press, to dissolve the Chamber, and to establish a new electoral system. The project met with the warm approbation of the king. A report on the ordonnances intended to be issued was presented by M. Chantelauze to the sovereign on the 24th of July. There were some truths in this document, for there can be no doubt that journalism had become an immense power in the state, that it had somewhat abused its influence, and that public opinion was in a degree overcharged and over-excited. But this is no justification for the king or for his ministers. There were laws to which the press was amenable, and which might have curbed and amerced its writers. But the cabinet appealed not to these laws, but to ordonnances beyond the law—not to the legislature or courts of law, but to the will of the king. The first of these ordonnances suspended the liberty of the press, and prohibited the publication of journals not authorized by the government. The second dissolved the new Chamber on the pretence that the electors had been deceived as to the real intentions of the government. The third reduced the number of deputies to 258. The electoral franchise was reduced to the possession of property

paying the requisite amount of direct taxes, by the exclusion of the suffrage founded on patents. The prefects were re-invested with the authority which they had antecedent to 1828, that is to say, they were to have absolute power in the preparation of the electoral lists.

The fatal ordonnances were signed on the 25th of July. Polignac on that day presented them to the king. His majesty hesitated for some time, and at length exclaimed, passing his hands over his brow, "The more I think, the more I am convinced that it is impossible to act otherwise." M. de Vitrolles, who had been so mixed up with Charles X. as Count d'Artois, went to St. Cloud on the morning of the day the ordonnances were signed, to warn the ministers that the aspect of Paris was dangerous, and that what might have been attempted seven or eight months previously could not be then attempted. But M. Guernon Ranville, to whom these fears were expressed, on consulting with M. Peyronnet, the home minister, and Mangin, the prefect of police, was informed that Paris was tranquil, and would not stir.

The first person to whom the ordonnances were communicated was M. Sauvo, of the "Moniteur," an old and experienced publicist. When he received them from MM. Chantelauze and Montbel, he could not believe the evidence of his senses, and ejaculated, "God save France and the king!" Though the ministers had thus drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, there was a total want of preparation. Polignac, in the absence of Bourmont, was war minister as well as prime minister, and he assured his colleagues he had sufficient force to crush any rebellion. Yet, there were but 12,000 men of the regular army in Paris, and of these not more than 5000 could be thoroughly depended on.

The force had but twelve pieces of cannon, with six rounds of grape shot to each gun. The ordonnances were affixed to the walls of Paris on the 26th. They excited

at first rather surprise than indignation. The fact is, the leaders were not yet prepared. The chief journalists, indeed, had consulted M. Dupin, who said, "that though his legal opinion was at their service, he could not join in a political consultation." They remarked, "they came to him as a deputy." "I am no longer a deputy," was his reply. Half-a-dozen deputies had met at Casimir Périer's but almost all were more anxious to escape than to meet the difficulty. Of the half-dozen was Alex. de la Borde, who proceeded to the office of the "National." There he found the chief journalists of Paris in the act of drawing up a declaration of resistance. This protest was written by Thiers, and signed by forty-five journalists, among whom were Thiers himself, Carrel Coste, of the "Temps," and Baude. It is impossible to deny that these men hazarded their lives in resistance to what they deemed the illegal acts of the government. The ultra-royalist journals, and some of the royalist and liberal, had obeyed the ordonnances in taking out the licenses required. But the "National" and the "Temps" appeared without licenses, and this defiance of the government was followed by an order to seize the journals, and to close their printing offices. The editors and proprietors opposed a resolute resistance, locksmiths and blacksmiths refused to act in obedience to the police.

The public mind was excited to frenzy when the tribunal of commerce directed a printer, who refused to print the "Courrier Francaise," to do so within twenty-four hours on pain of imprisonment. The king was not awakened from his delusion on the 27th. On the morning of that day his majesty proceeded to a hunting party to Rambouillet. It was not till the morning of the 27th that Marshal Marmont (who had not been informed till the last moment of the onerous duties that were about to devolve upon him) was invested with the command of the garrison of Paris.

Before his orders could reach the troops everything had assumed a serious aspect, and



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it was evident that a conflict was inevitable. Yet, though the people were arming and menacing, no additional troops were brought into Paris, though 18,000 of the royal guard were quartered in the vicinity. No arrangement was made by M. de Polignac, in charge of the war-office, to provision the troops, or to furnish them with ammunition. It is a fact, that during the heat and fierce struggle of the three days the army remained without supplies, and was indebted to food from the citizens of Paris. On the morning of the 28th the people had in masses descended into the streets, crying, "Vive la chartre! A bas les ministres!" There were also general cries of "Vive la ligne! Vivent les peres et les enfants du peuple!" The line soon showed their sympathy by allowing the people to pass through their ranks. The inhabitants of the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau now appeared in great numbers armed with all sorts of weapons. The streets were unpaved, trees were felled, omnibuses and carriages overturned, and barricades erected. The arsenal, the powder manufactory, the depot of artillery were broken into, and the contents distributed. Forty thousand muskets of the National Guard were put into hands capable of using them, and many of their uniforms were rendered serviceable. The people surrounded the Hotel de Ville, and it soon fell into their hands. A huge tricolor flag was instantly displayed from the roof, and excited enthusiasm. The gates of Notre Dame were soon after broken open, and another tricolor flag was hoisted from its summit, while its enormous bell, the *bourdon*, sounded the tocsin.

The tricolor flag was at this time displayed from a score of churches—barricades were erected in all the principal quarters—and the best part of Paris might be said to be in the hands of the insurgents. It was at this period that Marmont concentrated the few troops at his disposal around the Tuileries. But the eight guns at his command had only four rounds of grape shot.

It is true, that at eleven o'clock 500 men

had arrived from Vincennes, and three squadrons of *grenadiers à cheval* from Versailles, which made the force defending the centre of Paris 3000 infantry and 600 horse of the guard. But the infantry had only twenty rounds of ball cartridge each, without provisions or water, under a scorching sun and African temperature.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, Marmont resolved on offensive operations. He ordered two columns to march, the one along the Boulevards, the other along the quays, whilst a third was to occupy the great central market, called Des Innocens, from which the Rue St. Denis emerges on one side to the Boulevards, and leads on the other to the Hotel de Ville. These columns were each of them far too weak for the service demanded of them. That which advanced along the quays consisted of but one battalion of the guard; the others had each two battalions. Each brought with it two guns. Marmont employed no troops but the regiments of the guard on that service, for he already doubted, and would not put to trial the fidelity of the line. The column which was to proceed along the quays to the Hotel de Ville was to be supported by the 15th Light Infantry, which held the Palais de Justice and the Pont Neuf. It advanced without difficulty to the Pont Neuf. Then the commander, General Talon, instead of taking the 15th Light Infantry with him, ordered them to line the opposite quays, and to fire on the crowd which barred the approaches to the Hotel de Ville. The 15th took up the position ordered, but refused to fire upon the people, unless they were first attacked. Talon, with the guards, advanced with one division along the quays of the cité, the other on the opposite side of the river. Both met determined resistance. Every window of the Hotel de Ville, and of the houses opposite, was filled with marksmen, and a body of students did not fear to stand before the military. But the two guns with their discharges of grape swept away popular resistance wherever en

countered, and the battalion took possession of the Hotel de Ville, and pulled down the tricolor. General Talon found it still difficult to maintain possession of the square, and to keep the insurgents at bay on the other side of the bridge, as well as up the narrow streets all around. Hearing probably of the conduct of the 15th regiment, the commander-in-chief sent a Swiss battalion to reinforce it. The column met with no obstacle along their road except a barricade, attempted near the Porte St. Martin, which was entirely destroyed. No permanent obstacle presented itself till the Place de la Bastille was reached. The soldiers could not make their way from hence to join their comrades at the Hotel de Ville, so strong were the barricades, so formidable the fire and discharge of missiles from the windows of the Rue St. Antoine. The most painful and dangerous service was to clear the Marche des Innocens and the Rue St. Denis, intrusted to the remaining column. That portion of it which attempted the street was crushed with paving-stones, thrown upon them from the tops of the upper windows. The narrowness of the street and its windings left no play to cannon, and the enemies were above. The attack of a street of which the barriers are all occupied by insurgents, requires a large force prepared for destruction. The Royal Guards were neither in numbers nor in preparation fit for such a struggle. They were, as we have before stated, without provisions, and no preparation for the supply of such an assemblage of troops had been made. The folly of intrusting the war department to M. de Polignac in the absence of Bourmont was even greater than the intrusting to him the political administration of the country.

While these sanguinary, and, for the royal cause, unsuccessful combats were taking place in the streets, a provisional government was established by the successful insurgents. Generals Lafayette, Gerard, and the Duke de Choiseul, were named as members of it, and a proclamation, signed in their names, was,

without their authority, placarded on the walls of Paris.

Ultimately, thirty deputies, with a view to constitute a government, met at M. Audry de Puyraveau's. M. Mauguin, the advocate, was the first to address his brothers of the Chambers, and to tell them that to lead such a movement they must comprehend it. He urged that they should choose at once between the people and the royal guards, by naming a provisional government. But the constitutionalists of the left centre thought this proposition premature, and proposed a deputation to Marmont to stop the effusion of blood. The deputation was received by the marshal, who represented the circumstance to his sovereign in a respectful letter, but this communication made no impression on Charles X. The deputation sought to have an interview with Polignac, but that self-willed minister answered, that an interview could lead to no good result.

The afternoon of the 28th found the insurgents triumphant, and the king's party heartened with their losses. Efforts were made by the Baron de Vitrolles and General Alexandre Girardin, late in the day, to convince the king of the perilousness of his position, but in vain. When a despatch arrived from Marmont, announcing his real position, the king sent orders to the marshal to concentrate his troops and act in masses. In the evening the marshal informed M. de Polignac that the troops of the line had passed over to the people, and that the guard alone was to be relied on, on which the minister replied, "Well, if the troops have gone over to the insurgents, we must fire on the troops." On the morning of the 29th, 1500 infantry and 600 cavalry of the Guard arrived at Paris, but what were these against probably 100,000 armed citizens. Against such an host as this Marmont had not much more than 5000 men and eight guns. Besides, at six o'clock in the morning of this day, it was proposed by the deputies assembled at the mansion of M. Laffitte, to declare the king and his ministers public enemies. General

Sebastiani alone protested against this resolution, whilst M. Guizot remained silent. After Lafayette arrived at Laffitte's, a deputation from the republicans came to offer him, conjointly with General Gerard, the military command of Paris. Lafayette accepted the offer with eagerness, while Gerard avoided committing himself, either by refusal or acceptance. On this day the Louvre was carried by the insurgents, the whole of the left bank of the Seine being in their hands. Dense masses of the people, led by pupils of the Polytechnic School, came into contact with the artillery of the Guard in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite the Louvre, and a parley had taken place between them. The officer in command, whose pieces were charged with grape, sent to ask Marmont if he should fire. The marshal forbade him to do so, and the guns immediately fell into the hands of the insurgents. The regiment of the Seine opened its ranks to the crowd to let them into the Tuileries. Marmont, informed of this, ordered M. de Salis, who commanded two battalions of the Swiss Guard, to send one of them to occupy the Place Vendôme, to cut off the great entrance by the Rue de la Paix, from the Boulevards, crowded with insurgents. De Salis, desirous to relieve the battalions which had combated since dawn in the colonnade of the Louvre, with the insurgents in the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois gave orders for them to retire. While the movement was taking place, the fire ceased for a few moments, and the insurgents thinking that the troops retreated, rushed across the Place St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and stormed the Louvre. The windows were broken through, the gates forced open, and the inner court of the Louvre carried. Numbers of the insurgents forced their way into the gallery of the museum, from the windows of which they kept a fire on the Swiss in the Place du Carrousel. Assailed both in front and in flank, a panic seized the troops, and they fled in disorder into the garden of the Tuileries. Marmont, by his calm courage,

restored order and withdrew his troops into the Champs Elysees. He covered with his own body the last soldier of his army, and was the last to leave the garden. The taking of the Louvre was a decisive measure, even if the defection of the fifth and fifty-third regiments of the line had not rendered the contest almost hopeless. The treasury, the post-office and the telegraphic departments were soon in the hands of the insurgents, and the Invalids and barracks of the Rue de Babylonne were the only points of importance occupied by the royal troops. They were both evacuated—the latter, after a severe conflict, in which numbers of the Swiss perished. A hundred Swiss placed in a house at the corner of the Rue St. Honoré, had been forgotten in the retreat. They defended themselves desperately, and perished to the last man. With the exception of the sacking of the archbishop's palace, and the emptying of the cellars of the Tuileries, by men exhausted with thirst and fatigue, there was no plunder.

Marmont hastened to communicate to the king at St. Cloud the disasters of the day. After enumerating the events that had occurred, and the panic of the Swiss, he said, in conclusion, "A ball directed at me killed the horse of my aide-de-camp at my side. I regret it did not pass through my head, for death were far preferable to the sad spectacle I have witnessed." The king raised his eyes to heaven, and without addressing a single reproach to the marshal, directed him to communicate with the Duke d'Angoulême, whom he appointed generalissimo. The monarch unfolded the disastrous news communicated by Marmont to his ministers. The majority of the cabinet were for yielding to a force they had no means of resisting; but, though on the evening of the 28th, when victory was undecided, M. Guernon de Ranville advised an arrangement or accommodation, yet now he was not for yielding without a combat. The views of this minister were sustained by the dauphin; but the king turning to the majority, said, "De

what you think best." On this the ministers deliberated, and the king signed an ordonnance revoking his former ordonnances, dismissing his ministers, and appointing M. de Mortemart president of the council, Casimir Périer, minister of the interior, and Gerard, minister of war. M. de Mortemart accepted the mission with reluctance, but entirely failed of success. Ordonnances of a liberal character were prepared by the new minister, and sent to the Hotel de Ville, but it was replied, "It is too late."

The popular party at the Hotel de Ville published a proclamation, signed by Count Lobau, Audry de Puyraveau, M. Manguin and M. de Schonen, stating that Charles X. had ceased to reign in France.

On the 29th and 30th of July, M. de Mortemart made a last effort to open negotiations at the Hotel de Ville through M. Collin de Sussy, and at the Luxembourg, but his propositions were received with continually and contempt. So soon as the Duke d'Angoulême was invested with the chief command of the army, he directed Marmont, who received the order at the Barrière de l'Etoile to retire with all his troops to St. Cloud, where he proposed to rally the royal guard, and to march afterwards himself with troops from St. Omer and Nancy, to the amount of 38,000. It was at St. Cloud that the dauphin apostrophized the marshal in vehement terms; and in attempting to seize his sword, accusing him of treason—because he had entered into a capitulation for the royal troops, by which hostilities were suspended—he wounded his own hand. A scene like this, in such a supreme and fatal moment, was not calculated to reassure the troubled and anxious spirits who surrounded the monarch. Meanwhile the excited and turbulent spirits of the metropolis were pouring out to St. Cloud, and the dauphin, who was in command of the royal guard, finding the soldiers of the line not prompt to obey his orders in firing on the insurgents, who had passed the bridge, communicated to his father the disheartening intelligence. It was

now resolved to retreat on Rambouillet where the Court arrived at twelve o'clock at night with the royal guard, 12,000 strong. On his arrival at Rambouillet, the king was prepared to abdicate; and on the morning of the 2d of August, he addressed a letter to the Duke d'Orleans in his quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom (an office conferred on him by the authorities of the Hotel de Ville, and confirmed by the monarch), requiring him to proclaim Henri V. The duke consulted with M. Dupin as to the answer he should return to this communication. That eminent lawyer advised a categorical answer, which he drew up, separating the cause of the house of Orleans from that of the elder branch. "The matter is too grave," said the duke, "to decide on without consulting the duchess;" and passing into another chamber, he substituted a complying, considerate, affectionate and obedient letter, in lieu of the harsh missive of Dupin. But instead of acting up to this letter, or to the request of the abdicating sovereign, the duke sent forward a deputation of three commissioners, with an army of 12,000 men, commanded by General Pajol, to impress upon Charles X. the necessity of his departure for England.

The council which was sitting at the Hotel de Ville had, on Friday, the 30th, been much in contact with the people, and there were men among them of republican tendencies. But Casimir Perier, Sebastiani, and a considerable number of influential deputies, were almost to the last moment in favor of an arrangement with Charles X. As a sort of compromise and *juste milieu* between Garism on the one hand, and republicanism on the other, the name of the Duke d'Orleans was put forward, and the influential banker, Laffitte, was prominent in urging the claims of his Royal Highness. The "National," one of the principal writers in which was M. Thiers (then patronized by Laffitte), espoused the cause of the duke, and put forth a placard stating, that the republic would expose France to fearful quarrels, and pro-

duce a breach with Europe. The Duke d'Orleans, the document stated, was devoted to the revolution, never bore arms against France, was a combatant at Jemappes, had borne the tricolor flag, and would hold his crown from the people. While these efforts were making in favor of the duke in Paris, that personage was at his country house at Neuilly. On Tuesday, the 27th, Laffitte had sent a friend to him, when it appeared the duke was undecided. He feared St. Cloud—he feared the insurrection—and to escape both, he retired to another country house at Raincey. But during his absence, Thiers had seen the duchess and Madame Adelaide, the duke's sister, and after a good deal of reserve and coyness at first, Madame Adelaide stated that she was herself a Parisian—that she would make common cause with the Parisians—that her family were always in opposition—that they might make anything of her brother but an emigrant—and that, if the adhesion of the family was necessary to the revolution, it should be given. Madame Adelaide stated her readiness to set out for Paris, only requiring either M. Laffitte or General Sebastiani for an escort. "Madame," said M. Thiers, "you this day secure the crown to your family." The Duke d'Orleans was immediately informed of what had occurred by M. Analote de Montesquieu, one of the gentlemen of his household, who proceeded to Raincey to implore the prince to forestall the republic by accepting the crown. The duke still hesitated, ordered his carriage—then stopped it half way in the avenue, returning to Raincey—then again turned his horses' heads towards Paris, where he arrived *incognito* in the dark, and, proceeding up stairs to an attic in the Palais Royal, flung himself on the bed of one of his servants.

The arrival of the Duke d'Orleans in Paris induced Charles X. to write him a letter, in which he offered the prince the position of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with a view to preserve the crown for the Duke de Bordeaux. But the duke declined this offer,

alleging to his friends that he would be a constant object of suspicion; that the Duke de Bordeaux could not have a bowel complaint without his being accused of having poisoned him. Meanwhile a meeting of deputies took place at the Hotel Bourbon, at which Laffitte was chosen president. While the deputies were assembled, M. de Sussy entered with the last ordonnances of Charles X., recalling the obnoxious measures which had produced the insurrection, and dismissing the Polignac cabinet. These were not read, but the deputies present prayed the Duke d'Orleans to come to Paris (he had already arrived *incognito*) to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general. In the Chamber of Peers at the Luxembourg, Châteaubriand made a protest in favor of the ancient monarchy. "If the question," said he, "comes to be the salvation of legitimacy, give me a pen and two months, and I will restore the throne." But these words fell unheeded, and, in fact, the commission of the Chamber of Deputies agreed to on the motion of M. Hyde de Neuville, proposed, on consultation with a commission of the Peers, to give the authority of lieutenant-general of the kingdom to the Duke d'Orleans.

The deputies waited on the duke at the Palais Royal, praying him to accept the lieutenancy-general, pointing out to him the dangers of delay. The duke asked for a few minutes longer delay, and retired to his cabinet with General Sebastiani, whom he despatched to consult M. de Talleyrand. The ex-bishop and ex-minister advised the duke to accept. He no longer hesitated, and his acquiescence was announced in a proclamation in the "Moniteur." Having accepted the lieutenancy-general, the duke perfectly comprehended that the nomination required the sanction of the power installed at the Hotel de Ville. To the Hotel de Ville he proceeded on Saturday, the 31st of July, where he was received by Lafayette, and the declaration of the Chambers was read to him. When this ceremony was finished, he said, "As a Frenchman, I deplore the evils

inflicted on the country; as a prince, I am desirous of contributing to the happiness of the nation." When the prince had uttered these words, an adventurer, clothed in the uniform of a general officer, and calling himself General Dubourg, addressed the lieutenant-general, and said, "You have entered, prince, into serious engagements. I trust you will not forget them; but it is well to forewarn you, that should you do so, we are the men to compel you to keep your word." This abrupt apostrophe produced a momentary embarrassment. But the duke recovering his *sang froid*, said, "You do not know me, sir, to address such language to me. Know, then, that I am an honest man, whom it is not necessary to remind of his engagements." Lafayette, placing a tri-colored flag in the Duke d'Orleans' hands, led him to the window. He waved the flag, and embraced Lafayette in the presence of the people, amidst general applause.

The politic conduct of the Duke d'Orleans at the Hotel de Ville silenced all active opposition. It was on this occasion that Lafayette said to the prince, "What is now necessary to the French is a popular throne, surrounded with republican institutions." "That is just my opinion," said the prince. In his letter to the electors of Meaux, Lafayette stated that this mutual engagement, which he speedily published, rallied round the monarch men not disposed to monarchy, and men who wished any one but a Bourbon.

In the meantime, Charles X., having abandoned the idea of rallying the troops and retreating upon Tours, dismissed his ministers, and directed them, through M. Capelle, to seek their safety in flight. At Rambouillet, at the request of Marmont, Charles X. received the commissaries sent to see him out of the kingdom, and resigned himself to what he called the will of heaven, reserving the rights of the Duke de Bordeaux. At Maintenon the ex-monarch dismissed his army, telling the guard and the other regiments to make their submission to

the lieutenant-general. He continued with his family his journey to Cherbourg, resigned to what he considered the will of God. Arrived at Cherbourg on the 14th of August, he bade an affectionate farewell to his body-guard, and, with the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême and the Duchess de Berri and her two children, embarked on board the *Great Britain* for Spithead. The journey of the king from Rambouillet to Cherbourg lasted twelve days, an immense time if the distance only be considered.

During the first week of August the Chambers were occupied with the preparation of the constitution. On the 9th a deputation from both Chambers waited on the Duke d'Orleans, and made him an offer of the throne, which he accepted. The acceptance of the constitution by the new sovereign took place in the Chamber of Deputies. "I accept without restriction or reserve," said the new king, "the clauses and engagements which the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies contains, and the title of King of the French which it confers upon me, and I am ready to swear to observe them." His majesty then took the oath, which was in these terms: "In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications contained in the declaration: to govern only by the laws, and according to the laws; to render fair and equal justice to every one according to his right, and to act in everything in no other view but that of the interest, the happiness and the glory of the French people."

The king took the title of Louis Philippe. The leading articles of the charter of Louis XVIII. were agreed to, with the exception of the fourteenth clause, on which the authority for the *coup d'état* was founded.

The first cabinet of Louis Philippe, formed by a coalition of three parties, was soon torn by dissensions, and its dissolution was brought about during the trial of M. de Pelignac and the other ministers of Charles X., who had been arrested and brought to Vincennes.

The progress of the trial of the ex-minis-

ters produced great excitement. The process was long, not to say tedious, and the ex-ministers were defended with talent and courage. Their condemnation was certain from the commencement of the trial, nor could it have been otherwise, totally irrespective of popular irritation and excitement. The populace and movement party, and a majority of the National Guard of Paris were anxious that the extreme penalty of death should be inflicted, but it is to the honor and credit of the Peers that they did not pronounce the penalty of death, a sentence which would have been extremely painful to the king, and embarrassing to his ministers. M. de Polignac was sentenced by a majority of 128 to transportation for life, M. de Peyronnet to perpetual imprisonment, and M. de Chantelauze and Guernon de Ranville to the same punishment. During the trial the National Guard, and more especially the artillery, had expressed a most rancorous and turbulent spirit. At the same time Lafayette had also made demands on the government concerning the suffrage and the reconstruction of the peerage, which it was impossible to comply with. This led to decision and vigorous action on the part of the government. On the 24th of December the ministers deprived M. de Lafayette of the *actual* command of the National Guard, appointing him at the same time honorary commander. The position of the ministry had been somewhat strengthened by favorable news received from Algiers. Bourmont, who had conquered that dependency for Charles X., and had since commanded there, on receiving the announcement of the dethronement of the monarch, published an address announcing the fact to the army. He resigned his command to Clausel, who had been appointed his successor. An expedition under Clausel set out in the middle of November, and, after defeating several bodies of Arabs, reduced the towns of Melideah and Medeah, with a considerable territory. These conquests, and the great additions the government was obliged to make

to the army, enhanced the public expenditure; and the deficit, of which we have before spoken, increased.

The 14th of February being the anniversary of the death of the Duke de Berri, some of the partisans of the elder branch prepared to celebrate a funeral service in memory of the prince. The ceremony was originally intended to take place in the Church of St. Roque, in the Rue St. Honoré, but the minister of the interior applied to the Archbishop of Paris, and it was prohibited by him as likely to lead to disturbances. But the celebrators proceeded to the Church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois. Here a miniature of the Duke de Bordeaux passed from hand to hand, but, though the young man who had exhibited it was arrested, this did not satisfy the crowd, who proceeded to sack the church and the house of the parish priest. The cross at the west end of the church, which had fleurs-de-lis on it, was torn down. The archbishop's palace at Notre Dame was also sacked on the following day. So speedy was the work of destruction, that not only was the palace sacked before noon, but not a stone of it was left standing. Attacks were also made on obnoxious individuals. M. Dupin owed his life to the courage of one man, who defended the doorway while he escaped by a back window. When explanations were asked as to these events in the Chamber of Deputies, the minister of the interior, the prefect of the Seine, and the prefect of police exchanged mutual recriminations. The feebleness and want of union in the ministry was still further demonstrated by its conduct in regard to foreign affairs.

Laffitte soon after retired from the presidency of the council. By a royal ordinance of the 13th March, Casimir Périer was appointed president of the Council and minister of the interior in lieu of Laffitte.

The foreign policy of Casimir Périer though not propagandist, was firm and energetic. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, elected King of the Belgians, and married

to a daughter of the King of the French, had solicited the intervention of the King of the French. On the very day on which the request was made, Marshal Gerard set out to take command of the French army, and in five days afterwards entered Belgium at the head of 50,000 men. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar threatened Brussels at the head of 6000 troops at the very time that the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours entered that city at the head of two regiments and two batteries, whereupon the retreat of the Dutch troops commenced. The moral effect of this demonstration was of great advantage to the government of July and to the ministry of Périer. By the expedition to Ancona, too, Périer assured France a footing in Italy, and obtained a guarantee for the evacuation of Romagna by the Austrians. But, notwithstanding, a series of plots and street riots kept the government in a continual state of alarm. There was the plot of the Rue des Prouvaires and the revolt of Lyons, occasioned chiefly by distress. *Vivre en travaillant, ou mourir en combattant* was the device of the insurgents. The Bonaparte party, too, had ramifications which extended from the east to Paris, had partisans in the army, possessed a journal called "La Revolution," and was aided by supplies from the ex-queen Hortense. In this party were to be found Italians and Poles, and an agent and emissary of Louis Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, named Mirandoli. The Society of the Friends of the People had also, by the dissemination of republican publications, kept up the general excitement. Between the months of April and July there were constant disturbances in the streets of Paris, besides violent collisions with the legitimists at Toulouse, Montpellier, Nimes, Marseilles and Avignon. The principal of the Parisian disturbances arose on the occasion of the acquittal of Godfrey Cavaignac, .. captain in the artillery of the National Guard, president of the Society of the Rights of the People, and brother of the general who in 1848 was president of the Republic.

Bands of Chouans and Vendéans traversed the western departments, committing all sorts of excesses on the liberals. The vigor of the French government was, however, exhibited at Lisbon. Some French subjects had cause of complaint against the Portuguese government, and it was determined to demand reparation. Admiral Roussin, who had arrived in the Tagus, sent a flag of truce ashore demanding the dismissal of the captain of the Portuguese frigate which had captured a French packet-boat, a compensation in money for Frenchmen who had suffered during the blockade of Terceira, and the dismissal of the magistrates who had violated the privileges of French subjects. These terms not being complied with, the French squadron entered the Tagus, passed the fort of Belem with scarcely any damage, and continuing their victorious course, anchored abreast of the royal palace. The Portuguese were forced to submit. The conditions as to individuals were complied with, and conditions of a general nature referred to the conference of London. But the Portuguese fleet was taken to Brest. Notwithstanding these acts of vigor, the government was unpopular at home. The opposition press declaimed against it, always with great vehemence and often with great ability, more especially on the subject of Italy and Poland. The apologists of the administration contended that the government had done all it could do for the Poles in offering its own mediation and soliciting that of the other powers.

In the month of October, 1831, the king left his residence at the Palais Royal to reside in the Tuileries, where repairs and improvements had been effected. This change of residence was not without a motive. The riots so constantly taking place in Paris were daily assuming the characters of revolt, and it was advisable that the royal family should not be hourly exposed to the vociferations of the mob, who could approach to the very windows of the Palais royal. In consequence of a change in the distribution

and management of the Tuileries gardens, a trench had been dug round the chateau, so as to render popular access more difficult. It was impossible for the crowd in the Tuileries to approach the royal windows.

The first months of 1832 opened inauspiciously. Early in February the cholera had appeared in England, and in March the presence of the malady was revealed by four fatal cases in Paris. On the 31st March there were 300 cholera patients at the hospital, among whom there were eighty-six deaths; on the 5th of April there were 300 deaths, and four days later the mortality amounted to 814. On the 18th the highest figure of mortality had been attained, after which it gradually diminished.

On the 2d of April the Duke d'Orleans, in company with Casimir Périer, visited the cholera patients of the Hôtel Dieu; and on the 6th the minister was attacked by this alarming malady. He died on the 16th of May, leaving in the ministry a blank which it was impossible adequately to fill up.

During the illness of Casimir Périer, M. de Montalivet was interim minister at the home office. After the death of that minister he continued to hold the portfolio, and was himself succeeded in the ministry of public instruction by M. Girod de l'Ain. The place of president of the council remained vacant, and indeed the ministry was thought so weak and insignificant after the demise of Périer that it was considered as a species of ministerial interregnum. This was the first attempt of Louis Philippe to govern by men without political character or talent; for, though Marshal Soult, the war minister, was a person of administrative ability in his own particular walk, and, as M. Thiers designated him, an *épée illustre*, yet he was totally without political capacity. Events soon revealed the incompetency of the men at the helm of affairs. In the capital the anniversary of the death of Napoleon was the occasion of a hostile demonstration. On the 5th of May large assemblages took place at the Place Vendôme, where the

rioters had designedly congregated. Blood was shed on this occasion before the public force had cleared the Place Vendôme of the republicans. Preparations of a legitimate or Carlist insurrection were simultaneously proceeding in the south and west of France. An active correspondence was going on between Toulon and Nîmes, and the Duchess de Berri and her partisans. The Duchess at that time was residing in the states of the Duke of Modena, where an expedition was preparing.

Till this time the republicans, though disaffected, had refrained from overt acts of insurrection; but on the occasion of the funeral of General Lamarque, who had died of the cholera a few days after his old adversary Casimir Périer, they broke out into insurrection. The funeral procession started from the Rue Faubourg St. Honoré about ten o'clock in the morning. Notwithstanding the measures of precaution taken, and the numerous detachments of troops posted about, alarming symptoms were apparent. On the Place de la Bastille funeral orations were delivered. General Lafayette had just concluded his address, recommending the people to be tranquil, when a red flag was unfurled, and some of the populace cut the harness of the hearse, amidst loud cries of "To the Pantheon!" The dragoons posted around were fired on, stones were flung at, and daggers raised against them. At length they discharged their carbines. The national guards, who followed the procession, quitted it in disorder; the insurgents raised a cry of "To arms!" in different quarters, breaking the lamps and raising barricades. The disturbances continued on the 6th, night having interrupted the military operations, but the national guard united with the troops of the line. The king, who had arrived over night from St. Cloud, visited the different posts. On the 6th, however, the insurgents (who, in less than two hours on the preceding day, occupied the half of Paris) were still masters of certain quarters, of which the church of St. Mery was the centre. The

troops having secured the Hôtel de Ville and the Palais de Justice against the attack of the insurgents, surrounded them. Being too weak to leave their barricades, they remained behind their intrenchments. At this juncture the king, issuing from the Tuileries at the head of a brilliant staff, gave fresh confidence to the soldiers, who carried the barricades, and possessed themselves of the church of St. Mery. Of the troops, 55 were killed and 240 wounded. The national guard had 18 men killed and 104 wounded, and the insurgents 93 killed and 291 wounded.

A royal ordonnance placed Paris in a state of siege. A council of war was also appointed to try the prisoners arrested. But the "Cour de Cassation" declared these proceedings illegal, and remitted the affair to the "Cour d'Assises," where a few sentences of death were pronounced, commuted, however, afterwards, by the royal clemency.

The partisans of the Duchess de Berri were so turbulent in the west, that four departments—viz., Maine and Loire, Loire Inferieure, Deux Sevres, and La Vendée—were placed in a state of siege, which continued till June, 1833. Nevertheless, the duchess still continued this Chouan war, though few leaders of any mark engaged in it, and although MM. Châteaubriand, Fitz-James, and Hyde de Neuville recommended her to withdraw from the contest and quit France. Towards the end of May, M. Berryer was arrested at Nantes; and on the 15th June, Hyde de Neuville, Fitz-James, and Châteaubriand were arrested at Paris. M. Berryer was accused of tampering with the allegiance of Frenchmen by seeking to enlist superior officers in the Carlist cause, but he was acquitted of this charge by the "Cour d'Assises" at Blois in October. In the autumn of this year an adventurer of the name of Deutz, a convert from Judaism, and much in favor with the Pope and the Jesuits, was confidentially employed by the Duchess de Berri. He communicated his instructions to M. Montalivet, minister of

the interior, and declared his willingness to aid the government in betraying his employer. The minister, of course, approved of his proposal, and proposed a second interview a few days afterwards. This was in the beginning of October; but a few days afterwards there was a change of ministry, Marshal Soult becoming president of the council, and M. Thiers succeeding M. Montalivet as home minister. M. Thiers continued the negotiations commenced by his predecessor, and suggested to Deutz that he should remain at Paris. But Deutz explained to the minister that he could render the government more essential service when near the Duchess, his still confiding employer at Nantes. For Nantes the man set out under the name of Gonzagues, and obtained an interview with the princess on the 28th. On the 6th of November he informed the authorities that the duchess was then in the house of the Mlles. Duguigny. The house was surrounded all day on the 6th, and a minute but ineffectual search was made during the whole of the day and night. The authorities were about to give up the pursuit in despair, when at ten o'clock in the morning of the 7th, Madame la Duchesse was discovered at the back of the chimney, greatly suffering, as her cries indicated, from the insupportable heat. Her companions were M. Guibourg, an advocate of Nantes, M. de Mesnard, and Mademoiselle de Kersabiec. The prisoners were taken into custody, and the duchess was thence immediately placed on board a government vessel, and transferred to the citadel of Blaye. Thus ended, after many strange adventures, the political career of the Duchess de Berri.

The city of Antwerp, it will be remembered, was in fact Belgian, but the citadel remained in the power of the Dutch. An expedition was therefore resolved on to liberate the town, and to carry into execution the twenty-four articles of the treaty of London, France engaging not to unnecessarily prolong the occupation of Belgian territory. Seventy thousand French crossed

the frontier, whilst a reserve of 40,000 was stationed along the Moselle. On the 30th of November all the preparations under General Haxo and Neigre being completed (the breaches being opened on the 29th), Marshal Gerard summoned General Chassé, the governor of Antwerp, to surrender. This request not being complied with, the marshal regularly sat down before the place. On the 3d of December the second parallel was already established, notwithstanding frequent sorties of the garrison; and on the 23d, a breach having been effected, Chassé, after a vigorous and noble defence, offered to give up the citadel, and to retire into Holland with the garrison. Gerard would not accede to this proposition till the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek were surrendered; but as these were not under the command of General Chassé, it was necessary to open communications with the King of Holland. Meanwhile, however, the French took possession of the citadel.

The first months of the session of 1833 certainly announced greater calm. The imprisonment of the Duchess de Berri relieved the state of the embarrassment of a Venetian war, but it was still necessary to dispose of her case in some way or other. But an unexpected incident arose which gave a new complexion to the affair. On the night of the 16th or 17th January the Duchess de Berri was seized with violent vomitings, and, in consequence of a telegraphic despatch, the doctors Orfila and Auvity received orders to set out immediately for Blaye. After a great deal of delicate and proper circumlocution, the pregnancy of the duchess was formally stated to the authorities, and on the 28th of February she herself announced to General Bugeaud a secret marriage. The declaration was officially published in the "Moniteur" of the 26th. It was a terrible blow to the legitimist party, many of whom stoutly maintained (and, among others, a writer in the "Quotidienne") that the declaration was counterfeit. On the 8th of June, the duchess quitted Blaye, and embark-

ed on board *l'Agathe*, a government vessel, which conducted her to Palermo.

At the commencement of 1834 the partisans of the new dynasty hoped that the partial re-establishment of order, and the defeat of parties hostile to the government, would reassure the middle classes, and give a new impetus to commerce and industry. But it was soon apparent that it was merely a truce, not a peace, which prevailed.

The Cabinet and the Chamber appeared to be now determined on more aggressive measures. A law on associations was introduced on the 25th of February. The debate took place on the 11th of March, and lasted for twelve days. A few days after this angry debate the insurrection of Lyons and the Paris insurrection of April took place. The troubles of Lyons of November, 1831, had no political character; but those of 1834, it must be confessed, had been prepared by clubs and by journalism. An immense garrison had been sent to Lyons and the neighboring towns, the national guard had been disarmed, and the interior of the city had been fortified. In the beginning of 1834 there was the greatest distress among the silk weavers, and the result was that the association of the *Mutuellistes*, a society which never discussed either religious or political questions, but was established solely to defend the rights of the working classes, made common cause with the republicans, and by their influence produced a strike among the manufacturing population. On the 14th of February 20,000 workmen of Lyons and the neighborhood ceased to labor in the manufactories, and before the end of March a majority of these men came to an understanding with the republicans. An active correspondence was established between Lyons, Paris, St. Etienne, Marseilles, and other large towns, and a thorough community of action appeared to exist among the malcontents, whose movements were simultaneous with those of General Ramorino upon Savoy. But the authorities were prepared to strike a blow at Lyons, where they

had 20,000 men under arms. On the 9th of April every military precaution had been taken, and the troops were posted on all the important points. While M. Jules Favre was pleading a political cause, a shot was heard, and a man mortally wounded was carried into court. He was said to be an insurgent whom a gendarme had shot while in the act of raising a barricade; but on examination it was found that the dying or dead man wore under his clothes the sash of a police agent. The promulgation of this fact exasperated the workmen to madness. Barricades were erected, and proclamations were issued, declaring that the king was deposed, and that Lucien Bonaparte was named First Consul. The tocsin called the workmen to arms, and the people everywhere obstinately engaged the troops. The struggle lasted six days. The rising of the faubourgs of Vaise, la Guillotière, of St. Claire, and St. Just cut off communication with Paris, with the west, and with the south. Reverchon and La Grange were the chief leaders on the part of the people; 131 of the military were killed, of whom one was a colonel, and 12 officers and 192 men were wounded. On the side of the insurgents 170 were killed, and 400 republicans were made prisoners. Insurrectionary movements broke out simultaneously at St. Etienne, Grenoble, Vienne, Perpignan, Poitiers, Chalons sur Saône, Arbois, Marseilles. At Luneville the *sous officiers* of three regiments of cuirassiers essayed to direct their regiments to Nancy with a view to a march on Paris. The news of the Lyons insurrection gave the signal to the revolutionary party in Paris. On Sunday, the 13th April, Kersausie, a man of determined courage, reviewed the republican forces on the Boulevards, during the course of which operation he was carried off by the police. His arrest precipitated the insurrectionary movement. There was an immediate call to arms, and men ran to the barricades. But over this insurrection, called *les Journées d'Avril*, the government was also successful. The doctrine of "*connexité*,"

by which (under the article 171 of the *code de procédure*) it was sought to make the revolts of Lyons, St. Etienne, Grenoble, Paris, &c., one and the same revolt, ousted, so to speak, the *Cours Royales* in different parts of the kingdom of their jurisdiction, and the consequence was, that the Chamber of Peers became alarmed by the affair. The prisoners amounted to 1500. Of these 800 or 900 were set at large.

On the 20th May in this year General Lafayette died. At any other epoch his decease would have produced more impression, but the recent defeat of the republican party had discouraged and dispirited them. The triple alliance originally concluded between Spain, England, and Don Pedro now became the quadruple alliance, M. de Talleyrand having given in his adhesion on the part of France.

On the 1st of July of this year Don Carlos secretly withdrew from London, arrived at Paris on the 4th, on the 6th at Bordeaux, and the 8th at Bayonne, and on the 10th had crossed the Spanish frontier without having been discovered by the police of France. So soon as the pretender appeared on the soil of Spain, Martinez de la Rossa asked for the assistance of England and France. England furnished arms and munitions, and France the foreign legion. The French army of observation quartered on the Pyrenees also received reinforcements.

During the whole of 1835 sinister rumors of plots pervaded Paris. A plot was hatched against the life of the king at Neuilly, by which he was to be shot on his way from the Tuileries to the country. Information was given to the police of another plot which was to explode from a subterranean *fosse* on the Boulevards. But the plot which did really explode was that of Fieschi. On the 28th of July, the king, accompanied by his sons, by several of his ministers, and a numerous staff, had passed the Porte St. Martin and traversed one-half of the Boulevard du Temple, when from a window there was a terrible detonation from an infernal machine, ac-

accompanied with a shower of case-shot, a portion of which mortally wounded Marshal Mortier. The house was immediately surrounded by the police and an armed force. Fieschi, the perpetrator of the deed, was seized on the roof of a neighboring house, disfigured by his wounds. Boireau, a worker in bronze, Morey, a harness-maker, and one Pepin, were also arrested as implicated. On the 5th of August the funeral obsequies of the victims, to the number of fourteen, one of whom was an innocent young girl, and another a marshal of France, took place at the Invalides.

The trial of this plot of Fieschi's was delegated to the Chamber of Peers. The proceedings were opened on the 30th of January, 1836. On the 15th of February a judgment of the Court of Peers condemned Fieschi to the penalty of a parricide, Morey and Pepin to the penalty of death, and Boireau to twenty years' imprisonment. The execution took place on the 19th.

On the 25th of June, 1836, another attempt was made to assassinate the king. A shot was fired at his majesty as he was leaving the Tuileries, and two balls lodged in the royal carriage without wounding any one. The author of this new crime was one Alibaud, a young man who had served some time as a *sous-officier*, and was now in distress. The affair was brought before the Court of Peers on the 8th of July, and the evidence adduced proved that Alibaud had no accomplices. On the 9th of July Alibaud was condemned to die the death of a parricide, and he was executed on the 11th. The cabinet of M. Thiers, or of the 22d of February, as it is generally called in France, was not perfectly homogeneous.

On the Strasbourg affair, which occurred at this time, and in which the principal mover was the present Emperor of the French, it will not be necessary to dwell long. Louis Napoleon had won over to his cause at Baden Colonel Vaudrey, who commanded the 4th regiment of artillery. On the 25th of October he quitted Arnhem,

and arrived on the 28th at Strasbourg, where the commandant, Parquin, awaited him. On the 30th, at five o'clock in the morning the movement began. Colonel Vaudrey presented Louis Napoleon to his regiment, which received him with acclamations. They proceeded in marching order to the residence of General Voiret, who, on refusing to join the movement, was made prisoner. The plot, however, altogether failed at the Fenkmatt barracks, where Louis Napoleon, Colonel Vaudrey, Commandant Parquin, and some others, were arrested. The cabinet decided that the author should not be tried. Indeed it appeared difficult to bring him before the Chamber of Peers, which contained among its members a great number of old servants of the empire. On the 9th of November he was removed from Strasbourg to Paris, where he was only allowed to remain two hours. He left France on the 21st of November, and was removed to the United States on board a ship of war.

About the same period—namely, on the 6th of November, Charles X. died at Goritz, Illyria, at the age of seventy-nine years. The disrowned monarch bore his misfortunes with resignation, and died under the impression that he had fulfilled a great duty.

The previous ministry had left a serious difficulty to their successors in the Swiss question. The French ambassador, M. de Montebello, had strenuously demanded the expulsion from Switzerland of certain Italian refugees. Out of this question and other misunderstandings arose a rupture of diplomatic relations between Switzerland and France. Switzerland, thus placed between the difficulty of a retraction and a commercial blockade, replied pusillanimously to the French note. The French government expressed itself satisfied, but deep resentment rankled in the heart of the Swiss.

A royal ordonnance of the 6th of October opened the gates of Ham to the ministers of Charles X. De Peyronnet and De Chantelauze were authorized to reside on parole, the one at Monferrand and the other in the

department of the Loire. On the 23d of November the sentence of M. de Polignac was commuted for twenty years of banishment. M. de Guernon Ranville was allowed to reside on parole in the department of Calvados. Acts such as these paved the way to an amnesty. A fourth attempt to assassinate the king was made on the 27th of December, by a man named Meunier, a wretched being without intelligence, and belonging to the very lowest class of the population. He was condemned to transportation, but pardoned at the end of April, 1837.

A previous design on the life of the king had been discovered before this regicide could put his plan into execution. The author of the attempt, a working mechanic, named Champion, on being arrested, strangled himself in prison. An insurrection had been attempted at Vendome by the sub-officer Bruyant. Two attempts to assassinate the king, the affair of Strasbourg, the disaster of Marshal Clausel at Constantine, the commercial crisis and the Spanish question, were not favorable circumstances for the ministry. Yet the mere establishment of tranquillity had produced a prosperous condition of trade and manufactures.

The government, after having expatriated the Prince Louis Napoleon without bringing him to trial, indicted his accomplices at the assizes. But Colonel Vaudrey, Commandant Parquin, M. de Brue, Laity, De Querelles, De Gricourt and Madame Gordon, a singer, were all acquitted, the jury considering that they could not condemn the agents and instruments when the principal was not punished. For a considerable time no very good understanding existed between MM. Molé and Guizot. The latter could ill brook the superior position which the presidency of the council gave to M. Molé; and when the president intimated to M. Gasparin, who was incompetent to afford explanations in the Chamber, the necessity of his retiring, M. Guizot at once put forward his claims to the ministry of the interior. This produced an open rupture with M. Molé and the dissolu-

tion of the ministry. The ministerial crisis lasted a considerable time, and various essays were fruitlessly tried at the construction of a new cabinet. Ultimately M. Molé succeeded in forming a cabinet, in which M. de Montalivet resumed the portfolio of the interior, M. Barthe, the ministry of justice, and General Bernard, the ministry of war.

The new ministry, of frail and feeble constitution, felt that some measure was necessary to conciliate towards it the suffrages of a divided Chamber, and M. Molé came forward to announce the marriage of the prince royal with the Princess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, an accomplished personage of an ancient house. The marriage was not effected without difficulty. Russia had raised many obstacles, and even in the family there were not wanting those who were ill-disposed to the match. The King of Prussia, however, had exerted his influence to bring about a happy and successful solution. The Princess Helena entered the French territory on the 24th of May, and on the 29th arrived at Fontainebleau; on the 30th of May the high contracting parties were married, and the princess entered Paris on the 4th of June.

On the 17th of May, in this year, Talleyrand died at the age of eighty-four. Either from compunction or complaisance to the existing authorities, he wished before death to be reconciled to the church. To this end it was necessary that he should sign a retraction of his errors. The day before his death his grand-niece, who had considerable influence over him, insisted on having the retraction signed at that particular moment. Talleyrand replied, "I have never yet been in a hurry, and yet I have always arrived in time." The paper was not signed till five o'clock on the following morning. At eight o'clock the king came in person to visit him. Talleyrand, faithful to etiquette, and always acting a part, wished to receive his royal visitor standing, and had strength enough to say, "Sire, this is the greatest honor which my house has ever received." An hour after

wards the great actor was no more. He was a man of exquisite tact and great talent, but without a moral sense; justice and injustice, good and evil, were distinctions unknown to him. He worshipped success only.

A plot against the government was the subject of solemn inquiry before the Peers in the month of May. The principal conspirator was one Louis Hubert, and he had for an accomplice a Swiss mechanic named Steuble. Amongst his accomplices figured Mademoiselle Gronvelle, who was also mixed up in the conspiracy of Alibaud, Pepin, Morey, etc. Hubert was condemned to transportation; Steuble and Mademoiselle Gronvelle to five years' imprisonment. Mademoiselle Gronvelle lost her reason during her captivity, and Steuble committed suicide by cutting his throat. It was in this month that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, now Emperor of the French, returned from America to Arenenberg. The French government summoned Switzerland to expel him, when the grand council of Thurgovia declared he was a citizen of the canton. This resistance led to the formation of a corps of 20,000 men on the Swiss frontier. In order to put an end to this state of things, Louis Bonaparte left Arenenberg for London on the 20th of September. On the 24th of August the Duchess d'Orleans gratified the hopes of her family and the nation by giving birth to a young prince, who received the name of the Comte de Paris. The French troops evacuated Ancona on the 15th of October.

The session of 1839 opened on the 17th of December, 1838. While the discussion on the address continued, news arrived of the taking of St. Juan de Ulloa by Admiral Baudin, an exploit in which the Prince de Joinville participated. The address was carried by a majority of thirteen, 221 having voted for it, and 208 against it. So small a majority must have ended in a dissolution of the ministry had not the king sustained the cabinet and resorted to a dissolution. The parties formerly most hostile to each other united against M. Molé, and with them

MM. Guizot and Odillon Barrot co-operated with zeal and energy. Nor was the ministry idle. Every expedient was resorted to in order to obtain a majority, but without success, and M. Molé and all his colleagues resigned on the 8th of March, 1839. A provisional ministry to expedite affairs was appointed on the 1st of April, and various combinations with the view of forming a ministry were attempted, but they all failed; and it was not till an insurrection broke out in Paris that the crisis was put an end to.

The 12th of May fell on Sunday, and a great part of the population of Paris, as well as the royal family, were at the races at the Champ de Mars. Blanqui, Barbès, Martin-Bernard, and other members of the secret societies, judged the occasion favorable for an insurrection. The shop of the gunsmith Lepage was pillaged, cartridges were distributed to the insurrectionists, who seized on the Palace of Justice, occupied the Hotel de Ville and the post of St. Jean. The insurgents also wished to march on the Prefecture of Police, but measures were taken there to resist them. Some barricades were erected, and for several hours a running fire was kept up with the troops, who soon gained the advantage over these two or three hundred insurgents. This attempt at revolt excited astonishment in the population of Paris, but it had the good effect of putting an end to the hesitations of public men. On the evening of the day of the *emeute* a ministry was composed in which Marshal Soult occupied the position of president of the council and minister for foreign affairs.

The trial of the insurgents of the 12th of May commenced on the 29th of June before the Chamber of Peers. On the 12th of July sentence was pronounced, which condemned Barbès to the penalty of death, but this sentence was commuted. Martin Bernard was condemned to transportation, Mialon to the galleys for life, Blanqui was tried by the Peers in January, 1840, who condemned him, but he likewise obtained a commutation of the sentence.

It was during the ministry of the 12th of May that the Eastern question became so menacing for Europe. After the arrangement of Kutayah, which had left the Pasha of Egypt in possession of Syria, each party regarded the other with mutual distrust. The sultan was desirous of regaining Syria, while all the efforts of the pasha were directed to obtain hereditary possession of Syria and Egypt. Politicians in Europe were for maintaining the existing arrangements in the East, whilst at Constantinople and Alexandria everything breathed of war. The sultan pushed his preparations with ardor, and notwithstanding his pacific preparations, the Captain Pasha Achmet fortified the Dardanelles. A levy of 60,000 soldiers was ordered, and a movement was made on the frontier of Syria. On the 21st of April, 1839, the Turkish advance-guard passed the Euphrates, and was within twenty-four hours' march of Aleppo, so that at the period of the appointment of the French ministry hostilities were imminent between the Turkish and Egyptian troops. Marshal Soult despatched two of his aides-de-camp, MM. Foltz and Caillier, to the scene of action—one was to proceed to the camp of Hafiz by way of Constantinople, the other to the camp of Ibrahim in passing by Alexandria. It was generally admitted by English and French statesmen that there was a European question to be solved at Constantinople, and that Russia could not be permitted to obtain the control of the Bosphorus, thus possessing the keys of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Viscount Palmerston made overtures to the French Cabinet on the subject, and suggested that a joint representation should be made by England and France to the Austrian Cabinet, soliciting that power to co-operate for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire, and he further suggested that a similar proposition should be simultaneously made at the court of Berlin. A despatch of Lord Palmerston of the 17th of June, proposed that the English and French fleets should unite in the Mediterranean with orders to force the

Dardanelles in case the Russian troops should appear on the Turkish soil.

The answer of Marshal Soult was that he regarded the junction of the French and English fleets before Constantinople as most desirable, but that he doubted if so grave a question as the declaration of war against Russia and Turkey—the inevitable consequence of a forcible entry into the Dardanelles—could be left to the discretion of the respective admirals. A counter project was suggested by the French Cabinet—namely, a proposal to ask permission for the united fleets to enter the sea of Marmora in case of a Russian invasion. England, in a complaining spirit, accepted this timid proposition, unworthy of bold and able statesmen. While the French Cabinet was thus vacillating and undecided, impeding the vigorous resolves of Lord Palmerston, the army of Ibrahim was advancing to attack the Turkish army, which occupied a formidable position to the south of the village of Nezib. On the 24th of June was fought the battle of Nezib, in which the Turks were wholly defeated. Some days after the battle the victorious Ibrahim was proceeding beyond the Taurus, when the aide-de-camp of Marshal Soult appeared to stop his march, having obtained from Mohammed Ali an order that even though victorious the Egyptian general should not advance. The sultan never learned his defeat. He was in the agonies of death at the period of the battle, but lived to the 1st of July, when he expired, after having endeavored to reform an empire which he left partially dismembered, a prey to open enemies and pretended friends.

During the tortuous progress of the Eastern negotiations, Louis Philippe never lost sight of the settlement of the Duke de Nemours. On the 20th of February the discussion on this question of the "*dotation*" commenced. The ministers, wishing to avoid a debate, only one speech was delivered, when a division was taken, and the project was rejected by 226 votes. This majority brought about a dissolution of the ministry, and led

to the formation of a new cabinet, in which M. Thiers held the foreign office, with the presidency of the council. In this session, M. de Remusat announced to the Chamber that the king had commanded the Prince de Joinville to proceed to St. Helena to bring back to France the remains of the Emperor Napoleon. For this translation the permission of the British government had been solicited, which answered that it desired that the promptitude with which the request was complied with should be considered as a proof of the wish of her majesty that the last trace of the national animosities which during the life of the emperor armed both nations against each other should be effaced. The *Belle Poule* frigate accordingly proceeded to St. Helena, and brought back the remains of Napoleon to France. A splendid military funeral was decreed for these remains, and a mausoleum dedicated to them at the Invalides from the public purse.

But the most important fact connected with the ministry was the rupture of the English alliance. There was considerable soreness and excitement throughout France so soon as the provisions of the treaty of the 15th of July were made known. The effect of the treaty was to enable England, Russia, Austria and Prussia to settle the Eastern question without the co-operation of France. As soon as the provisions of this treaty became generally known, M. Thiers obtained from the crown permission to raise the army to 500,000 men, and to increase the fleet by ten vessels. A diplomatic note was written by M. Thiers, in which France refused to acknowledge the treaty, though she was not prepared to oppose its execution within certain limits. The English government sent a fleet to the coast of Syria without delay. The victories of Beyrout and St. Jean d'Acre were the results. To these measures France replied by fortifying Paris.

It was while the minds of men were engaged by the Eastern question, that on the 6th of August, 1840, M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte disembarked with about sixty fol-

lowers at Boulogne. After making a vain appeal to the population, Louis himself and the major part of his followers were within three hours in the hands of the authorities. For this attempt, the present Emperor of the French was tried before the Chamber of Peers on the 6th of October, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Ham.

On the 6th of October, 1840, about six o'clock in the evening, another attempt was made on the life of the king as he was proceeding to St. Cloud, by one Darnes, a *frotteur*. The carbine of Darnes burst in his hand, wounding him grievously, without injuring his majesty. Darnes was condemned to death by a sentence of the Court of Peers of the 29th of May, 1841, and was executed on the 31st of May.

M. Guizot became the chief of the new ministry. Marshal Soult, indeed, was president of the council with the ministry of war, but the moving spirit of the cabinet was M. Guizot. It first became its duty to reassure the commercial and trading community, alarmed on the subject of a general war deemed all but imminent, and at the same time to have regard to the honor of France, wounded by the treaty of the 15th of July, 1840.

In the first of these attempts M. Guizot completely succeeded, and in the month of February, 1841, he showed himself disposed again to enter into concert with the European powers. The result was the treaty of the 13th of July, 1841, which substituted a European protection of Turkey for a protection exclusively Russian.

The Chambers were dissolved on the 13th of June, 1842, the elections took place on the 9th of July, and the Deputies were again convoked for the 3d of August. In the interval, a sad accident caused profound regret throughout France. On the 13th of July the Duke d'Orleans was to have set out for St. Omer, where he was to have inspected several regiments intended for the corps of the army of the Marne, of which he

was to have the command-in-chief. The duke had proceeded to Neuilly to take leave of his family, when, in jumping out of his calèche (the horses having taken fright and run away), he fell on his head and fractured his skull. He expired a few hours after the accident, without having regained his consciousness. In consequence of this melancholy death, the Chambers were convoked somewhat earlier to provide for a regency. They met on the 27th of July. The project of law presented by the government provided that the regency should devolve on the nearest male relative of the king, altogether excluding females. After the vote on this law, which made the Duke de Nemours regent, the session was adjourned till the following January.

In the opening of the session of 1843, the king in his speech accepted the protectorate of Otaheite. Queen Pomaré, however, declared that she had been the victim of deception and violence, and struck the French flag. Whereupon Admiral Dupetit-Thouars declared the queen deposed. This proceeding of the admiral produced a strong protest and some disturbance at Tahiti, in which blood was shed. A consular agent of the British government, named Pritchard, was expelled from the island, and his property injured. This act of the admiral, complained of by the British government, was disavowed by the French Cabinet; and, after a long negotiation, it was agreed that France should pay to the consul Pritchard an indemnity of 25,000 francs. This indemnity the Chamber voted, but the discussion of the question gave rise to debates of extreme violence, in which not merely party but national animosity was displayed. Nothing more tended to augment the unpopularity of M. Guizot in France, or served more to loosen the bands of the *entente cordiale* in England, than the discussions and comments to which the Pritchard indemnity gave rise. Meanwhile the French were extending their conquest and colonization of Algiers. The province of Tittery was in their possession, and by the

successive occupation of Cherchell, Médéah and Milianah, a line of defence was completed. But, on the other hand, while Caiffa was destroyed, and Beyrout bombarded by Admiral Stopford and Commodore Napier, the French fleet was sent off to the bay of Salamine. If the ministry of M. Guizot, as was alleged, exhibited an undue complaisance towards foreign powers, the rein of authority was held somewhat tighter at home. The annual banquet to the Poles, which had been held for ten years, was prohibited if either the chairman intended to preside, or the persons designed to propose toasts, should be Frenchmen.

The project of the fortifications of Paris (pursued with immense activity) now began to excite the attention and apprehensions of the bourgeoisie and the working classes. As a complement to the fortifications, it was determined to place the ports and the frontier towns in a respectable state of defence, and 500,000 francs were asked from the Chambers for that object. The unpopularity of ministers was further increased by persecutions against the press.

In the midst of the national demoralization the sovereign exhibited an intense desire to look after the interests of his family. On the 20th of April he married his daughter, the Princess Clementine, to the Prince Augustus of Saxe-Cobourg, and in May the Prince de Joinville espoused the sister of the Emperor of Brazil. Nor was Louis Philippe without some compensation of glory as well as interest. His son, the Duke d'Angoulême, had the good fortune by a brilliant charge of cavalry to carry off the family tents, flocks and baggage of Abd-el-Kader. But this misfortune did not break the spirit of the intrepid Arab chief. His mother and his wife escaped capture by a miracle, and he himself had scarcely more than time to mount his horse, and with some chosen followers to seek safety in flight. For some time nothing was heard of the emir, but after a little he re-appeared on the south-west of Tlemcen, ready to effect a junction with

Sidi Embareek, the most active of his lieutenants, and, after himself, the most inveterate enemy of France. Colonel Tempoure dispersed the troops of Sidi, and deprived the emir of his best resource. Sidi was killed while fighting with desperation; and the death of this renowned chief produced a great impression on the Arabs. Abd-el-Kader was forced to retire within the frontiers of Morocco, and all the tribes of the little desert made their submission. Perfect security now reigned within the French colony from Algiers to Boghar, and from Constantine to Tlemcen. For this service General Bugeaud, the commander of the French troops in Africa, received the baton of a marshal.

The most remarkable incident in this year was the visit of Queen Victoria to Eu. This was a less important event than the visit made to Paris in 1855, for it was the visit of one constitutional sovereign to another *en petit comité*. But, even though the journey was regarded in this light by the premier, yet, care was taken that the new minister of foreign affairs (the Earl of Aberdeen) should accompany her majesty.

Harassed in the Chamber, M. Guizot was not without disquietude regarding the French possessions in Africa. Retiring on the frontiers of Morocco with the remnant of his regular troops, Abd-el-Kader, ever fertile in expedients, sought and found little difficulty in raising the undisciplined hordes of the desert against a Christian foe. The emir surrounded the Emperor Muley-Abder Rahman with his emissaries, and sought to excite him against the French. There had been differences between France and Morocco as to the frontier; and in the state of irritation in which the emperor was, Abd-el-Kader found little difficulty in inclining him to believe that France was confederate with Spain against him. The construction of a fort at Lalla Maghrina, on the left bank of the Tafna, by the French, convinced the court of Fez that the emir was right. The governor of Mogador called on the faithful to

combat the infidels; and soon after Berber and black troops, to the number of 10,000 men, were seen in the environs of Oudcha. Among these irregular forces was Abd-el-Kader, with 500 regulars and a number of wandering tribes. General Lamoricière, who commanded the camp of Lalla Maghrina, was forced to concentrate his troops to avoid a surprise. General Bedeau arrived from Tlemcen to co-operate with Lamoricière. On the 30th May, Lamoricière gained a signal advantage over Sidi el Mamoun-Ben Chérif, who was at the head of 500 horsemen, and pursued him to the banks of the Mouilah. A constant harassing guerilla warfare was kept up. Marshal Bugeaud, feeling that this state of things must be put an end to, had arrived from Tlemcen to await the approach of the son of the emperor at the head of 30,000 men, and to determine on the spot whether he should negotiate or recommence hostilities. General Bedeau was directed to seek an interview with the Caïd of Oudcha, El Guennaoui, to settle the question of the frontiers. The interview was unsatisfactory, and, on the part of some of the irregular troops, menacing to the negotiation; but neither Bedeau nor Lamoricière would take upon themselves to pronounce that the conduct of the irregulars was a cause of war. But when the facts were reported to Marshal Bugeaud, the commander-in-chief, who was weary of ministerial weaknesses and vacillations, he resolved to strike a blow, and advanced at once against the enemy, chastising him, and occupying the Oudcha. On the 12th of August the marshal marched against the son of the emperor, who had arrived on the banks of the Isly, occupying with his troops a space of two leagues between Djerf-el-Akhdar and Condiot. Each day the enemy expected new contingents, and he now summoned the marshal to evacuate Lalla Maghrina, proclaiming the holy war. To remain longer on the defensive was impossible. Crossing the river, the marshal fought the battle of the Isly, in which the French speedily gained an important

victory. The army of the Emperor of Morocco left 800 dead, and from 1500 to 2000 wounded, on the field of battle. The French had 4 officers killed, 10 wounded, besides 25 soldiers killed and 86 wounded;—10,000 French had in this battle vanquished 30,000 Africans. Nor were these the only triumphs. The Prince de Joinville had received orders to cruise on the coast of Morocco with a view to destroy the maritime towns and stations, and thus to second the operations of the army. On the 23d of June the prince sailed from Toulon with eight ships of war. On the 6th of August, at day-break, he was before Tangier. At half-past eight the bombardment commenced, and at ten the fortifications were destroyed. The French had only 3 men killed and 17 wounded, whilst the Emperor of Morocco had 150 killed and 300 wounded.

The prince subsequently attacked Mogador, destroyed the fortifications and magazines, captured three flags and ten brass cannon, and left a garrison of 500 men in possession of the island.

The account of these successes was received in France with immense rejoicing, but the credit of them was given, not to the Cabinet, but to the officers commanding, whose patriotic conduct was contrasted with the pusillanimous attitude of the king and his government. The news of these achievements arrived in Europe whilst the account of the arrest of the English consul Pritchard by Captain d'Aubigny (an event which gave rise to long and angry discussions in the French Chambers, and to still longer and as angry discussions in the French press) was still fresh in ministerial as well as in public memory. The Count de Jarnac, attached to the French embassy in London, in writing to M. Guizot concerning the French attack on Tangier, intimated that Lord Aberdeen was preparing a despatch in which he would intimate to Lord Cowley the resolve of the English government to send back Mr. Pritchard on board an English ship of war at any hazard to Tahiti.

A treaty was signed between France and the Emperor of Morocco, the principal bases of which were, the withdrawal of the emperor's troops from the neighborhood of Oudcha, the expulsion of Abd-el-Kader from the territory of Morocco, and a definite regulation of the frontiers of Algeria and Morocco as both existed under the dominion of the Turks. This treaty, without any guarantee on the part of Morocco, was signed on the 10th of September. 20,000,000 francs had been expended by France in the war, yet, before the ratifications were exchanged she withdrew her fleet, raised the blockade, and evacuated the island of Mogador.

Ever since the visit of Queen Victoria to Eu, Louis Philippe had clung to the hope of returning the visit at Windsor, and no moment appeared more favorable for putting the project in execution than one in which France had shown a readiness to meet the wishes of the English government in respect to Morocco. The King of the French disembarked at Portsmouth on the 8th of October, where he was received by the Duke of Wellington accompanied by a numerous suite. Exclusive of the desire of his majesty to exhibit this good understanding between England and France, there was a secret motive connected with the journey. The marriage of the Queen of Spain at this moment occupied the attention of the principal cabinets; and, although Louis Philippe was well aware that the rival powers, and above all England, would not quietly see a son of the King of the French a candidate for the hand of Isabella, yet his Majesty felt that Spain was so near a neighbor to France, and had so many common interests, that it was incumbent on him to interfere actively in the question.

Lord Aberdeen, who had at Eu been often sounded by the King of the French, forgot not his characteristic prudence on the occasion; and while he protested his desire to act in harmony with France, added that England wished to pronounce no exclusion of any candidate for the queen's hand, and

did not acknowledge the right of France to limit the choice of the Spanish government. The subject had been talked of at Eu, and Louis Philippe had there renounced any pretensions on the part of his son to the hand of the queen, but was for limiting the choice to Bourbon princes. Lord Aberdeen intimated no obstacle to the selection of those princes, but did not recognize the right of veto of any other prince assumed by France.

At Windsor the King of the French resumed the subject with the British minister for foreign affairs, and openly expressed his desire that the Duke de Montpensier should marry the infanta some time after the marriage of the queen her sister. Lord Aberdeen, pressed on this point by paternal as well as kingly pertinacity, saw no objection to this proposal after the Queen of Spain had issue. To this arrangement the King of the French assented in October, 1845, whilst Sir Robert Peel was first lord of the treasury, and Lord Aberdeen minister of foreign affairs; yet, on the 10th of October, 1846, when Lord John Russell was first lord of the treasury, and Viscount Palmerston minister for foreign affairs, the two marriages, namely, the marriage of the Queen Isabella of Spain and of her sister the infanta, took place on the same day and at the same altar, notwithstanding the previous engagement of the king in 1845, and the promise of his minister M. Guizot subsequently made on the 1st of September, 1846, to Lord Normanby, the English ambassador at Paris. This uncandid proceeding of Louis Philippe and his minister again separated the two courts, and what was still worse, the people of England and France, and permitted the northern courts to accomplish the last spoliation of Poland by incorporating the free city of Cracow with the empire of Austria.

On the 16th of April, 1846, another attempt was made on the life of the king by one Lecomte, who had been employed as a kind of gamekeeper in the Royal Forests. He fired two shots at Louis Philippe, as the monarch, accompanied by the queen and

several princes and princesses of the royal family, was taking an airing in the forest of Fontainebleau. Lecomte had been discharged from his employment for a breach of duty, and his act was dictated by a wild species of revenge. He paid the penalty of his guilt by suffering as a parricide. Whilst the indictment against him was in the course of preparation, an unexpected event caused some alarm to the partisans of the Orleans dynasty. On the 25th of May, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte escaped from the castle of Ham, in which fortress he had been for six years a prisoner, and in a few hours was at Valenciennes, on the road to Brussels, whence he proceeded to London.

More serious matters however, occupied the French ministry. A few days after the closing of the session an ordonnance for the dissolution of the Chambers appeared. The elections were fixed for the 1st of August, and the Chambers were convoked for the 19th of the same month. The left centre and the Constitutional left having coalesced, operated together against the ministry. The radicals, without using the word republic in their addresses, demanded republican institutions. The legitimist party directed all their efforts to the question of *la liberté de l'enseignement*, which in their mouths simply meant the surrender of public instruction to the ultramontane Jesuits. This party was led by MM. de Montalembert, de Vatimesnil, and de Riancey. The object of these politicians was to ruin the university, and to stifle all freedom of thought and of opinion, by giving full sway to the ultramontane clergy.

The result of the elections surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the ministry. M. Guizot, finding he possessed a considerable majority, believed himself in a position to master France. Blindly and obstinately he resisted all reform or promise of improvement, asserting that the country was perfectly content with his system. The session lasted only a few days; but soon after the deputies separated, it was evident that the

nation was threatened not merely with a pecuniary crisis but with a famine. The harvest of 1845 had been but a scanty one, and the evil was considerably aggravated by the disease in the potato. The harvest of 1846, now in course of gathering in, was much inferior to the harvest of the preceding year.

In the midst of these internal and external difficulties, the ministry was neither homogeneous nor united. It was now evident that there was dissension in the Conservative camp among the followers of the ministry—a dissension soon to be increased by the revelation of scandalous facts of corruption, which implicated persons in a high position, one of whom was a Cabinet minister. The other had already been minister of war in two separate Cabinets. For several years the existence of corruption and malversation in the public offices and establishments of France had been loudly proclaimed by the opposition deputies. But to all charges of this kind M. Guizot gave an indignant denial. But now civil and correctional processes, and even criminal proceedings, revealed the hideous plague spots in official life.

These disclosures followed each other rapidly; it was proclaimed in the papers that the ministers had received large sums in return for favors granted in their various departments, and General Cubières, the minister of war in 1839, and afterwards in the Cabinet in 1840, and M. Teste, the minister of Public Works, were convicted of bribery and corruption, in a trial by the Chamber of Peers, and sentenced to civil degradation, with the payment of heavy fines and imprisonment.

Within a month of the prorogation of the Peers, they were again convoked to try one of their members, M. de Praslin, accused of the horrible crime of murdering his own wife. The criminal in this case evaded his condemnation by suicide.

These crimes had the effect of shaking and unsettling the convictions of men as to the stability of the political and social edifice,

and were among the proximate if not among the promoting causes of that revolution which within a few months was to sweep away the younger family of the Bourbons.

The government was, if possible, more unpopular for its foreign than for its domestic policy. In Switzerland it went hand in hand with Austria, and sustained the Jesuits of Lucerne and Fribourg and Sonderbund.

In Italy M. Guizot, feebly approved, indeed, of the first reforms of the weak, vacillating and insincere Pius IX. But on the question of the occupation of Ferrara, too, the conduct of M. Guizot was pusillanimous compared with that of Casimir Périer in 1832. In one line he approved of the protest of the Pope, but in the next he blamed the inexperience of a government influenced by public opinion, and seeking to satisfy it by the publication of its official acts.

But the proximate cause for the unpopularity of Louis Philippe was his speech at the opening of the Chambers on the 28th of December, 1847. In that speech his majesty ascribed the reform agitation, which had spread over the whole country, to "hostility and blind passions." This angry phrase confounded, in one assertion, the mean with the extremes—the ultras with the moderates; those who might at the next turn of the political wheel constitute the new administration, with those whose only chance of power depended on a revolution.

Nineteen sittings were held before the address on the royal speech could travel through the Chambers. Yet, obstinate in error, the king and the government proceeded to follow up the blow, by putting to issue the legal right of the constitutionally legitimate parliamentary opposition to a reform banquet, assembled not by the members of an extra parliamentary and law-prohibited association, but by those of a great party in the Chamber, for the exercise of an undoubted constitutional right. The reform banquet was to take place Sunday, the 20th; but was deferred until the following Tuesday

That Tuesday morning the general committee appointed to organize the banquet, had desired only "to make a legal and pacific protest" against the acts of the government—a protest which, as they publicly advertised, would "be the more efficacious the more calm it was. Pursuant to this idea, they requested by their manifesto the citizens to utter no cry, to carry neither flag nor exterior emblem;" and such of the national guard as might join the procession, "to present themselves without arms." The dynastic opposition meanwhile had yielded to the conservative cabinet, and, much to the chagrin of the multitudes abroad on the morrow, had resolved on withdrawing from the banquet, and to rest satisfied with the impeachment of the ministry.

Notwithstanding the unpleasant state of the weather, groups of artisans and shopkeepers crowded the Boulevards and the Champs Elysées; and the whole of the immense area between the Church of the Madeleine and the Chamber of Deputies was completely occupied. At noon there followed a procession of laboring men, dressed in blouses, who were soon dispersed by a regiment of infantry and a civil magistrate. To these succeeded a deputation of students, bearing, unarmed, a petition to the Chamber for the impeachment of ministers.

As the day advanced the money-changers on the Boulevard closed their shops; for the old *Marseillaise* hymn, and a new chorus, *Mourir pour la Patrie*, had been sung by the people densely massed in the Place de la Concorde. Moreover, as at the same hour on the 27th of July, 1830, the official residence of the premier was attacked with stones, two panes of a mock-window being broken. Thereupon followed a charge of cavalry, by which many were injured, some wounded, and one man had his head cleft open. The national guard, during the day, responded with reluctance to the beat of the *rappel*. A detachment of the seventh legion, on guard at the Chamber of Deputies, had, indeed, even early in the day, refused to

clear the colonnade, lobby and avenues. The populace from time to time attempted to erect barricades in the rues Royale, Rivoli, St. Honoré and St. Florentin, the Place de Châtelet, and other spots favorable to the purpose; but by midnight all had been thrown down, and the troops of the line bivouacked in the streets, along the quays and in the market-places of Paris. But next morning the barricades were re-erected, and stoutly defended, and some of the soldiers, by whom they were attacked, were slain. The national guard declared for reform and against the ministers. A company of the fourth legion appeared in arms before the Chamber, to present a petition in favor of reform; while detachments of the second, third and seventh legions raised shouts of "Vive la Réforme!" "A bas l'homme de Gand!" "A bas Guizot!" A change of ministry was now inevitable, and the king's choice fell on Count Molé. In the course of the night the supreme command of the national guards and of the troops of the line was confided to Marshal Bugeaud; and Count Molé having failed him, the king charged MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot with the duty of forming a new cabinet.

But whatever hopes were indulged in from this arrangement were soon dissipated—for an event had occurred which converted the insurrection into a revolution. A ball from a gun, then supposed to have gone off accidentally, struck on the leg the horse of a colonel of the 14th regiment of the line;—who, conceiving that he was attacked, ordered an instant discharge. At once muskets were levelled and fired—the shrieks and ravings of thousands were heard—and then sixty-two bodies lay weltering on the pavement. Over them drove a squadron of cuirassiers, sword in hand; and the whole scene about the Hôtel des Capucines, where M. Guizot resided, was one of massacre. Seventeen of the corpses, being placed on a truck, were borne along from place to place, and exhibited for a spectacle by the ghastly glare of torch and gaslight.

Stopping before the office of the *National*, MM. Garnier Pagès, Armand Marrast, and other popular citizens were called forth. Everywhere the multitude cried, "*Aux armes! Nous sommes trahis!*" It became clear that on Thursday morning, no mere ministerial change would satisfy the people. The new ministry felt its weakness, and not further to exasperate their countrymen, directed the military—"not to fire."

The troops of the line, paralysed by the order not on any account to fire, presented but a weak rampart against the insurgents; they fell back within the court of the Tuileries. The national guard had wholly disappeared; the insurgent crowd continued to advance; already was heard the discharge of their fire-arms. The ministers, in a state of consternation, lost all hope. Amid the terrible confusion which reigned round Louis Philippe, some exclaimed, "Will you permit your whole family to be butchered?" others, "The regency of the duchess of Orleans will save all!" The king signed his abdication, and withdrew from the palace of the Tuileries to retire to St. Cloud.

Meanwhile the Duc de Nemours, doubtless with the design of protecting the king's retreat, was still on horseback in the court of the Tuileries, with two regiments of infantry. This position could, however, be defended no longer. The duke gave directions to abstain from firing, in order to spare useless bloodshed. He also, though in vain, sought to repel the multitude by a weak detachment of national guards that had just re-entered the court. While these events were taking place, he learned that the Duchess of Orleans, with her two sons, had quitted the Tuileries by the garden. It was in good time; an instant later and she must have been unable to save herself or her infant children, for armed bands were already making their way into the gardens through the railing of the Rue Rivoli. The prince ran to join her. On his arrival at the Place de la Concorde, he gave orders for the troops to be drawn up along the Champs Elysées,

with a view to conducting the Duchess of Orleans safely to the palace of St. Cloud. In the meantime he posted guards at all the exits of the place, and at the Pont Tournant. While the prince was superintending the execution of these different measures of precaution, the Duchess of Orleans was, with her children, conducted into the chamber of deputies, in the midst of a group, in which were many members of the chamber, and officers in attendance on the Count of Paris. The chamber received the duchess with acclamations, which were redoubled after the speech of M. Dupin. On the benches of the deputies and in the tribune, "Long live the regent!" "Long live the Count of Paris!" were loudly shouted. The sitting, however, was prolonged. The radical opposition drowned the voice of M. Odillon Barrot, who spoke in support of the regency. Finally, several orators, among whom was M. de Lamartine, insisted upon an appeal to the people. At this moment the headstrong rabble, armed with sabres, pikes, and fire-arms, preceded by persons in the uniform of the national guard, who bore a tricolor flag, threw itself into the hall. A young madman, in a blouse, from the height of the tribune, levelled a gun with direct aim at the president. Another stared with ferocious earnestness upon the group, in which were members of the royal family. The national representation was contemptuously disregarded, profaned, outraged, and dissolved; the regency was trampled under foot; the Duchess of Orleans and her two sons withdrew; and the monarchy was at an end. Ledru Rollin then read out the names of the members of a provisional government. Thence they proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, where the republic was formally proclaimed.

Meanwhile King Louis Philippe had fled from the Tuileries. When the people came thronging to the Tuileries, the national guard appeared to take their side, and it therefore seemed useless to call upon the troops to act. The king and queen then issued from the

palace on foot, got into a small one horse carriage and drove to St. Cloud, whence they directed their course for the coast, and on the following Thursday they got on board an English steamer, from which they landed next day at Newhaven, in Sussex.

The first act of the provisional government was to issue a proclamation to the people of Paris, the closing paragraph announcing: a republic on the basis of liberty, fraternity and equality.

Proclamations were also issued, decreeing that the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and that the meeting of the ex-chamber of Peers was interdicted. Other decrees at the same time engaged the government to guarantee to the working classes their subsistence by their own labor, and recognized their organizations. The government also restored to the workmen, "to whom it belonged," the million of the civil list then due.

In an incredibly short space of time, all signs of the monarchy had disappeared. Every appellation that referred to royalty was changed. The journals, sheets and public buildings all were made to bear republican names. The Tuileries was converted into an asylum for invalid workmen. All the titles of nobility were abolished, and the privileges that attached to them done away with.

As compared with the Revolution of 1830 this change of government was distinguished by the respect shown for private property by the people of the capital. Men detected in the act of thieving were shot dead on the spot. The citizens seemed anxious to show that moderation was not inconsistent with a democracy. But in other parts of France greater disorder prevailed. Bands of men traversed the country burning private houses, and breaking up the railways. The royal château of Neuilly was burned to the ground. The throne also was taken from the Tuileries and burned at the foot of the Column of July. The provisional government, however, soon exerted itself to put a stop to these excesses, and the rabble was subdued by the military force.

In accordance with the programme of the temporary government, which was strictly provisional in its object, the question of a constitution was to be referred to the nation at large. A day for the election of members of a national assembly was therefore appointed, and the number of these and the qualifications for voting were decided.

Amid the various duties which pressed with overwhelming force upon the members of the provisional government, they had to direct immediate attention to the three important questions; the army; the support of the unemployed multitudes of Paris; and the state of the public finances. The army, however, gave no trouble to the government. Its action had been paralyzed at the commencement of the revolution, by the order prohibiting the troops to fire upon the populace when MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot attempted to construct a ministry, and after that time it showed no disposition to interfere with the course of events. The employment of the people of the capital was not so easy; but a national guard mobile was immediately formed, on the pretext that their services might be required to march to the frontier. This was to consist of twenty-four battalions of 1,058 men each, and the pay of each private was fixed at thirty sous per day.

To employ the working classes, the public buildings which were in progress before the revolution, were now resumed, and the national *ateliers* were opened by the government, where two francs a day (about forty cents) were paid to those employed; and as it was impossible to find employment for the immense crowds who applied, one franc a day was in the meantime allowed to those who were unoccupied. The consequence of this arrangement was that by far the larger number preferred half pay and idleness, rather than work for what was at best very low wages.

To meet the expenses incurred by the support of these measures was now found very embarrassing to the financial department of

the government. The business of the country had been disturbed by the various projects which had been put forward by such men as Louis Blanc, all of which proposed a greater or less interference with the rights of corporations and private property; and while the revenue was thus rendered uncertain, the wish to conciliate the people led the ministers to further decrease the returns by the abolition of different imposts. In this emergency the government adopted the unpopular measure of calling for the payment of the next year's taxes in advance.

The 23d and 24th of April were occupied by the elections of representatives to sit in the National Assembly. The result of these elections was to return a much more conservative body of men than had been expected by those who judged the intentions of the people by the violent demonstrations which they had made in so many parts of the country. The disappointment felt by the lower classes at the defeat of their favorite candidates led in several places to serious riots. The National Assembly commenced its sitting on the appointed day, in a temporary structure adjoining the Chamber of Deputies. The proceedings were opened with a speech by M. Dupont de l'Eure. After the official investigation of the returns of the election, and some discussion of little importance, at the request of General Courtais, in the name of the people of Paris, the assembly proceeded to the peristyle of the building, and there, amid the discharge of cannon and the shouts of the people, unfurled the tricolor, and formally proclaimed the Republic.

On the 8th of May a committee was appointed to draw up a report upon the form of the future government. After some debate the plan of the minority was adopted. In accordance with this an executive council was appointed, and they in turn formed a cabinet consisting of twelve ministers, all chosen from the assembly. The assembly itself was then divided into sixteen committees, with sixty members to each.

An attempt in June, by the communist party to excite a counter revolution was easily suppressed by the national guards. The debates of the assembly proceeded regularly without interruption, and for some months there was nothing to mar the cause of the new republic. The presage of fresh troubles appeared at last, in June, when Louis Napoleon Bonaparte first came upon the scene. His election about this time to represent no less than four constituencies, gave rise to a warm discussion in the assembly as to whether he should be admitted, having escaped from the prison where he was under sentence of confinement for life.

The condition of the lower classes, and in particular the number of unemployed workmen who were compelled to live on the allowance made to them by the government, offered a favorable opportunity for the agitation of the communist leaders, who eagerly availed themselves of every element of discontent to be found among the people. The government, aware of the danger of the rapidly increasing numbers of this class, now endeavored to avert it by removing a part of them from Paris. They ordered 3000 of those who belonged to the provinces to return home, and supplied them with money and orders for provisions and lodging on the way. They left the capital in sullen discontent, but halted after passing the barriers, and a body of 400 of them returned, under the pretext of obtaining an interview with the executive committee at the Palace of the Luxembourg. A deputation of four were admitted to M. Maire. Their reception was not satisfactory. Returning to their comrades, the party marched along the streets, crying, "Down with the executive commission!" "Down with the assembly!" They were joined on their way by others, and a tumultuous crowd was soon collected. They then separated in the direction of the different Faubourgs, where the insurrection was already fully organized. The rest of the day and the night passed without any further demonstration. On the next morning, the





Napoleon

from the original painting by Chappot, in the possession of the Emperor

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23d of June, the sound of the drum was everywhere heard calling the troops to arms, and the national guard appeared in great force in the streets. About nine o'clock the people began to erect barricades in the Faubourgs and at the Porte St. Denis and the Porte St. Martin. A furious conflict now began, which lasted for three whole days. The fighting throughout was most bloody. The rebels had possessed themselves of artillery, and in the narrow streets of Paris regular troops were no match for the people, who fired upon them on all sides, from loopholes made in the walls of the houses and from behind the barricades. On the first day the executive committee resigned, and placed all their power in the hands of General Cavaignac, making him virtual dictator. General Lamoricière had the direction of the troops in the city, and by the use of heavy cannon and mortars, he succeeded by Sunday in driving the insurgents from every position, except the Faubourg St. Antoine. He had planted his mortars and artillery, and had already begun the bombardment, when the barricade was surrendered. This terminated the struggle, and General Cavaignac, having fulfilled the object for which absolute power had been entrusted to him, resigned. His services, however, appeared too important to the country to allow him to retire entirely, and the national assembly declared him president of the council. Inquiry into the outbreak, by the assembly, resulted in the prosecution of Louis Blanc and Caussidière, who fled to England to escape justice, and in an investigation into the system of national workshops.

In the month of June, the committee appointed to draw up the constitution had reported their project to the assembly. The first draught subsequently underwent considerable alteration. The debate on the constitution began on the 2d of July, and lasted for four months, and it finally passed on the 4th of November. It was proclaimed to the people on Sunday, the 12th, with a great military display, the

effect of which was somewhat checked by the gloomy weather and the heavy fall of snow, that lasted during the day.

By the constitution the election of president was to be submitted to universal suffrage, and this great event now occupied the attention of the whole people. The day was fixed for the 10th of December. Prince Louis Napoleon had previously taken his seat in the assembly, and the influence of his name was known to be so great that none of the other candidates were believed to have the least possibility of success. The result was in conformity to the general expectation. Louis Napoleon received 5,434,226 votes; and Cavaignac, the next most popular candidate, 1,448,107.

Prince Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed President of the French Republic in the assembly, on the 20th of December, 1848.

The attention of the national assembly during the early part of the year was taken up chiefly with the question of its continuance, and in discussing the foreign policy of the republic. The tone of these debates was in general rather conservative and reactionary, and the first interference of the new government in European affairs was the occupation of Rome, which was then in the hands of the triumvirate composed of Mazzini, Armellini and Sappi, who were holding the city in preparation for the expected attack of the Austrians.

The last sitting in the national assembly took place on the 26th of May. The Legislative Chamber, which was to replace it, was elected by universal suffrage, and met in the hall formerly occupied by the assembly, on the 2d of June. M. Dupin was chosen president. The message of the president was read at one of the earliest sittings. It was a document in the style of the American president's messages, treating of everything in connection with the state. The occupation of Rome gave an opportunity to the red republicans to attack the ministry. Ledru Rollin made a speech on this subject, which he ended

with an accusation against the president and his ministers, for having acted contrary to the vote of the national assembly. He was answered by M. Odillon Barrot. After some debate, the house passed to the order of the day, supporting the ministry with a large majority. A formal act of impeachment, drawn up by the same party, was thrown out in quite as decisive a manner. The reds, thus defeated in the legislature, determined upon a *coup-de-main*. On the 12th of June they proceeded in a body to the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, and established themselves permanently, with the object of forming a convention in case the government should be overthrown. Their efforts in this direction were overthrown by the energy of General Changanier, who commanded the military force in Paris. With a large force of soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, he confronted the mob on the Boulevards, and dispersed them without losing a man. The barricades which were thrown up in different places, offered little more resistance. The conclave at the Conservatoire was similarly disposed of; Ledrn Rollin and Sergeant Rattier made their escape through a window, and the rest were made prisoners.

The year 1850 afforded an interval of comparative quiet, due as much, perhaps, to the general wish for peace at any price, as to particular satisfaction with the new government. In the autumn the president made a triumphal progress through France, visiting the principal towns, and addressing the people at public dinners. On his return to Paris, he issued a presidential message, as in the preceding year. On the 26th of August of this summer, Louis Philippe died at Claremont, in England.

In April and May, 1851, many petitions from the provinces were introduced into the assembly, calling for a revision of the constitution, and in some cases for the repeal of the clause which forbade the re-election of the same candidate for the presidency. The propositions to amend the constitution were obviously in the Napoleonic interest, and,

as such, were combatted by the legitimist and republican party in the legislature. Public feeling, however, was so generally manifested in favor of the revision, that it was impossible longer to oppose it, and the subject was placed in the hands of a committee of fifteen, of whom nine turned out to be favorable to the revision, while the others were against any change. The report was submitted to the Chamber on the 8th of July. After a long and not very interesting debate, a resolution in favor of revision was put to the vote, and failing to obtain the required majority of three-fourths was lost.

The assembly after its recess re-assembled on the 4th of November. After the reading of the message of the president of the republic, M. Thorigny submitted a bill for the repeal of the electoral law of May, 1850, and demanded its immediate consideration. The motion as to its immediate consideration was lost, and it was referred to a committee, which reported in favor of its continuance. This attempt, and the tone of certain speeches which the president made about this time to the army, roused the conservative part of the assembly to the necessity of immediate action. In their own defense they endeavored to procure the passage of a law to bring the military force more directly under their control. This proposition, after some debate, was rejected by a large majority. Not discouraged by their failure, the same party in the assembly then brought in a bill for determining the responsibility of the president and cabinet. This bill had been originated in 1849, but from the indifference felt on the subject, it had been allowed to remain in the hands of the committee till the present time, when it was brought out to oppose the growing power of the president. It provided means for his impeachment and speedy deposition in case of any attack on the state. This was the last measure discussed by the Legislature of France. Louis Napoleon had already resolved on its destruction, and then appeared to him the fitting moment for the execution of his *coup d'état*. He had suc

succeeded in gaining the support of the army, and, aided by the minister of war, General St. Arnaud, he expected to bear down the opposition with the cannon and the bayonet. A devoted personal friend, M. de Morny, was associated with him in his preparations. A decree dissolving the National Assembly, and establishing Universal Suffrage, in the name of the President of the Republic, was composed by them on the night of the 1st of December, in the Palace of the Elysée, and appeared on the walls of Paris the next morning.

Before daybreak on the 2d of December, several of the most prominent men in the assembly and other leaders of the opposition had been arrested. Among these were Generals Chargarnier, Cavaignac, Leflô, Lamoricière and Bèdeau, MM. Thiers, Roger du Nord, Minot, Baze, Greppo, Legrange and Valentine. They were first taken to the prison of Mazas, but afterwards conveyed to the Château of Ham, from which they were liberated after a time, but compelled to leave the country. These arrests were made at a quarter past six; at half-past six M. de Morny took possession of the Hotel of the Interior, accompanied by 250 Chasseurs de Vincennes and handed to M. de Thorigny a letter from the president, thanking him for his services, and informing him of the decisive act on which he had resolved.

When the other members of the assembly heard of the arrests, they ran to the doors of the chamber, which were held by the Chasseurs de Vincennes. M. Daru, one of the Vice-Presidents, was rudely repelled by the soldiers, and the whole party were driven away at the point of the bayonet. They next re-assembled at the Mairie of the Tenth Arrondissement. Here they organized a session, and proceeded to pass a decree deposing Louis Napoleon from the presidency of the Republic, and to appoint provisional officers in the place of his Cabinet. This act was hardly accomplished before a body of soldiers appeared at the door. The president of the assembly read to them the de-

creed, and ordered them to retire. They then left the door of the room, still guarding the passages, however, and presently returned with two Commissaries of Police, who, entering the Hall, ordered the members to disperse. The representatives declared they were there in the discharge of their duties, and refused to go unless force were employed. They were accordingly marched off to the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay, and after spending the night exposed to the weather in rooms without fire, the following day they were sent to different prisons.

On December the 3d, General St. Arnaud issued an order to the French army, commanding the soldiers to vote yes or no within forty-eight hours on the following proposition: The French people wishes the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and entrusts him with the power necessary to frame a constitution on the basis mentioned in his proclamation of the 2d instant. The soldiers voted, not by ballot, but openly in their respective regiments, and an overwhelming majority in the affirmative was the result. A Plebiscite in similar terms was next submitted to the people at large. All Frenchmen aged twenty-one, and enjoying civil rights, were called upon to vote. The time of the election was the week ending on the 21st.

So sudden and firm was the blow struck by Louis Napoleon, that for the moment the opposition seemed paralyzed, but on the morning of the 3d, symptoms of trouble began to appear. About ten o'clock in the morning of this day, M. Baudin, a member of the assembly, suddenly appeared on horseback in the Rue St. Antoine. He was followed by six other representatives. At that hour the streets were filled with workmen going from their workshops to breakfast. The appearance of M. Baudin attracted a great many groups, whom he addressed, summoning them to take up arms for the delivery of the representatives, who were confined in the prison of Mazas, in the neighborhood. He was aided by his colleagues, and soon

the cry of "Aux armes" was heard. A great deal of commotion ensued, and the workmen ran about looking for weapons. The first point of attack, the guard-house at Montrenil, was soon carried, for it was only defended by a few soldiers who were at a distance from all support. Others of the insurgents set about forming barricades. There were no proper materials at hand to build them with, and the two first set up, being composed of carts and an omnibus, were soon carried by the troops. But there were others erected soon after in different places, and immense bodies of the military occupied the streets, patrolling the city in every direction. Next day the whole of the Boulevards Montmartre and Italiens were lined by infantry and cavalry, and the head of the column was opposite a strong barricade defending the Rue St. Denis. An attack was made upon this with artillery and musketry, and it was carried after some sharp fighting and considerable loss of life. In the mean time, owing to some incomprehensible cause, whether it was panic, or, as was alleged, because a stray shot had been fired from one of the houses on the Boulevards, the troops began a murderous fire upon the windows of the houses on each side of the street. Even cannon were directed against the buildings, and the walls were shattered, while the inmates fled for refuge to their cellars. Many persons who had taken no part whatever in the affair, mere lookers on, foreigners for the most part, were thus killed at the windows of their own apartments; quiet citizens were shot down in the streets, and in some cases the police broke into the houses where they suspected the presence of insurrectionists, and massacred all whom they found in them. With the capture of the barricade at the Porte St. Denis, the insurrection was virtually at an end, and no serious attempts were made to prolong the resistance of the people to the stern rule of military power. The number of killed during the days following the Coup d'État was never made known.

The result of the ballot of the 21st was, that the president received 7,439,219 votes in his favor, and that 640,737 were cast against him.

One of the first acts of the new administration was to publish a decree on the 10th of January, banishing to French Guiana five ex-representatives of the people, for taking part in what was called the recent insurrection. A second decree banished from French territory sixty-seven more of the former members of the Assembly. The National Assembly was formally dissolved by an edict, published on the 11th. On the 14th the new constitution was promulgated, preceded by a proclamation from the president. The new constitution was in the main a copy of the form of government introduced by the first Napoleon in the consulship.

Passing over some minor events, we come to the next phase of the revolution, the establishment of the second empire. In July the president went to Strasbourg, and after receiving the enthusiastic demonstrations of the populace, crossed to Baden, to pay a visit to the Dowager Grand-Duchess of that principality. It was thought at the time that he had some idea of asking the hand of her grand-daughter, the Princess Carolina Stephanie de Vasa. The 15th of August is the birthday of the Great Napoleon, and his nephew resolved to establish the celebration of the anniversary by a splendid fête. There was a naval sham fight on the Seine, and fireworks in the evening, and a partial amnesty was granted to political and other offenders. In September the President left Paris for a tour through the Southern Provinces, with the object, doubtless, of ascertaining the sentiments of the people in reference to the revival of the empire. Everywhere in his triumphal progress he was greeted with acclamations mingled with cries of "Vive l'Empereur;" the addresses of the mayors and *Conseils Municipaux*, all were in the same vein, representing the people as impatient for the resumption of the imperial government. These demonstrations, of

which there is little reason to doubt the spontaneity, led the President to declare his own wishes more openly, for in a speech at Tours he announced his readiness to assume the imperial title. On his return to Paris he convoked the senate. When it met he communicated to it a message, stating that the people had everywhere expressed their most earnest wishes to restore the empire, and that confiding in the patriotism and intelligence of the senate, he had convoked it to deliberate legally on the question. A committee was accordingly appointed, which introduced a report on the 6th of November, in favor of the re-establishment of the empire with the Napoleonic dynasty. The articles submitted to the senate were passed and signed by all the members. The *Senatus Consultum*, as they were called, was then submitted to the people, who testified their acceptance of it with an immense majority. On the 1st of December, the Senate and Corps Legislatif proceeded together to St. Cloud, and announced to Louis Napoleon that he was now Emperor of the French.

This title was immediately recognized by the other European powers. The next important event was the marriage of the Emperor. The lady selected was Eugenia de Montijo, Countess-Duchess of Teba. She was descended from some of the noblest families of Spain on her father's side, while her mother's father was an English consul at Malaga, of the name of Kirkpatrick. The ecclesiastical ceremony was performed in Notre-Dame by the Archbishop of Paris with great magnificence, on the 29th of January, 1853.

In the following year France and England became involved in the war then going on between Russia and Turkey. The details of the struggle have already been given in our history of Russia. A full but not altogether impartial discussion of the motives which impelled France to take part in the war may be found in Kinglake's History.

The next event in the history of the

French Empire, after the close of the Russian war, was the birth of the Prince Imperial, which occurred on the 16th of March 1856. At his baptism he received the name of Napoleon Eugène Louis Jean Joseph.

The peaceful course of the empire during the following years was disturbed only by an attempt to assassinate the emperor. The conspiracy was got up by an Italian refugee, Felice Orsini, who had escaped the year before from an Austrian prison. Three others were associated with him in the plot. The attack was made on the 14th of January, 1858, as the Emperor and Empress were passing through the streets to the opera in a carriage. When they had nearly arrived at the building, three shells were thrown in the direction of the carriage, but none of them in their explosion struck the persons inside. Several of the bystanders and some of the soldiers forming the guard, were hurt by the fragments, and more than one was mortally wounded. The conspirators were discovered, and Orsini and another were executed, the rest being severally sentenced to the galleys for life.

The war in Italy, by which the combined forces of France and Sardinia effected the liberation of Lombardy, has already been given in the history of Italy.

In 1862 the French government engaged in the unfortunate expedition to Mexico with England and Spain. Great Britain retired from the enterprise before hostilities commenced, and Spain withdrew at the same time, leaving France alone in the war. The French troops, after landing at Vera Cruz, succeeded in making their way as far as Orizaba, where they were repulsed by the Mexican general. The campaign was prosecuted in the following year with renewed vigor; Puebla fell after a siege, and the French army made their triumphal entry into the City of Mexico on the 10th of June. After the establishment of the short-lived Mexican Empire the troops were withdrawn.

The opposition to the emperor, always manifested by a certain class of the popula

tion of Paris, became more apparent as the checks upon the expression of public opinion were relaxed by the government. A large class of republican journals sprang into existence, which strove to distinguish themselves by the coarseness of their satires on imperialism, and their scurrilous personal attacks on the imperial family. The most prominent of these was the "Lanterne," edited by M. Henri Rochefort. This journal, devoted to the ridicule and abuse of the Bonaparte dynasty, attained at once an enormous circulation. It was speedily suppressed, of course, by the government, and its editor forced to take refuge in Belgium, where he continued its publication. Being elected a deputy to the Corps Législatif, Rochefort returned to Paris to take his seat in the Chambers. While here he launched a new journal similar in character to "La Lanterne," called "La Marseillaise." By some personal allusions to the private history of the Bonapartes, he incurred the resentment of Prince Pierre Napoleon, a man of violent temper and with a passion for newspaper controversy. The result was a challenge from the prince to Rochefort. Rochefort upon receiving it sent two of his friends, Victor Noir and Ulrich Fonvielle to arrange the meeting. They proceeded to the house of the prince at Auteuil, on the morning of January 10th. The statements of the parties as to what took place at the interview are so contradictory, that the exact truth is impossible to ascertain. According to one account, the prince told them that he did not wish to see them, but M. Rochefort; and after some angry words on both sides, he asked them if they considered themselves equally responsible with M. Rochefort, and that thereupon Noir answered yes, and slapped the prince in the face, and the prince then drew a revolver and shot him dead. Fonvielle, who also had a pistol, stooped down behind a chair and aimed at the prince, but his pistol missed fire; he then escaped into the street. Fonvielle, who was the

only witness, denied that Noir slapped the prince's face. The affair created a great excitement in Paris. The funeral of Victor Noir was attended by a great concourse of people, and order was preserved only by the presence of a large military force. There was, indeed, an abortive attempt to excite a revolution made at a public meeting by a journalist named Flourens, but the people were not favorable, and the few who had seconded the movement fell into the hands of the police or escaped from the country. Rochefort was arraigned soon after for seditious language in the Corps Législatif and for participating in the recent disturbances. He was condemned to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 3,000 francs. Prince Pierre Bonaparte was tried before a High Court of Justice at Tours. The evidence was found insufficient to convict him of murder, and he was acquitted, but condemned to pay 25,000 francs to the family of Victor Noir.

It was about this time that the Emperor resolved upon the extraordinary measure of again submitting the form of government to the people for their approval. In the proclamation by which he announced it he declared that the numerous constitutional changes introduced since 1852 had almost superseded the bases then accepted by the people, and as all power in France must emanate from them, no form of government could be valid unless they had given their consent to it. In 1852, he said, he had asked the power to assure order; in 1870 he asks the power to establish liberty. The question was put to the people at a general election held on Sunday the 8th of May. Its formula was "Do the people desire constitutional reforms in 1870, which ensure liberty, placing it under the guarantee of the Emperor and dynasty." This was called the *Plebiscitum*, and the people were to vote by ballot either yes or no. The result of the polling was 8,000,000 votes in favor of the present government.



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